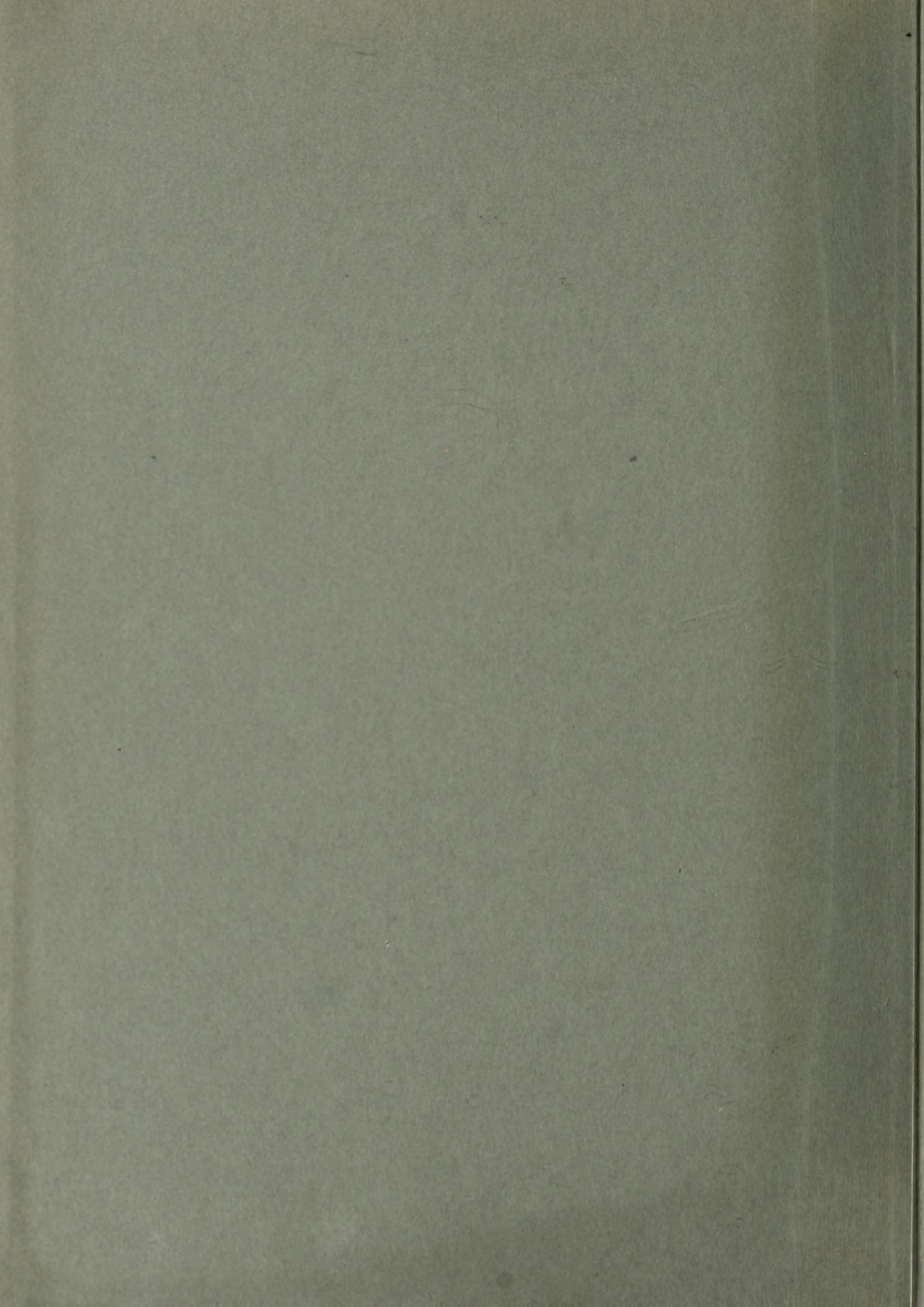
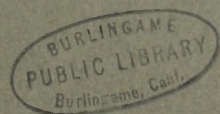
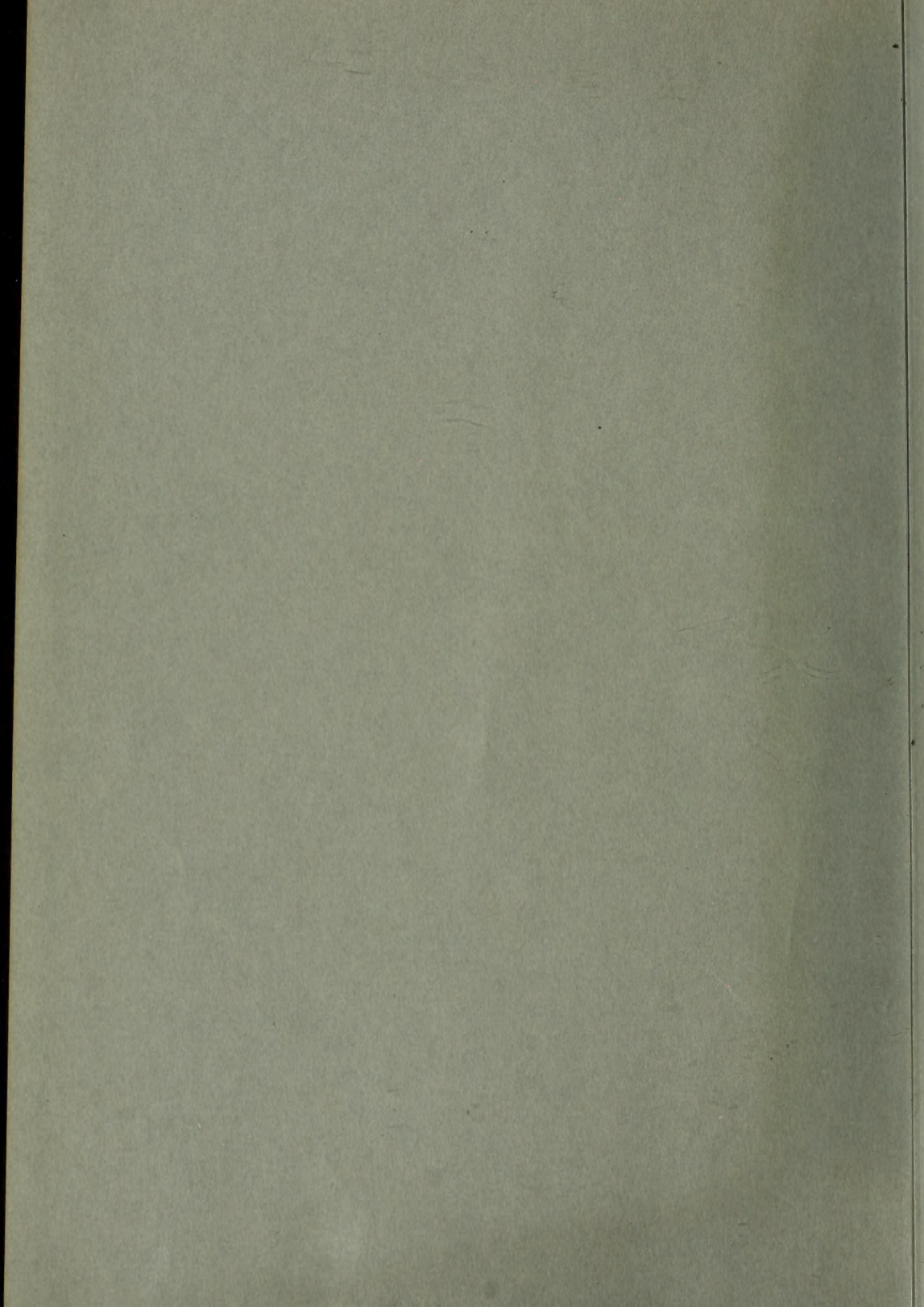
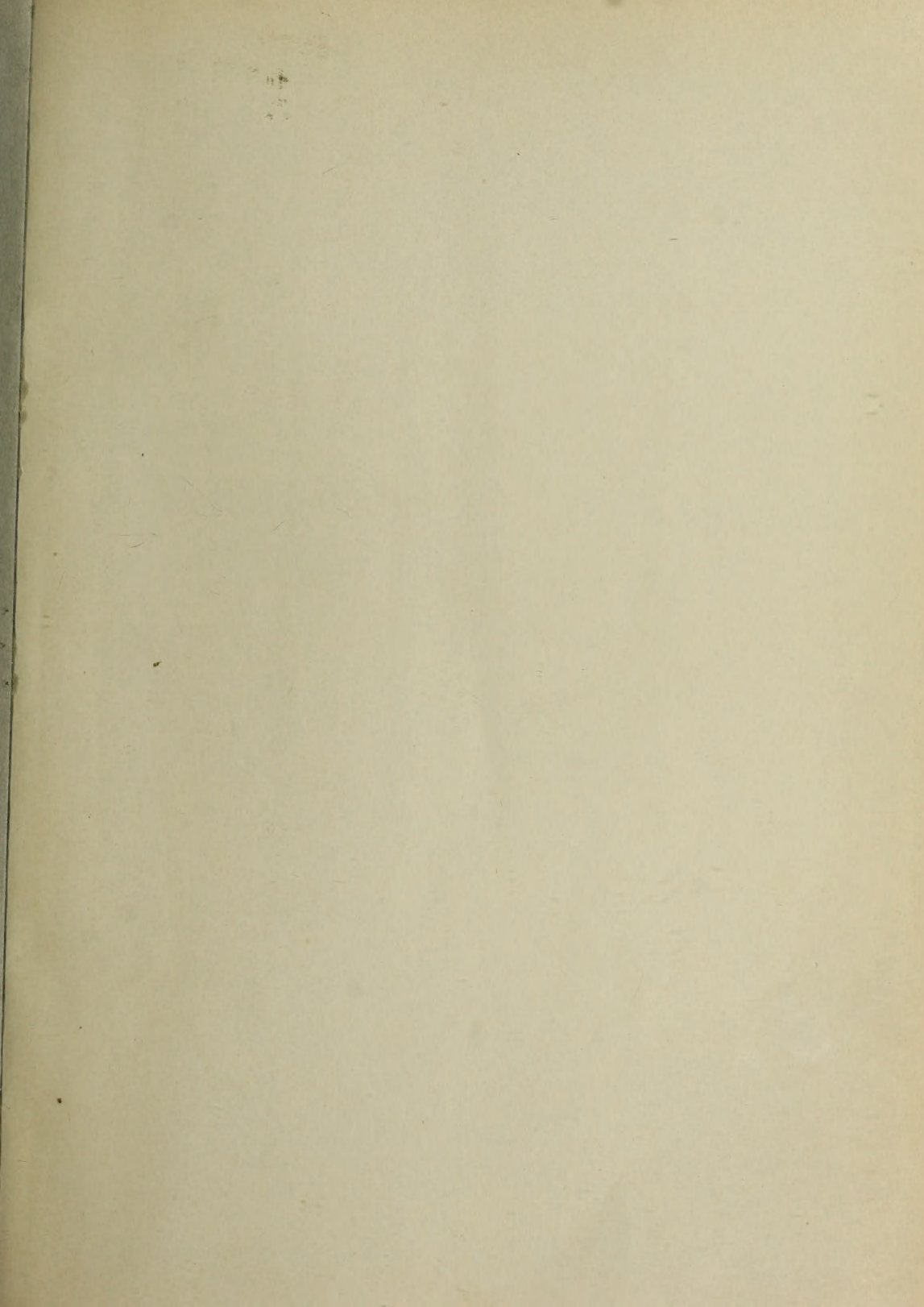


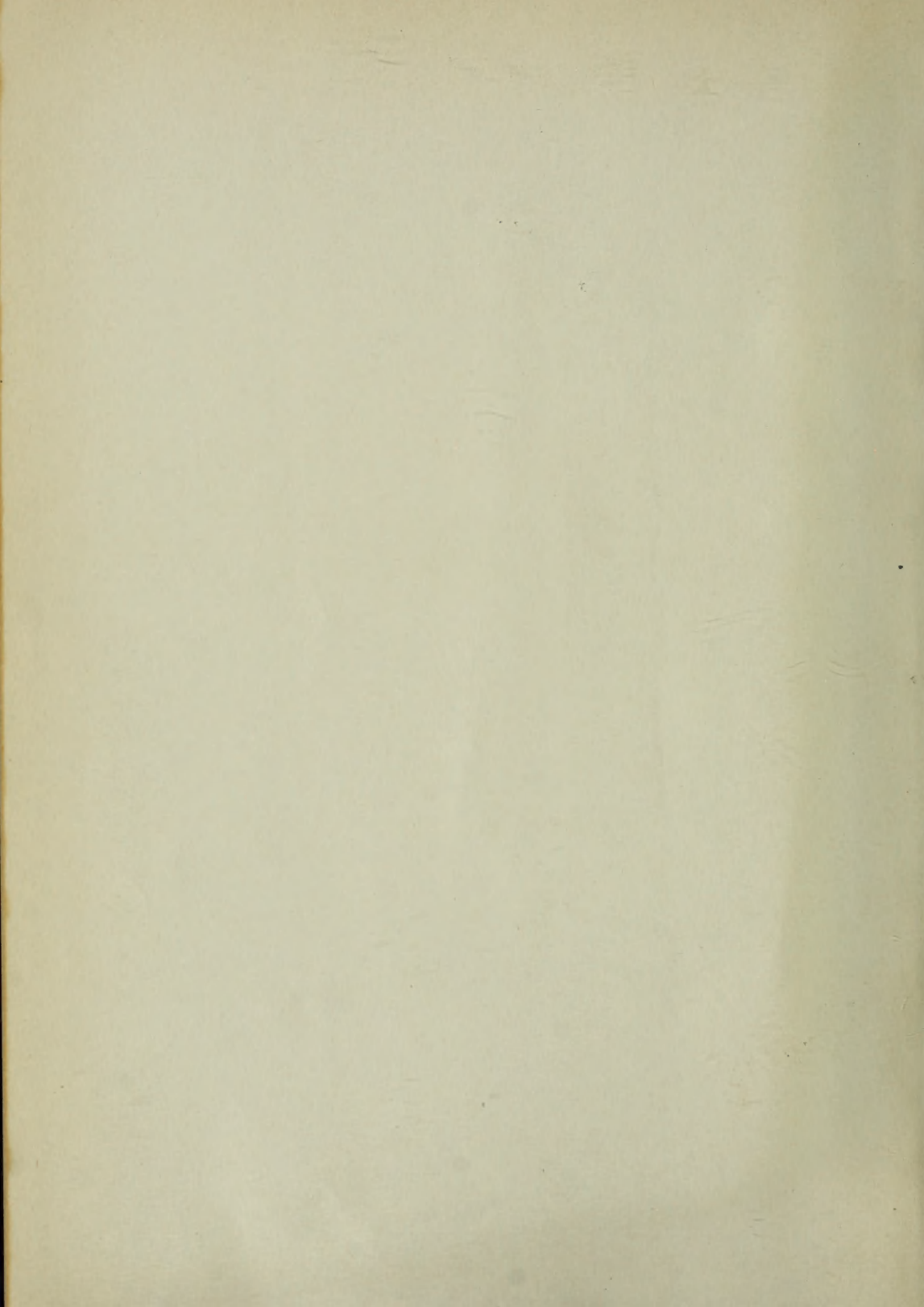


✓ 107715









THE *Nation*

A LIBERAL WEEKLY DEVOTED TO

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE,
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, LITERATURE,
DRAMA AND THE ARTS

FOUNDED 1865

==

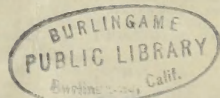
VOLUME 164

JANUARY 4, 1947, to JUNE 28, 1947

==

107715

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, INC.
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7



INDEX TO VOLUME 164

JANUARY 4, 1947, to JUNE 28, 1947

The following letters are used to indicate the type of article:

A Art
Arc Architecture
C Correspondence
CH Chart
Ct Cartoon
D Drama
E Editorial Article
EP Editorial Paragraph
M Music
MP Moving Pictures
P Poetry
S Signed Article

Book reviews and reviewers are indexed separately in the Book Review Section.

Pages	Pages
1-28 January 4	381-408 April 5
29-56 January 11	409-436 April 12
57-84 January 18	437-464 April 19
85-112 January 25	465-500 April 26
113-140 February 1	501-528 May 3
141-168 February 8	529-556 May 10
169-196 February 15	557-584 May 17
197-232 February 22	585-642 May 24
233-260 March 1	643-670 May 31
261-288 March 8	671-698 June 7
289-316 March 15	699-724 June 14
317-344 March 22	725-754 June 21
345-380 March 29	755-782 June 28

SUBJECT

A	PAGE
Aluminum trust, busting the, Putney.....	273
America:	
I.T.O. and (editorial).....	412
Wants what, Kirchwey (editorial).....	504
American Authors Authority, Bower.....	772
American Veterans Committee, battle of, James.....	706
Americans for Democratic Action: (editorial).....	29
Bolté.....	424
Revolt in the middle, Bendiner.....	65
Andrews, Walter.....	55
Arab states, record of the, Hourani (letters).....	534
Arabian Nights in Flushing, Alvarez del Vayo.....	701
Argentina: Arm thine enemy (editorial).....	169
Arguello, Leonardo (editorial).....	169
Art, (articles by Greenberg):	
Bonnard, Pierre.....	53
Cartier-Bresson, Henri, photographs.....	406
Chagall, Marc.....	525
Chirico.....	340
Dufuffet, Jean.....	164
Iane Street Group.....	284
Klee, Paul.....	578
Lachaise, Gaston.....	164
Miro, Joan.....	692
Moore, Henry.....	164
Motherwell, Robert.....	664
Painting in France, 1939-1946.....	228
Picasso's lithographs.....	405
Pollock, Jackson.....	137
Smith, David.....	459
Tamayo, Rufino.....	284
Van Doesburg, Theo.....	664
Whitney Annual.....	405
Atomic energy:	
Debate on control (editorial).....	141
For the millions, Engel.....	648
Atomic Energy Commission, U. S.: Gamblers with destiny, Levin.....	201
Atomic report, the (editorial).....	31
B	
Balch, Emily Greene, Randall.....	14
Baruch, Bernard (editorial).....	466
Bathsheba's lament in the garden, Lowell.....	120
Berlin and the Russian zone, Carmichael.....	453
Bethlehem Steel Corporation's forgotten men, Hutchison.....	453
Bevin, Ernest:	
Dramatic criticism, Levy.....	732
Explodes (editorial).....	263
Great light, Vallance.....	651
Wins again, Vallance.....	679
Bigotry in B-flat, Sutton.....	768
Bilbao, letter from (editorial).....	647
Blum, Leon (editorial).....	57
Bonnard, Pierre, work of, Greenberg.....	53
Braden, Spruille, or Messersmith? Bendiner.....	116
Brain for hire, this, Joesten.....	36

Branting, Georg (editorial).....	465
Brest-Litovsk again.....	630
Bright spot in the West, McWilliams.....	709
Budget problem, G.O.P. (editorial).....	60
Business:	
Buyers' market, where's that? Hutchison.....	278
Challenge to (editorial).....	441
Will business bring down prices? Lesser.....	442
C	
Canada, Social Credit movement, McWilliams.....	11
Cartels, German, and AMG, Lobbenberg.....	299
Cartoons:	
Balancing act, Schloss.....	440
Crusaders, the, Schloss.....	390
Summer styles for Uncle Sam (1947), Schloss.....	735
"You only lose once," Schloss.....	675
Catholicism, the Roman Catholic Church.....	330
Catt, Carrie Chapman, Adams.....	441
Challenge to business (editorial).....	441
China:	
Chiang, falls back (editorial).....	675
Chinese students, the, Lyon.....	767
Dark destiny of, Durdin.....	150
Next steps in, Stewart.....	566
Pulling out of? (editorial).....	143
Taiwan, unhappy colony, Durdin.....	685
Terror in Taiwan, Durdin.....	526
Time bomb (editorial).....	199
Chirico, work of, Greenberg.....	340
Churchill, Winston:	
(editorial).....	320
War, Kirchwey (editorial).....	320
Civil rights, fresh start, Bendiner.....	536
Coal, how to run, Coleman.....	242
Communism vs. dollars Kirchwey (editorial).....	646
Conant, James Bryant (editorial).....	114
Conference of the excluded, Baldinger.....	99
Congress, U. S.:	
Committee assignments (editorial).....	87
Eightieth, the (editorial).....	3
Congress of Industrial Organizations, South- east drive, Metzger.....	38
Conscientious objectors: in California, Geiger.....	331
Cooperatives, banner year for (editorial).....	89
Cost of living: What will your dollar buy in 1947? Lesser.....	63
Cross and the circle, the, McWilliams.....	11
Crude oil politics, Hutchison.....	71
Curtain raiser for '48, Neuberger.....	682
Cushing, Harvey, health plan, Gumpert.....	127
D	
Dalton, Hugh and Mr. Micawber, Vallance.....	512
Dance, the José Limón, Mishun.....	110
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	438
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	539
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	31
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	245
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	736
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	680
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	417
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	584
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	324
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	360, 448, 509, 655
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	63
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	646
De Gaulle, Charles (editorial).....	262
Drama (reviews by Krutch):	
"Allice in Wonderland".....	494
"All My Sons".....	191
"Fatal Weakness, the," Kelly.....	81
"Big Two, the".....	110
"Chocolate Soldier".....	377
"Craig's Wife".....	256
"Eagle Has Two Heads, The".....	403
"Fatal Weakness, the," Kelly.....	81
"Importance of being earnest".....	338
"Little A".....	140
"Love for Love".....	691
"Parlor Story".....	375
"Story of Mary Surratt".....	226
"Whole World Over, The".....	459
"Wolf, Donald-Shakespeare".....	283
"Yellow Jack".....	312
Dufuffet, Jean, art of, Greenberg.....	136
E	
Editorials:	
America and the I.T.O.....	412
Anglo-French treaty.....	169
Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942.....	113
Arm thine enemy.....	701
Assembly's decision.....	617
Atomic-energy-control debate.....	141
Atomic report, the.....	31

Back to McKinley.....	506
Baruch, Bernard.....	466
Behind the Hungarians "coup," Kirchwey.....	731
Best foot forward.....	33
Braden or Messersmith? Bendiner.....	116
Branting, Georg.....	465
British-Burma agreement.....	142
British coal crisis.....	197
Challenge to business.....	441
Chiang falls back.....	675
China, pulling out of?.....	143
China's time bomb.....	199
Churchill, Winston.....	320
Churchill's war, Kirchwey.....	439
Cooperatives, banner year for.....	89
Crisis in Britain.....	113
De Gaulle, Charles.....	438
Dollars vs. communism, Kirchwey.....	646
Douglas, Lewis.....	262
Eightieth Congress.....	3
Fascism in the U. S.....	437
Federal aid and Catholic schools.....	618
Future of empire.....	4
G.O.P. budget problem.....	60
G.O.P. saboteurs.....	171
Gromyko, Andrei, contra mundum.....	292
Harris, James.....	263
Hoess, Rudolf, mass murderer.....	411
Hoover report.....	261
Truman speech.....	713
India divided.....	702
Killian, James A.....	235, 411
Learning the hard way.....	467
Letter from Bilbao.....	647
Lewis, Charles.....	291, 10
Liberals beware! Kirchwey.....	384
Lilienthal, David.....	197, 233, 412
Manifest destiny, 1947, Kirchwey.....	317
Marshall plan.....	729, 758
Moscow Conference failure.....	463
Mr. Bevin explodes.....	263
Mufti's henchmen—a who's who.....	561
Mugwumps in action, Kirchwey.....	61
Murray, Philip.....	263
New coalition for old.....	560
Nicaragua's presidential election.....	169
Notes for a new year, Kirchwey.....	33
Palestine.....	33, 141, 172, 236, 468, 533, 561, 600
Pass the Stratton bill.....	674
Passage from India.....	236
Planning or starvation.....	645
Podell, David Louis.....	143
Powers at Moscow, the.....	264
Prisoners.....	11
Railroad rate increase.....	235
Rankin, John.....	235
Remember Mr. Hoover!.....	532
Rent control.....	143
Republican party, had enough?.....	319
Secretary of state, the.....	59
Shirer, William.....	347, 381
Slight case of murder.....	757
Socialization in Germany.....	143
Stern, David.....	143
Talmadge, Herman.....	233
Tax cuts and politics.....	349
To the Greeks, bearing gifts, Kirchwey.....	347
United States and Steel-I.O. agreement.....	518
Voice of Europe.....	88
Voorhis, Jerry.....	383
What America wants, Kirchwey.....	504
Why teachers rebel.....	200
E	
Chinese students, the, Lyon.....	767
Federal aid and Catholic schools (editorial).....	618
Why teachers rebel (editorial).....	200
Election day in Santo Domingo.....	543
Empire, death of, in the Pacific, Stewart.....	178
Europe:	
Can our dollars save? Bolles.....	759
Revolution in Eastern, Poulos.....	734
This summer?.....	570
Everybody's business, Hutchison:	
America's world bank.....	425
Are profits too high?.....	305
Bethlehem's forgotten men.....	453
Bringing the trade gap.....	659
British budget.....	480
Chessie chases the fat cats.....	186
Colonial socialism.....	249
"Is trade".....	518
Famine and surplus.....	101
Fighting for tariffs.....	17
Financing the Monnet Plan.....	631
Hogs around the sugar bowl.....	157
Oil: East and West.....	742
Oil, have we enough?.....	744
Prayer, profits, and pie.....	213
Reform or bankruptcy.....	573
Russia and reparations.....	543
Shifting the tax burden.....	771
Speak up, consumers!.....	688
Storm in a cocoa cup.....	129

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Undistributed profits	397	Housing:		Lone Star liberals, Carter	780
Vanishing building boom	545	Must: politics control? Abrams	293	Net profit is less, Van Horn	669
Where's that buyers' market?	278	Vanishing building boom, Hutchison	545	Niemöller—not a Nazi, Niebuhr	407
Why Greeks go left	364	We need a better housing bill, Abrams	562	Not the same "Nation," Roussellange	166
Existentialism (editorial)	171	Workable program, Abrams	15	Old dilemma, Baxter	668
		Human rights (editorial)	577	Old disease, an, Hughes	231
F		Hungarian "coup," behind the, Kirchwey	251	Ought to be a law, Abrams	668
"Fair trade" for whom? Hutchison	518	(editorial)	347	Our Marxist president, Adams	583
Faith to live by:		(editorial)	731	Picasso appeals, Webster	534
"At the end of the crisis, a new world,"		(poetry)	575	Postscript to pay day, Smith	231
Maritain	568	(editorial)	197	Race fight strategy, Kennedy	499
Dilemma of modern man, Niebuhr	205	Hutchison, Ralph C. (editorial)	114	Real appeasers, Brown	463
Institutions and men, Meyer	269			Realism, two kinds of, Schutz	111
Famine:		I		Recollections of Judge Tree, Barnard	781
And still they laugh, Larom	479	In one ear, see Radio		Record of the Arab states, Hourani	55
Planning or starvation (editorial)	645	In the wind...40, 100, 363, 478, 538, 629, 742		Reduce the cost, Foreman	315
Surplus and, Hutchison	101	India:		Rugged collectivist, a, Guerard	83
Farewell to New York, Boyle	271	Comes into its own, Rao	275	Ryder biographer, Mallan	499
Farmer pays his debts, the, Hearst	420	Crisis, behind, Rao	704	Same fight, Nicotri	751
Federal Communications Commission, Franklin	102	Divided (editorial)	702	Soviet Tartars, Fischer	582
Fields, W. C. (editorial)	3	Drifts toward civil war, Rao	653	Spanish intellectuals appeal, Quiroga Pla	697
Food:		Hour of decision, Rao	394	Spoils system in action, O'Neal	83
In France, Blum	683	Mountbatten's task in, Rao	394	Step forward, a, Man	83
"Let the people eat chops," Gedye	209	New destiny, Rao	125	Stieglitz items requested, Norman	83
Ford, Henry, II, price-cutting announce-	86	Passage from (editorial)	236	There isn't any business, Dennison	343
ment (editorial)	86	Industrial giants, the 250, Sternberg	763	To resolve a discord, Vamberg; Masaryk	287
Foreign policy:		Innocence, Mizener (poem)	47	UNRRA was careful, MacDuffie	435
Five-star, Reynolds	676	Institutions and men, Meyer	269	Vatican representative, Adams	83
Plea to America, Roosevelt	352	Insurance, life, is it healthy? Gumpert	708	Wayward reviewer, Leigh	640
Forest, national, looting, Neuberger	471	International Bank for Reconstruction and		Who talks for the Arabs? Yahuda	582
France:		Development, Hutchison	425	Who will be the judge? Porter	640
Anglo-French treaty (editorial)	169	International Trade Organization, America	412	With open eyes, Guerard	556
As a Frenchman sees us, La Salle	296	(and editorial)	425	You can't firm that! Hobart	435
Food and wages in, Blum	683	Iraq: Black-gold and poverty, Roth	444		
Is not finished, Alvarez del Vayo	743	Isabelita has lost her reason, Boyle	628	Lewis, John L. (editorial)	291, 410
Letter from Paris, Clark	150	Italy:		Life insurance, is it healthy? Gumpert	708
Nazi plots and French plans, Alvarez del		Anti-clerical magazines (editorial)	72	Lilienthal David (editorial)	170, 197, 233, 412
Vayo	266	Letter from Rome, Rossi	742	Limón, José, work of, Mishmun	110
Ramadier cabinet, make-up (editorial)	113	Loan to (editorial)	85	Looting the national forests, Neuberger	471
Tragedy of DeGaulle, Blum	539	On the hard road back, Alvarez del Vayo	327		
France, Francisco, Dictator-Regent, Alvarez		Place in the world, Alvarez del Vayo	473	M	
del Vayo	517	Vatican versus left, Alvarez del Vayo	388		
Freedom of the press, Republicans and, Putney	67			Management: Bethlehem's forgotten men,	
		J		Hutchison	453
G		Jamaica, notes on, Marshall	423, 476	Manifest destiny, 1947, Kirchwey (editorial)	317
Gamblers with destiny, Levin	201			Marshall, George C.	
Georgia:		K		Plan (editorial)	729
Condemnation of Talmadge (editorial)	89, 233	Kelly machine, Chicago dumps, Akers	7	Marketing, Kirchwey (editorial)	758
Georgians have had enough, Mezzerik	174	Killian, James A. (editorial)	235, 411	Role in Moscow, Werth	350
Pay day in, Smith	118	Klee, Paul, work of, Greenberg	578	Secretary of state (editorial)	59
Political crisis (editorial)	141	Kolonaki and the others, Field	358	Messersmith, George S.	
Germany:		Korea, an American tragedy, Hamlin	245	(editorial)	85
Nazi plots and the Russian zone, Carmichael	120			Braden or, Bendiner	116
Cancer spot of Europe, Sternberg	146	L		Middle east: Back stage in the Persian the-	
Cartels and AMG, Lobbenberg	299	Labor:		atre, Roth	514
Hoover report, (editorial)	261	Coalition in Holland, Niebuhr	447	Miro, Joan, work of, Greenberg	601
Monument to Hitler, Boyle	417	House divided, Baldinger	238	Monnet Plan, financing, Hutchison	631
Nazi plots and French plans, Alvarez del		Pains of Senator Taft, Baldinger	238	Montgomery, Alexander, in Moscow, Werth	68
Vayo	266	"Time is money," Mezzerik	121	Monument to Hitler, Boyle	417
Socialization in (editorial)	144	Voices without smiles, Eulau	392	Moore, Henry, art of, Greenberg	164
Soviet politics in, Carmichael	42	What's ahead for? Baldinger	5	Moore Conference	
Will Russia stay in? Carmichael	9	Lance, Gaston, work of, Greenberg	195	"American question," Werth	624
Great Britain:		Land without conflict, Gumpert	365	Clash at Moscow, Werth	413
Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942 (editorial)	113	Landlords' field day, Wechsler	175	Failure of (editorial)	465
Arab League and (editorial)	599	Latin America, reaction in, Alvarez del Vayo	687	Marshall's role in Moscow, Werth	350
Bad news for British Tories, Vallance	92	Legislation:		Moscow overture, Werth	294
Bevin, Ernest, see Bevin, Ernest		Housing bill, we need a better, Abrams	562	Powers at (editorial)	264
Britain's emergency, Vallance	203	Stratton bill, E	674	Two worlds in Moscow, Werth	322
Burmese delegation agreement (editorial)	142	"Let the people eat chops," Gedye	209	Where do we go from? Werth	507
Coral crisis (editorial)	197	Letters:		Motion pictures, Agee	
Colonial socialism, Hutchison	249	Advice on tactics, Duncan	499	"Adventures, the"	339
Labels in (editorial)	115	Beloved gentlemen, Perlez	780	"Angel and the Bad Man"	339
Dalton, Hugh, and Mr. Micawber, Vallance	512	Building codes vs. progress, Green	167	"Before Him All Rome Trembled"	340
Future of empire (editorial)	4	Bund offshoot? Sheldon	287	"Beginning or the End"	259
How deep is Britain's crisis, Vallance	297	Callou, callay for Harry, Buchan	751	"Blaze of Noon"	340
Inquest on the British press, Vallance	451	Catholic deny it, Lewis	527	"Boomerang"	340
Labor government (editorial)	58	Challenge . . . and a response, Somerville;	554	"Cage of Nightingales"	340
Labor's pledges on Palestine	600	Hook		"Captive Heart"	553
Socialism begins at home, Alvarez del		Chinese writers, aid for, Carmer et al.	111	"Carnegie Hall"	553
Vayo	247	Common sense for peace, Williams	195	"Carnival in Costa Rica"	553
Without empire, Laski	353, 415	Compromise on method, Schwartz	195	Catholics and Hollywood	183
Great Britain:		Crane documents wanted, Remords	298	"Children of Paradise"	553
American reciprocity (editorial)	289	Digging out the truth, Yale University Press	69	"Egg and I"	553
Common sense for, Williams (letters)	696	Distorted picture, Quinn	195	"Farmer's Daughter"	433
Greek frontier, Poulos	620	Long Dubois paragon, Apteker	463	"It Happened in Brooklyn"	433
Kolonaki and the others, Field	358	Ethical protest, Trilling	111	"Ivan the Terrible"	495
Meet your Greek allies, Poulos	761	Everybody's battle, Robbins	111	Man's Hope	134
To the Greeks, bearing gifts, Kirchwey	356	Friends from Britain, Bird	752	"Monsieur Verdox"	551, 665, 723, 749
What America could do in, Poulos	356	From Paris, Clark	152	Movies in 1946	108
Why Greeks go left, Hutchison	364	German peace movement, Valettin	166	23 Rue Madeleine	69
Gromyko, Andrei, contra mundum (editorial)	292	Health bill's limitations, Davis	315	"Zéro de Conduite"	553
		How to do it, Holborn	167	Mountbatten's task in India, Rao	394
H		In Rhee's defense, Oliver	407	Mufti's henchmen—a who's who (editorial)	561
Harris, James (editorial)	263	In the face of reality, Schwartz	315	Mugwumps in action, Kirchwey (editorial)	61
Haskell, William H., memo to (editorial)	59	Insult to Isherwood? Laughlin	101	Murray, Philip (editorial)	263
Health, public: Cushing health plan, the,		Is good prose a crime? Goldin	167	Music, Haggin:	
Gumpert	127	Rust for the record, Ayers	780	Balanche	54
Holland, labor coalition in, Niebuhr	411	Lamb or falcon? Martin	752	Ballet Society's presentation	259
Hollywood, see Motion pictures		Laski trial, the, McIvor	27	Bigotry in B-flat, Sutton	768
Homeless America, Abrams	15	Liberated attitudes, Yarmon	615	Iron and analysis seminars	579
Hoover, Herbert, report on Germany (editorial)	261	Life of de Leon, Lazarus	640	German musicologists	378

N	Progressives: Mugwumps in action, Kirchwey, E.....	61	Spain:	Dirty deals in.....	572
National Farm Labor Union, Baldinger.....	99		Francisco Franco: Dictator-Regent, Alvarez del Vayo.....	517	
National forests, looting, Neuberger.....	471	R	Isabelita has lost her reason, Boyle.....	628	
Naval misrule in the Pacific, Collier.....	738	Race relations:	Letter from Bilbao (editorial).....	647	
Newsprint shortage (editorial).....	87	Is your name Gonzales? McWilliams.....	Report from, Alvarez del Vayo.....	711	
Niemöller Martin (editorial).....	85	Land without conflict, Gumpert.....	Republican crisis, Alvarez del Vayo.....	211	
Noway, Russian treaty revision (editorial).....	77	Radio:	Stalag Luft, Jarrell (poetry).....	773	
Notes by the way, Marshall.....	546, 632, 689,	Broadcasters' Advisory Council, Frankel.....	Steel mills, we need more, Putney.....	94	
Notes for a new year, Kirchwey (editorial).....	374	"Cross-Section—U. S. A." Frankel.....	Stern, David J. (editorial).....	143	
O		Documentaries by CBS, Frankel.....	Stratton bill, pass the (editorial).....	674	
O'Dwyer, James (editorial).....	199	Educational programs, Frankel.....	Students, American, talk it over, Farrar.....	45	
Obituaries:		Federal Communications Commission, Frankel.....	Sudan, who should rule the Henares.....	540	
Catt, Carrie Chapman, Adams.....	330	102	Supreme Court, U.S., Ewing Township case.....	199	
Podell, David Louis.....	143	128	ruling (editorial).....	101	
Oil:		Intercollegiate Broadcasting System, Frankel.....	Surplus, famine and, Hutchison.....	101	
Crude oil politics, Hutchison.....	71	158	Sweden still the middle way, Harvey.....	101	
East and West, Hutchison.....	712	International Broadcasting Foundation, Frankel.....			
Have we enough? Hutchison.....	744	158			
Under the sign of the Flying Red Horse, Mezerik.....	509	454			
One country: Equal rights, Arnall.....	650	481			
		46			
		187			
		277			
		212			
		347			
		334			
		18			
		186			
		154			
		347			
		213			
		113			
		235			
		433			
		104			
		165			
		140			
		461			
		497			
		110			
		166			
		165			
		194			
		110			
		82			
		166			
		166			
		342, 433			
		110			
		166			
		166			
		165			
		406			
		497			
		109			
		139			
		435			
		110, 433			
		435			
		165			
		435			
		194			
		497			
		143			
		175			
		333			
		60			
		67			
		171			
		319			
		467			
		34			
		177			
		65			
		734			
		171			
		185			
		388			
		742			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			
		85			
		264			
		333			
		42			
		9			
		239			
		113			
		120			
		630			
		183			
		703			
		68			

PAGE		PAGE		PAGE	
"Egg and I".....	553	Carter, Jack, Lone Star liberals (letters)....	780	Ginger Raymond S., Wants data on Debs (letters).....	781
"Farmer's Daughter".....	433	Clark, Eleanor.....	335	Glazer, Nathan, Black anger, Sachs (R).....	222
"It happened in Brooklyn".....	433	Aerodrome, the, Warner (R).....	402	Gold, W. J.:.....	
"It's a Wonderful Life".....	193	Angelic avengers, the, Andrezej (R).....	493	Future in perspective the, Neumann (R).....	77
"Ivan the Terrible".....	495	Fyodor Dostoevsky, Lloyd (R).....	493	Refugees in America, Davie (R).....	777
"Man's Hope".....	134	Under the volcano, Lowry (R).....	335	Way of the South, Odum (R).....	574
"Monsieur Verdoux".....	551, 665, 723, 749	Wayward bus, the, Steinbeck (R).....	370	Goldberg, Arthur J., Secret missions, Zacharias (R).....	520
Movies in 1946.....	108	Clark, Michael:.....		Goldin, Judah, Is good prose a crime? (letters) 167	
"13 Rue Madeleine".....	257	Behind the Viet-Nam revolt.....	564	Goldschmidt Walter R., Alive and kicking (letters).....	84
"Zéro de Conduite".....	778	Letters from Paris.....	152	Green John, Building codes vs. progress (letters).....	167
Akers, Milburn P., Chicago dumps Kelly.....	7	Coleman, McAlister.....	634	Greenberg, Clement, art:.....	
Aptheker, Herbert, edits DuBois papers (letters).....	435	American dynasty, Tebbel (R).....	634	Bonnard, Pierre.....	53
Armstrong, Jane, Dionne centuplets.....	736	How to run coal.....	242	Cartier-Bresson, Henri, photographs.....	406
Arnall, Ellis, One country: Equal rights.....	650	Small town, Hicks (R).....	281	Chagall, Marc.....	340
Auden, W. H.:.....		Tour of Duty, Dos Passos (R).....	80	Chirico.....	340
Fall of Rome (poem).....	716	Collier, John, Naval misrule in the Pacific.....	738	Dubuffet, Jean.....	136
Some notes on D. H. Lawrence.....	482	Commanger, Henry Steele, Washington witch-hunt.....	385	Jane Street Group.....	284
Ayers, C. E., Just for the record (letters).....	780	Grossman, R. H. S., Weizmann.....	181	Klee, Paul.....	578
B					
Baldinger, Wilbur H.:.....		Crum, Bartley C.:.....		Lachaise, Gaston.....	64
Conference of the excluded.....	99	Palestine: Star or crescent? Barbour (R).....	549	Miro, Joan.....	692
Labor pains of Senator Taft.....	145	Underground to Palestine, Stone (R).....	504	Moore, Henry.....	164
Labor's house divided.....	288	D			
Republicans on the hill.....	34	Davis, H. David, Brandeis: A free man's life, Mason (R).....	48	Motherwell, Robert.....	664
What's ahead for labor?.....	5	Davis, Michael M.:.....		Painting in France, 1939-1946.....	228
Baldwin, James, Best short stories, Gorki (R) 427		Health bill's limitations (letters).....	315	Picasso's lithographs.....	405
Bardin, John Franklin, Father of the man, Davis and Houghurst (R).....	523	Medicine in the changing order, Communist front (R).....	550	Pollock, Jackson.....	137
Barnard, Harry, Recollections of Judge Tree (letters).....	781	Dean, Vera Micheles, Guide to the Soviet Union, Mandel (R).....	282	Smith, David, sculpture.....	459
Barrett, William:.....		Del Vayo, J. Alvarez:.....		Tamayo, Rufino.....	284
Kafka problem, the, Flores, ed. (R).....	23	Arabian Nights in Flushing.....	534	Van Doesburg, Theo.....	664
Kierkegaard anthology, Bretall, ed. (R).....	250	France is not finished.....	243	Watney, Anna.....	403
Barzun, Jacques, Balzac, Zweig (R).....	279	Francisco Franco: Dictator-Regent.....	517	Griffiths, Joan, Gentleman's agreement, Hobson (R).....	521
Bates, Ralph:.....		Italy on the hard road back.....	327	Guérard, Albert:.....	
Farewell to Salomika, Sciaky (R).....	78	Italy's place in the world.....	473	Am I my brother's keeper? Coomaraswamy (R).....	634
Scientists against time, Baxter (R).....	162	People's front, the.....	41, 70, 96	Aurelien Aragon (book review).....	747
Baxter, Percival, Old dilemma (letters).....	668	Perón on the march.....	658	Communitas: Means of livelihood and ways of life, Goodman (R).....	574
Bazelon, David T.:.....		Reaction in Latin America.....	687	Critics and crusaders, Madison (R).....	428
Christ stopped at Eholi, Levi (R).....	635	Report from Spain.....	711	French personalities and problems, Brogan (R).....	338
Essay on morals, Wylie (R).....	336	Spanish Republican crisis.....	211	Religion in public education, Thayer (R).....	309
How it happens, Buck (R).....	190	Vatican versus left in Italy.....	383	Rugged collectivist (letters).....	83
Touched with fire: Civil War letters and diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Howe, ed. (R).....	577	Dennison, Henry S., There isn't any business (letters).....	343	When the cathedrals were white, Le Corbusier (R).....	519
Bendiner, Robert:.....		Dunbar, Hugh, Advice on tactics (letters).....	499	With open eyes (letters).....	556
Braden or Messersmith?.....	116	Durbin, Peggy:.....		Gumpert, Martin:.....	
Civil rights—fresh start.....	536	China's dark destiny.....	150	Cushing health plan, the.....	127
Hurry up please its time, Hawes (R).....	50	Taiwan: China's unhappy colony.....	685	End of tuberculosis, the?.....	13
Inside U. S. A., Gunther (R).....	716	Terror in Taiwan.....	626	Is life insurance healthy?.....	708
Revolt in the middle.....	65	E			395
Berryman, John, Well-wrought urn, Brooks (R).....	775	Empson, William:.....		Haggin, B. H., music:.....	
Bird, Arthur H., Friends from Britain (letters).....	752	Poems, 1938-1945, Graves (R).....	403	Balanchine.....	54
Bishop, Elizabeth:.....		Selected writings of Dylan Thomas (R) 214		Ballet Society's presentation.....	259
Faustina or, Rock Roses (poetry).....	214	Engel, Leonard:.....		Form and analysis seminars.....	579
Fourth Street (poetry).....	308	Atomic energy for the millions.....	648	German musicologists.....	378
Blackmur, R. P.:.....		Revolution in warfare, Hart (R).....	748	Harvard Symposium on music criticism.....	779
In defense of reason, Winters (R).....	718	Eulau, Heinz, Voices without smiles.....	392	Koussevitzky's service to composers.....	313
Leo Tolstoy, Simmons (R).....	103	F			
Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Coleridge (R) 307		Farrar, John Curtis, American students talk it over.....	45	"Mother of Us All".....	615
Blanc-Ross, René:.....		Farrell, Charles B., Haydn: A creative life in music, Geiringer (R).....	310	New York Philharmonic crisis.....	229, 284
Prose poems from the illuminations, Rimbaud (R).....	49	Farrell, James T., This is my story, Budenz (R).....	368	Bach's "Christ lag in Todes banden".....	433
Residence on earth, Neruda (R).....	160	Field, Allen D., Kolonaki and the others.....	358	Bach's D minor Concerto.....	194
Blum, Léon:.....		Fischer, Markosha, Soviet Tartars (letters) 582		Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.....	140
Food and wages in France.....	683	Fitzgerald, Robert, Mountain lion, the, Stafford (R).....	399	Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 27 No. 2.....	491
Tragedy of DeGaulle.....	539	Fodor, M. W., Bright passage, the, Hindus (R).....	488	Beethoven's Sonata Opus 13.....	467
Bogan, Louise, Blue flower, the: Best stories of the Romantics, Kesten, ed. (R).....	159	Foreman, Clark, Reduce the cost (letters).....	315	Brahm's Second Symphony.....	139
Bolles, Blair, Can our dollars save Europe?.....	759	Frankel, Lou, In one ear:.....		Brahm's Third Symphony.....	109
Borstein, Z.R.:.....		Broadcasters' Advisory Council.....	365	Chopin's Sonata Opus 35.....	166
Berlin underground, 1938-1945, Andreas-Friedrich (R).....	721	Documentaries by CBS.....	304	Copland's "Lincoln Portrait".....	165
Germany's underground, Dulles (R).....	575	Educational programs.....	426	Debussy's "Pour le piano".....	194
Mind and death of a genius, Abrahamson (R).....	452	Federal Communications Commission.....	102	Debussy's Preludes.....	110
Mind at the end of its tether, Wells (R).....	80	FM broadcasting.....	128	Foreign recordings.....	166
Boy, Kay:.....		International Broadcasting Foundation.....	454	Gershwin's Prelude No. 2.....	166
Farewell to New York.....	271	Juvenile programs.....	481	Hamlet, Maurice Evans.....	166
Isabelita has lost her reason.....	628	Lazarsfeld survey.....	46	Handel's "Messiah".....	342, 433
Monument to Hitler.....	417	"Let the people eat chops".....	209	Haydn's Quartet Opus 74, No. 3.....	110
Bresler, Harvey:.....		Geiger, Henry, Conscience in California.....	331	Khachaturian's Piano Concerto.....	166
Reconquest: Its results and responsibilities, Albend (R).....	133	Gilson, Mary Barnett, In the face of reality (letters).....	315	"l'Oiseau de feu".....	166
Spheres of influence, Morrell (R).....	133	Goris, Robert E., Music in our time, Salazar (R).....	48	La Traviata.....	165
Brodie, Berland, Strange alliance, the, Deane (R).....	224	Gedye, G. E. R.:.....		Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro".....	406
Brooks, W., "The appeaser" (letters) 643		Disunion in Vienna.....	684	Mozart's Quartet in E flat.....	497
Buchan, John, Callow, calloy for Harry (letters).....	751	"Let the people eat chops".....	209	Mozart's sonatas.....	109
Buckman, Gertrude:.....		Geiger, Henry, Conscience in California.....	331	Mozart's Symphony K. 551.....	139
Joy, Bernanos (R).....	456	Gilson, Mary Barnett, In the face of reality (letters).....	315	Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 3.....	435
Woman of the Pharisees, Mauriac (R).....	456	WQXR programs.....	334	Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5.....	110, 435
C					
Carmichael, Joel:.....		Satire of Henry Morgan.....	212	Rimsky-Korsakov's "Russian Easter".....	435
Berlin and the Russian zone.....	120	WQXR programs.....	334	Schubert's "Schöne Müllerin".....	165
Crisis of Zionism.....	90	Satre of Henry Morgan.....	212	Sibelius's Fourth Symphony.....	435
Soviet politics in Poland.....	42	WQXR programs.....	334	Strauss's "Tod und Verklärung".....	194
Will Russia stay in Germany?.....	9	Satre of Henry Morgan.....	212	Stravinsky's "Saere du printemps".....	497
G					
Carmer, Carl, et al, Aid for Chinese writers.....	111	Hamilton, Thomas J.:.....		After UNRRA, what?.....	123
Carmichael, Joel:.....		Complicit dictator, Hoare (R).....	250	Hamlin, Will, Korea: An American tragedy.....	245
Berlin and the Russian zone.....	120	Harris, Seymour E., Those perverse Republicans.....	177	Harrow, Benjamin:.....	
Crisis of Zionism.....	90	Explaining the atom, Hecht (R).....	719	Human destiny, du Noy (R).....	282
Soviet politics in Poland.....	42	Human destiny, du Noy (R).....	282	Path of science, the, Mees (R).....	162
Will Russia stay in Germany?.....	9	Harvey, Robert, Sweden: Still the middle way.....	420	Hearst, James, Farmer pays his debts, the.....	420

Henriques, Robert, Who should rule the Sudan?	540	"Whole World Over, The"	459	O	
Hick, Albert C.	340	Wolff, Donald—Shakespeare	283		
Election day in Santo Domingo	543	"Yellow Jack"	312		
Péron's expanding empire	765	Hannah More and her circle, Hopkins (R) ..	486	O'Brien, Justin:	487
Hobart, Alice Tisdale, You can't film that! (letters)	499			Republic of silence, Liebling, ed. (R)	487
Holborn, Frank, How to do it (letters)	167			Three short novels, Vercors (R)	487
Holmes, John V., Question, a (letters)	166			O'Neal, Maude, Spoils system in action (letters) ..	83
Hook, Sidney:				Oliver, Robert T., In Rhee's defense (letters) ..	407
Challenge	554				
Soviet Philosophy: A study of theory and practice, Somerville (R)	188				
Hourani, Cecil, Record of the Arab states (letters)	55				
Howe, Irving, Portable Ring Lardner, the (R) ..	131				
Hughes, Asa M., An old disease (letters)	231				
Humphries, Rolf:					
Earth-bound, the, Lewis (R)	281				
Lady Gregory's journals, 1916-1930, Robinson ed. (R)	575				
Mainly on the air, Beerholm (R)	338				
Santa Claus, Cummings (R)	78				
Slow music, Taggard (R)	281				
Hunt, Storor B., Long not a German (letters) ..	463				
Hutchinson, Keith:					
Crude oil politics	71				
Everybody's business:					
America's world bank	425				
Are profits too high?	305				
Bethlehem's forgotten men	453				
Bridging the trade gap	659				
British budget	490				
Chessie chases the fat cats	186				
Colonial socialism	249				
"Fair trade" for whom?	518				
Famine and surplus	101				
Fighting for tariffs	17				
Financing the Monnet Plan	631				
Hogs around the sugar bowl	157				
Oil, have we enough?	744				
Oil: East and West	712				
Prayer, profits and pie	573				
Reform or bankruptcy	213				
Russia and reparations	523				
Shifting the tax burden	771				
Speak up, customers!	688				
Storm in a cocoa cup	129				
Undistributed profits	397				
Vanishing building boom	545				
Where's that buyers' market?	278				
Why Greeks go left	766				
History of Russia, Pares (R)	776				
Income: An introduction to economics, Pigou (R) ..	721				
Russia in perspective, Solovychetchnik (R) ..	726				
Struggle on the Veld, Peattie (R)	691				
United States and the Near East, Speiser (R) ..	683				
Who they behave like Russians, Fischer (R) ..	434				
I					
Iduarte, Andres, Shirt-sleeve diplomat, Daniels (R) ..	745				
J					
James, Daniel, Battle of A.V.C.	706				
James, Herbert, Our Marxist president (letters) ..	583				
Jarrell, Randall:					
Field hospital (poem)	714				
Lord Weary's castle, Lowell (R)	74				
Stalag Luft (poem)	773				
Joesten, Joachim, This burden	36				
Johnson, Harry M., Chrysanthemum and the sword, the, Benedict (R)	190				
K					
Kennedy, Stetson, Race fight strategy (letters) ..	499				
Kirchway, Frecla:					
Behind the Hungarian "coup" (editorial) ..	731				
Dollars vs. Communism (editorial)	646				
Liberals beware! (editorial)	384				
Manifest destiny, 1947 (editorial)	317				
Marketing the Marshall plan (editorial) ..	738				
Mr. Churchill's war (editorial)	439				
Mugwumps in action (editorial)	61				
Notes for a new year (editorial)	73				
Notes on power politics (editorial)	349				
To the Greeks, hearing gifts (editorial) ..	407				
U. N. and Palestine (editorial)	408				
What Americans want (editorial)	504				
Krutch, Joseph Wood, drama:					
"Alice in Wonderland"	494				
"All My Sons"	191				
"Androcles and the Lion"	25				
"Big Two, the"	338				
"Chocolate Soldier"	377				
"Craig's Wife"	256				
"Eagle Has Two Heads, the"	403				
"Fatal Weakness, the" Kelly	81				
"Importance of Being Earnest"	338				
"Little A"	140				
"Love for Love"	691				
"Parlor Story"	375				
"Story of Mary Suratt"	226				
L					
Larom, Charles, And still they laugh	479				
La Salle, Bertrand de, As a Frenchman sees us	296				
Laski, Harold J.:					
Britain without empire	353, 415				
Why does Russia act that way?	239				
Laughlin, James, Insult to Isherwood? (letters) ..	111				
Lazarus, Louis, Life of de Leon (letters)	640				
Leavenworth, Coman, Norfolk Memorials (poetry) ..	366				
Leigh, Robert D., Wayword reviewed (letters) ..	640				
Lesser, Simon O.:					
What will your dollar buy in 1947?	63				
Will business bring down prices?	442				
Levin, Carl, Gamblers with destiny	201				
Levy, Benn W., Ernest Bevin: a dramatic criticism ..	732				
Lewis, John L., Can't deny it (letters)	527				
Liebling, A. J., Free and responsible press, a (R) ..	427				
Llobenberg, George, German cartels and AMG Lowell, Robert:	299				
Bathsheba's lament in the garden (poem) ..	575				
Her dead brother (poetry)	218				
Transport to summer, Stevens (R)	400				
Lowenthal, Marvin, Behind the silken curtain, Crum (R) ..	661				
Lynd, Robert S., Coming crisis, the, Sternberg (R) ..	130				
Lyon, Jean, Chinese students the	767				
M					
MacDuffie, Marshall, UNRRA was careful (letters) ..	435				
Mallan, Lloyd, Ryder biographer (letters) ..	499				
Man, Alphon, Step forward, a (letters)	83				
Mann, Klaus, Ferdinand and Isabella, Kesten (R) ..	51				
Maritain, Jacques, At the end of the crisis, a new world ..	568				
Marshall, Margaret:					
Notes by the way	546, 632, 689, 774				
Notes on Jamaica	423, 476				
Martin, David, Lamb or falcon? (letters) ..	752				
Masaryk, Jan, To resolve a discord (letters) ..	287				
Melvor, Archibald, Laski trial, the (letters) ..	27				
McWilliams, Carey:					
Action for unity, Watson (R)	523				
Big Yankee, the, Blankfort (R)	431				
Bright spot in the West	709				
Cross and the circle, the	302				
Is your name Gonzales?	280				
Plotlers, the, Carlson (R)	132				
Southern exposure, Kennedy (R)	623				
Tacoma agreement	269				
Meyer, Gerd, Jr., Institutions and men					
Mezerik, A. G.:					
J. I. O. southern drive, the	38				
Dixie in black and white	324, 360, 448, 509, 655, 740				
Georgians have had enough	174				
"Time is money"	121				
Miles, Josephine, The Materialists: 1946 (poetry) ..	366				
Mishnau, Virginia:					
Cow-tail switch, the, Courlander and Herzog (R) ..	430				
Limón, José	110				
Mizener, Arthur:					
Innocence (poem)	47				
Noble voice, the: A study of ten great poems, Van Doren (R) ..	131				
Prefaces to Shakespeare, vol. 1, Granville-Barker (R) ..	549				
Morris, Charles, History of American philosophy, Schneider (R) ..	225				
Myers, E. D., Study of history, a, Toynebe (R) ..	455				
N					
Nagel, Ernest, Introduction to Peirce's philosophy, interpreted as a system, Feibleman (R) ..	521				
Neulberger, Richard L.:					
Curtain raises for	682				
Highballing with kilowatts	154				
Looting the national forest	471				
Nicotri, Gaspare, Same fight (letters)	751				
Niebuhr, Reinhold:					
Dilemma of modern man	205				
Labor coalition in Holland	447				
Niemöller—not a Nazi (letters)	407				
Norman, Dorothy, Requests Sieglitz items ..	315				
Noyes, Charles E.:					
Congress at the crossroads, Galloway (R) ..	161				
Lions under the throne, Curtis (R)	458				
Taxation for prosperity, Paul (R)	576				
O					
O'Brien, Justin:					
Republic of silence, Liebling, ed. (R)	487				
Three short novels, Vercors (R)	487				
O'Neal, Maude, Spoils system in action (letters) ..	83				
Oliver, Robert T., In Rhee's defense (letters) ..	407				
P					
Pence, R. W., Question of hypocrisy (letters) ..	166				
Perez, R. C., Beloved gentlemen (letters)	780				
Porter, Katherine Anne, Who will be the judge (letters) ..	640				
Poulos, Constantine:					
Greek frontier	621				
Meet our Greek allies	765				
Revolution in Eastern Europe	734				
What America could do in Greece	356				
Putney, Bryant:					
Busting the aluminum trust	273				
Republicans and the First Freedom	67				
We need more steel mills!	94				
Q					
Quinn, Herbert F., Distorted picture (letters) ..	195				
Quiroga Pla, José, Spanish intellectuals appeal (letters) ..	697				
R					
Randall, John Herman, Jr., Emily Greene Balch	14				
Ransom, John Crowe, Discovery of Europe, Rahv, ed. (R) ..	368				
Rao, Shiva:					
Behind India's crisis	704				
India comes into its own	275				
India drifts toward civil war	653				
India's hour of decision	470				
India's new destiny	125				
Mountbatten's task in India	394				
Reichenbach, Hans:					
Einstein: His life and times, Frank (R) ..	306				
Philosophy: Speculation or science? (R) ..	19				
Remords, Georges, Wants Crane documents ..	28				
Reynolds, Thomas F., Five-star foreign policy ..	626				
Robbins, J. Knowles, Everybody's battle (letters) ..	111				
Rolland, Siphra, Generous offer (letters) ..	166				
Ross, Elliott, Plea to America	352				
Rosenberg, Harold, Collected writings of Ambrose Bierce (R) ..	311				
Rosenberger, Coleman:					
Alexander H. Stephens: A biography, von Aiele (R) ..	105				
White House physician, McIntire (R) ..	105				
Rossi, Mario, Letter from Rome	742				
Roth, Andrew:					
Backstage in the Persian theatre	514				
Bag: Black gold and poverty	444				
Roussclange, A., Not the same "Nation" ..	166				
S					
Salisbury, Harrison, Year of Stalingrad, the, Werth (R) ..	519				
Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr.:					
Ally betrayed, Martin (R)	218				
Capitalism, socialism and democracy ..	489				
Schumpter (R)	161				
Frontier on the Potomac, Daniels (R) ..	161				
Selected writings of John and John Quincy Adams, Koch and Peden, eds. (R) ..	489				
Struggle for the world, the, Burnham (R) ..	398				
The House physician, McIntire (R) ..	105				
Schloss, Ezekiel, cartoon:					
Balancing act	440				
Crusaders	390				
Summer styles for Uncle Sam, 1947 ..	735				
You only lose once	25				
Schutz, B. R., Two kinds of realism (letters) ..	111				
Schwartz, Delmore, Selected poems of Kenneth Patchen (R) ..	220				
Schwartz, Eugene G., Compromise on method (letters) ..	195				
Seligman, Ben B., Economic policy and full employment, Hansen (R) ..	458				
Sheldon, James H., Bund offshoot? (letters) ..	287				
Smith, Lillian:					
Pay day in Georgia	118				
Postscript to pay day (letters)	231				
Somerville, John, Challenge	554				
Soule, George:					
Cartels in action, Stocking and Watkins (R) ..	160				
Planning and paying for full employment, Lerner and Graham, eds. (R) ..	254				
Towards world prosperity, Ezekiel, ed. (R) ..	690				
Trade of nations, the, Heilperin (R) ..	430				
Sternberg, Fritz:					
Cancer spot of Europe, diagnosis of the German problem ..	146				
250 industrial giants, the	763				

I

I. G. Farben, Sasuly (Welsh).....	746
In defense of reason, Winters (Blackmur)...	718
Income: An introduction to economics, Pigou (Hutchison)	721
Inside U. S. A., Gunther (Bendiner).....	716
Introduction to Peirce's philosophy, interpreted as a system, Feibleman (Nagel)	521

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
J		Patthen, Kenneth, selected poems (Schwartz)	220	Stocking, George W., and Watkins, Myron W., Carrels in action (Soule)	160
Jackson, Robert H., Nuremberg case, the (Vambéry)	492	Paul, Randolph E., Taxation for prosperity (Noyes)	576	Stone, J. E., Underground to Palestine (Crum)	104
Joy, Bernanos (Buckman)	456	Peattie, Roderick, Struggle on the veld (Hutchinson)	691	Strange alliance, the, Deane (Brodie)	224
K		Philosophy: Speculation or science? Reichenbach (Hutchinson)	19	Struggle for the world, the, Burnham (Schlesinger)	398
Kafka problem, the, Flores, ed. (Barrett)	23	Pigou, A. C., Income: An introduction to economics (Hutchinson)	721	Struggle on the veld, Peattie (Hutchinson)	691
Kardiner, Abram, War stress and neurotic illness (Zlatichin)	690	Planning and paying for full employment, Lerner and Graham, eds. (Soule)	254	Study of history, a, Toynebee (Myers)	453
Kennedy, Stetson, Southern exposure (McWilliams)	132	Plotter, the, Carlson (McWilliams)	280	T	
Kesten, Hermann, ed., Blue flower: Best stories and the Romantics (Bogan)	151	Poems, 1938-1945, Graves (Empson)	403	Taggard, Genevieve, Slow music (Humphries)	281
Kierkegaard anthology, Bretall, ed. (Barrett)	250	Portable D. H., Lawrence, Trilling, ed. (Auden)	482	Taxation for prosperity, Paul (Noyes)	576
Koch, Adrienne, and Peden, William, eds., Selected writings of John and John Quincy Adams (Schlesinger)	489	Portable Ring Lardner, the (Howe)	131	Tebbel, John, American dynasty (Coleman)	309
L		Prose poems from the illuminations, Rimbaud (Blanc-Roos)	49	Thayer, V. T., Religion in public education (Guérard)	407
Lady Gregory's journals, 1916-1930, Robinson, ed. (Humphries)	577	R		This is my story, Budenz (Farrell)	367
Leo Tolstoy, Simmons (Blackmur)	103	Rahv, Philip, ed., Discovery of Europe (Ransom)	368	Three short novels, Vercors (O'Brien)	483
Lerner, Abba P., and Frank D. Graham, eds., Planning and paying for full employment (Soule)	254	Raw youth, Dostoevsky (Clark)	493	Todd, Ruthven, Tracks in the snow (Sypher)	720
Levi, Carlo, Christ stopped at Eboli (Bazelon)	635	Reconquest: Its results and responsibilities, Abend (Bresler)	133	Touched with fire: Civil War letters and diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Howe, ed. (Bazelon)	577
Lewis, Janet, Earth-bound, the (Humphries)	281	Religion in public education, Thayer (Guérard)	309	Tour of duty, Dos Passos (Coleman)	578
Liebling, A. J., ed., Republic of silence, the (O'Brien)	487	Republic of silence, the, Liebling, ed. (O'Brien)	487	Towards world prosperity, Ezekiel, ed. (Soule)	690
Life and the dream, Colum (Todd)	551	Residence on earth, Neruda (Blanc-Roos)	160	Toynebee, Arnold J., of history, (Myers)	453
Lions under the throne, Curtis (Noyes)	488	Religion in public education, Thayer (Guérard)	309	Tracks in the snow, Todd (Sypher)	720
Lloyd, J. A. T., Fyodor Dostoevsky (Clark)	493	Revolution in warfare, Hart (Engel)	748	Trade of nations, the, Helperin (Soule)	430
Lord, Russell, Wallace of Iowa, the (Waring)	491	Rimbaud, Arthur, Prose poems from the illuminations (Blanc-Roos)	49	Transport to summer, Stevens (Lowell)	400
Lowell, Weary's castle, Jewell (Jarrell)	74	Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Coleridge (Blackmur)	307	Trilling, Diana, ed., Portable, D. H. Lawrence (Auden)	748
Lowry, Robert, Lord Weary's castle (Jarrell)	74	Robinson, Lennox, ed., Lady Gregory's journals, 1916-1930 (Humphries)	577	U	
Lowry, Malcolm, Under the volcano (Clark)	335	Russia in perspective, Solovyechnik (Hutchinson)	776	Under the volcano, Lowry (Clark)	335
M		S		Underground to Palestine, Stone (Crum)	104
Madison, Charles A., Critics and crusaders (Guérard)	428	Sachs, Curt, Commonwealth of art, the (Sypher)	216	United States and the Near East, Speiser (Hutchinson)	631
Mainly on the air, Beerbohm (Humphries)	338	Sachs, Wulf, Black anger (Glazer)	222	V	
Mandel, William, Guide to the Soviet Union (Dean)	282	Salazar, Adolfo, Music in our time (Garis)	48	Van Doren, Mark, Noble voice, the: A study of ten great poems (Mizener)	131
Martin, David, Ally betrayed (Schlesinger)	218	Santa Claus, Cummings (Humphries)	78	Vercors, Three short novels (O'Brien)	483
Mason, H. David, Brandeis: A free man's life (Davis)	456	Sasuly, Richard, I. G. Farben (Werner)	746	von Abele, Rudolph, Alexander H. Stephens: A biography (Rosenberger)	103
Maupassant, Guy, Woman of the Pharos (Buckman)	456	Schlechtman, Joseph, European population transfers, 1939-1945 (Vambéry)	78	von Schuschnigg, Kurt, Austrian requiem (Werner)	47
McIntire, White House physician (Schlesinger)	105	Schneider, Herbert W., History of American philosophy (Morris)	225	W	
Medicine in the changing order, Commonwealth Fund (Davis)	133	Schumpeter, Joseph, Capitalism, socialism, and democracy (Schlesinger)	489	Wallaces of Iowa, the, Lord (Waring)	491
Mees, Kenneth, Path of science, the (Harrow)	162	Sciaky, Leon, Farewell to Salonika (Bates)	78	War stress and neurotic illness, Kardiner (Zlatichin)	690
Mexico south, Covarrubias (Wildner)	336	Scientists against time, Baxter (Bates)	162	Waring, Alston, and Golden, Clinton S., Soil and steel (Stewart)	450
Mind and death of a genius, the, Abrahamson (Howe)	457	Secret missions, Zacharias (Goldberg)	520	Warner, Rex, Aerodrome, the (Clark)	333
Mind at the edge of the world, (Bower)	480	Selected poems of Kenneth Patchen (Schwartz)	220	Watkins, Myron W., Carrels in action (Soule)	160
Moorad, George, Behind the iron curtain (White)	255	Selected writings of Dylan Thomas (Empson)	214	Watson, Goodwin, Action for unity (McWilliams)	574
Morley, Sylvanus Griswold, Ancient Maya (Wildner)	663	Selected writings of John and John Quincy Adams, Koch and Peden, eds. (Schlesinger)	489	Way of the South, Odum (Gold)	574
Morrell, Sydney, Spheres of influence (Bresler)	133	Sheller, A. Life story, Blundin (Sypher)	373	Wayward bus, the, Steinbeck (Clark)	370
Mountain lion, the, Stafford (Fitzgerald)	399	Shirt-sleeve diplomat, Daniels (Iduarte)	745	Well-wrought urn, Brooks (Berryman)	773
Music in our time, Salazar (Garis)	48	Simmons, Ernest, Leo Tolstoy (Blackmur)	103	Wells, H. G., Mind at the end of its tether (Bower)	480
N		Slow music, Taggard (Humphries)	281	When Alexander, Year of Stalingrad (Salisbury)	519
Nabokov, Vladimir, Bend sinister (Trilling)	722	Small town, Hicks (Coleman)	281	When the cathedrals were white, Corbusier (Guérard)	519
Neruda, Pablo, Residence on earth (Blanc-Roos)	160	Snow, Edgar, Stalin must have peace (Bornstein)	721	White House physician, McIntire (Schlesinger)	105
Neumann, Hans, The coming crisis (Lynd)	78	Soil and steel, Waring and Golden (Stewart)	456	Why they behave like Russians, Fischer (Hutchinson)	484
Noble voice, the: A study of ten great poems, Van Doren (Mizener)	131	Solovyechnik, George, Russia in perspective (Hutchinson)	776	Winters, Yvor, In defense of reason (Blackburn)	711
Nuremberg case, the, Jackson (Vambéry)	492	Somerville, John, Study of theory and of theory and practice (Hook)	188	Woman of the Pharisees, Mauriac (Buckman)	450
O		Southern exposure, Kennedy (McWilliams)	132	World and Africa, the, DuBois (Werner)	402
Odum, Howard W., Way of the South (Gold)	574	Soviet impact on the Western world, Carr (Hutchinson)	191	Wouk, Herman, Aurora Dawn (Trilling)	630
P		Soviet philosophy: A study of theory and practice, Somerville (Hook)	188	Wylie, Philip, An essay on morals (Bazelon)	336
Palestine: Star or prescient? Barbour (Crum)	549	Speiser, E. A., United States and the Near East (Hutchinson)	631	Y	
Pares, Sir Bernard, History of Russia (Hutchinson)	776	Spheres of influence, Morrell (Bresler)	133	Year of Stalingrad, the, Werth (Salisbury)	519
		Stafford, Jean, Mountain lion, the (Fitzgerald)	399	Z	
		Stalin must have peace, Snow (Bornstein)	721	Zacharias, Ellis N., Secret missions (Goldberg)	520
		Steinbeck, John, Wayward bus, the (Clark)	370	Zweig, Stefan, Balzac (Barzun)	220
		Stenberg, Fritz, The coming crisis (Lynd)	130		
		Stevens, Wallace, Transmont (Lowell)	400		

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 4, 1947

NUMBER 1

The Shape of Things

A NEW AVALANCHE OF SUITS, BRINGING THE aggregate of claims to well over \$1,000,000,000, has pushed the "portal-to-portal" problem right to the front of the national stage, where it is taking the limelight from both labor-law revision and pending wage negotiations. Employers, facing huge potential liabilities, are almost hysterically demanding that Congress act immediately to rescue them; the unions, while moving to protect the legal rights of their members, are perhaps more than a little awed by the magnitude and complications of the issue and would not be averse to legislation that made possible a quick and fair settlement. In many quarters, the Supreme Court, whose decision in the Mt. Clemens Pottery Company case provided the basis for these multimillion claims, is being criticized for daring to repair a Congressional omission and give a commonsense definition of "working time." It is said that employers stand to be mulcted of enormous sums just because they continued customary practice in measuring working hours. The worth of this complaint must be assessed in the light of an interpretation issued by the Wage and Hour Administration shortly after the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect. "Compensable time," it declared, was "all time during which an employee is required to be on duty or on the employer's premises or to be at a prescribed work place." But even if the employers' case is weaker than their numerous friends make out, legislation is required, for reasons outlined by Keith Hutchison in these pages last week. What must be avoided is an over-hasty measure which might be declared unconstitutional and so lead to an indefinite continuation of the uncertainties that are bedeviling industrial relations. As a first step, we suggest that the Secretary of Labor call a conference of employers' and workers' organizations with a view to drafting an agreed program for recommendation to Congress.

★

HENRY WALLACE'S SPEECH AT THE MERGER convention of the National Citizens' P. A. C. and the Independent Citizens' Committee in New York last week-end set a keynote for the short-range activities of the new organization which has come out of the union—the Progressive Citizens of America. He urged sharper

definition of the liberal and conservative positions and insisted on the need for making the issues clear to the whole country. More specifically, he advocated a drive by progressives to prevent the "Republican Congress and the laissez faire big business men from leading us down the highroad of boom, bust, and war," and a simultaneous effort to capture the Democratic Party. The further objectives he outlined were general, indeed rather vague, wrapped up in the slogan "world peace, world prosperity, and world freedom." Whether the new committee can accomplish even his immediate aims and those laid down—also rather broadly—in its own program depends upon the amount of local vitality it can draw upon. It is a good omen that delegates came from all parts of the country and that the spirited discussion at the working sessions revealed plenty of independent thinking and little partisan control. The desire of the delegates to build the organization on a regional basis and from the ground up was expressed over and over. If this spirit can dominate the activities of the Progressive Citizens, the merger will be an important move toward drawing together the shattered left in America. If it lapses into a campaign and lobbying committee run from headquarters in New York, the merger will mean little. We should feel more optimistic on this point if the two national chairmen, Frank Kingdon and Jo Davidson, were not both New Yorkers.

✱

SPEAKING OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY which the Council of Foreign Ministers will try to draft when they meet in Moscow on March 10, Foreign Secretary Bevin said in a radio speech on his return from New York: "We must avoid the creation of a cesspool of cheap and half-starved labor in Middle Europe. At the same time we must insure that Germany can never again be a menace to the Allies." These two generalizations are broad enough to permit agreement among the Big Four, but their translation into practical detail is likely to be a formidable task. One problem is created by the fact that, since the end of the war, each of the four occupying powers has been building foundations for the new Germany in its own zone with little attention to what was being done in the others. We have had a good

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	1
The Eightieth Congress	3
The Future of Empire	4

ARTICLES

What's Ahead for Labor? by Wilbur H. Baldinger	5
Chicago Dumps Kelly by Milburn P. Akers	7
Will Russia Stay in Germany? by Joel Carmichael	9
The Cross and the Circle by Carey McWilliams	11
The End of Tuberculosis? by Martin Gumpert	13
Emily Greene Balch by John Herman Randall, Jr.	14
Homeless America. III. A Workable Housing Program by Charles Abrams	15
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	17
In One Ear by Lou Frankel	18

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Philosophy: Speculation or Science? by Hans Reichenbach	19
Neurosis and Lucidity by William Barrett	23
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	25
Records by B. H. Haggin	26

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 27

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 193 28

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon Literary Editor Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Tris Coffin

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellong Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

many accounts and criticisms of such activities in the western sectors, but in regard to the Russian zone rumor has too often taken the place of fact, thanks partly, though not entirely, to Russian discouragement of newspapermen. In an attempt to obtain a more complete picture, *The Nation* sent its Central European correspondent, Joel Carmichael, to eastern Germany last fall. The first of his reports, which we believe make a valuable contribution to an understanding of the issues likely to develop in Moscow, appears on page 9 of this issue.

✱

IN ROME, ONE ANTI-CLERICAL WEEKLY HAS been suppressed without court action; Ruggero Maccari, editor of another, has been convicted of "offending the religion of the state" and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Since Roman Catholicism is the religion of the state only by virtue of the Concordat negotiated by Mussolini with the Vatican in 1929, this seems rather a queer charge for a democratic Italian government to bring forward; it tends to prejudice the question of relations between church and state in Italy, which presumably is to be settled by the new constitution now under discussion in the Constituent Assembly. Feeling, possibly, that this was rather dubious ground on which to proceed, the government prosecutor made much of the alleged obscenity of the cartoons which have appeared in Maccari's and other anti-clerical magazines. That, of course, is a familiar accusation against critics of the church, and since we have not seen any of the cartoons in question, we cannot say how far it is justified. It is hardly borne out by descriptions of several that have appeared in the American press. One cartoon which figured in the Maccari trial showed a priest wringing the neck of a chicken representing Italy—a bitter political comment, perhaps, but legitimate enough in view of the Vatican's strenuous intervention in Italian elections. Another depicts a licentious friar—a subject which has always attracted satirists because of the not infrequent gap between priestly pretensions and priestly performance. If criticism of this kind is to be banned, the Italian government will have to suppress a large number of Italian classics beginning with Boccaccio.

✱

THERE IS SOMETHING RATHER PATHETIC about a teapot tempest recently brewed by another defender of another faith. Speaking for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Dr. Walter Van Kirk took to the air to lambast Eleanor Roosevelt for her syndicated remarks about Germany's Martin Niemöller. "One may applaud his bravery," Mrs. Roosevelt had written of the Lutheran pastor who is now touring the United States and lecturing under the Council's aegis, "but one can hardly applaud his attitude on Nazi politics, and I cannot quite see why we should be asked to listen

to his lectures." This, we believe, is a graceful understatement, Dr. Van Kirk's splenetic protest notwithstanding. The facts about Martin Niemöller are involved and contradictory, but they throw an extremely mottled luster upon the good pastor. Niemöller joined the Nazi Party in 1926; his later recantation was due chiefly, it would seem, to a sort of falling-out among evangelists. In the early thirties, his pastorate provided a genuine refuge for many of the hunted, and he spoke out against Nazi interference with religion until the regime clapped him into a concentration camp. He survived eight years of imprisonment only to announce publicly, after his release, that he had agreed with the Nazis in everything except their ungodliness, that he had opposed the Weimar Republic, and that his prescription for post-war Germany was an authoritarian government. This is the man who is now telling American audiences, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus," and, as Mrs. Roosevelt has so gently indicated, we think his right to impart that information may be questioned.

✱

THE POMPOUS BLUFF, THE GENIAL FRAUD, has been a classic and endearing figure since the tongue was first discovered as a weapon for petty larceny. Nowhere has the type been more appreciated than in the United States, where thousands of glib and brassy pitchmen have sold everything from the secrets of Masonry to Kickapoo Indian Snake Oil, absolutely guaranteed to cure the itch, remove gravy stains, and grow hair on an egg. It was the finest flowering of this pitchman's art, the essence of droll swindling, that was at the core of the performances of W. C. Fields and that made them unique and memorable. His billiard and golf routines and his highly perfected slapstick were enormously funny, but we feel he will not be remembered for these, or for his juggling, or even for the alcoholic voice with which he would wrathfully demand, "What contemptible scoundrel stole the cork from my lunch?" or tell his harrowing tale about traveling for three days and nights on nothing but food and water. We rather think he will live in the memory of the generation fortunate enough to see him for the artistry with which he played the childishly transparent swindler, for the way he would touch finger-tips, purse his mouth into a sickly sweet smile, and mumble pious nothings like "Ah, indeed, how true of all of us"—while carefully conning his audience for a likely shill. His was a raffish life, from the time he left home at the age of eleven after a bitter tiff with his father, through years of privation and petty pilfering, to the days when he could afford his dream house, with a magnificent pool table in the living room and portable bars equipped with quart-jars of ready-made double martinis. Like Dickens, whom he greatly admired, he embodied much of his private life in his art, and it was this that gave his work the touch of authentic genius.

The Eightieth Congress

THE frustrations of victory, as well as its fruits, are about to be gathered in by the Republicans. For fourteen years their leaders have orated on the wickedness of the Roosevelt heresies, the ineptness of long-haired bureaucrats, and the return to the American Way that would set in when the country should at last have "had enough" and voted Republican. But now that the great moment has come, the Republican Congress meets not in the spirit of crusaders arrived in the Holy Land and lusting for battle, but rather in that of reluctant warriors, suddenly grown prudent and only slightly more zealous for battle than the Good Soldier Schweik.

At this writing, it appears that the "middle way" will be the way of the Eightieth Congress. Senator Taft's insistence on having the chairmanship of the Labor Committee is reasonably interpreted as a reflection of this policy in the field of labor legislation. No one doubts that there will be curbs on labor, as there would be even if the Democrats had won; but they are not likely to be the crippling blows at trade unionism publicly dreamed of by Republican spokesmen when they were in the political wilderness. Taft himself is on record against barring the closed shop and against curbs on industry-wide bargaining, two of the most serious dangers to labor's position.

It was widely assumed that the Republicans would make short work of the President's emergency war-time powers, but here too the sentiment has shifted in favor of a go-slow policy, with Republicans who favored a big military establishment particularly fearful of putting an end to the present procurement powers of the armed services. This same big-army sentiment promises to be a brake on the party's budget-slashing program. And Representative Knutson's inequitable and inflationary plan to lower income taxes by 20 per cent already appears doomed. Even if he should succeed in jamming this across-the-board reduction through the House, G. O. P. leaders have already promised it a pigeonhole in the Senate, where feeling for a balanced budget is even stronger than a politician's natural desire to take credit for a tax cut.

Senator Vandenberg's *Wanderjahr* as Republican adviser to the Secretary of State is generally regarded as assurance against any drastic change in foreign policy. But here—as, in fact, throughout the Republican program—there are dangers beneath the surface. The Taft weight, moderate as it may be on the domestic side, is sure to be cast with those who keep their internationalism on a strictly lip-service level. It was Taft who led the fight against Bretton Woods and the British loan, and it was Taft who objected to the hanging of Göring and Company at Nürnberg. Even more serious, Taft opposed

the reciprocal-trade program. With Southern farmers now abandoning their historical support of free trade, any extension of the reciprocal system and any further lowering of tariffs will find the going rough. Yet the hopes of a democratic world rest on freer and freer trade and on getting some of this country's surplus cash into circulation abroad.

At the root of the Republicans' inhibitions with regard to the scrapping of New Deal legislation, so far a cry from the blood and thunder of their minority days, are three clearly defined factors. The first, most creditable and probably least influential, is the conviction in intelligent conservative circles that unless the Republicans display some measure of social responsibility or reasonable facsimile thereof, this may be the last fling for the free-enterprise system. It was not *The Nation* but *Barron's*, the business weekly, that recently warned Republican leaders thus:

Unless they provide good government and leadership of sufficiently high quality to command the confidence of the people in the long run, we are seeing today merely the start of a sort of Indian summer of capitalism. In that case, the next depression will bring on a far more extreme swing to the left than the New Deal ever was. . . .

On a lower level of prudence, the Republican leaders are not allowing themselves to forget for a second the elections of 1948. They know that they did get some of the labor vote in the big industrial centers last November, and they are not disposed to throw it away for the sake of pleasing the more extreme anti-unionists in industry, who will vote Republican in any case. Nor are they forgetting that, however the Presidential vote may go, the possibility of a political reverse in the Senate is far too real for comfort. Of the thirty-two Senators up for reelection in 1948, eighteen are Republicans and fourteen are Democrats. But ten of those Democrats are Southerners, sure to be returned, while only six of the eighteen Republicans come from states that are anything like as safe for the G. O. P. The Democrats need only four out of twelve doubtful Republican seats to win back the Senate.

Finally, the coming of victory has precipitated a struggle for power within the Republican ranks. And this too will act as a check on extremist legislation. We have already discussed in these pages the feuds within the party, and it is perhaps enough now to say that they have been intensified in the past week. Governor Dewey's open intervention in behalf of Charles Halleck for floor leader has forced a defensive truce between Bricker and Taft, but widened the cleavage between the Ohioans and Dewey. The resentment of the Westerners over the maldistribution of party plums has been crystallized by Hoffman of Michigan in an attack on his Eastern col-

leagues as vitriolic as any of his old-time onslaughts on the New Deal.

These internal conflicts and long-range fears may well make for moderation, as we believe they will, but moderation is not a program. It will not build houses for veterans, head off inflation, ease race relations, or otherwise improve the state of the nation. Such objectives call for constructive imagination and boldness, and of these long-hair attributes the leaders of the Eightieth Congress have yet to betray even a faint suggestion.

The Future of Empire

ACCORDING to the gloomy and embittered Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister Attlee's declaration that Burma is to be given the right of secession from the empire on the same terms as India has shorn from the Crown one more of Britain's proud possessions. M. Blum, even while employing force against the rebellious nationalists of Indo-China, has declared for the eventual independence of that colony. The Dutch Cabinet is at present seeking to transform the entire empire into a federal union, to the disgust of Dutch reactionaries. Throughout the Far East, once subject peoples are in open rebellion or have mustered such force that the West has been compelled to yield. Whether the present struggle will end in the total severance of relations between the colonial powers and their Eastern possessions or in a new style of association clearly depends upon the wisdom of the West. Military strength has ceased to be the decisive factor.

No longer do the imperial countries possess their unanimous belief in empire. It is not merely that their peoples are weary of war. The British government, struggling to transform an impoverished economy, neither is able nor desires to afford so great a diversion of man-power as would be necessary for a desperate effort to reimpose the old colonial controls. In France, the M. R. P. is the only major party that might discover in itself a sustained will to repression. Yet it knows that a prolongation of the crisis must surely strengthen the two left-wing parties, both of which, in varying degrees, are opposed to a continuance of the old system.

But while it is apparent that the rise of the left has weakened imperialism, it must also be admitted that nowhere has there been a total abandonment of old motives and techniques. The very ability of the Dutch to negotiate with the Indonesian nationalists was conferred upon them by a British army, which broke the first wave of insurrection and gave the Netherlands time to muster and transport its forces. But for that intervention the liberation movement would be far stronger today, for it would have promptly spread outward from its Java stronghold to all parts of the empire. And while the

Dutch have negotiated an agreement with the nationalist party in Java and Sumatra, they have declared it illegal in other territories.

The same reluctance can be seen elsewhere. The Burmese crisis provoked by the June strikes was only solved by the entry into the interim regime of the powerful but moderate Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League. That party is now critical of Mr. Attlee's proposal. Its withdrawal would put an end to British control in Burma, and London is well aware of the fact. The case is different in British Malaya, where racial divisions and the existence of native sultanates have checked the growth of a militant nationalist movement. Mr. Churchill's solution, embodied in the MacMichael agreements of 1945, was to compel the nine Malayan sultans to surrender their sovereignty to the British crown and so create islands of conservative resistance, as in India. That arrangement provoked so much resentment that it had to be abandoned. Nevertheless, the present plan again puts the native rulers under the control of Britain and confers upon the high commissioner the powers of veto and government by decree. Left-wing opposition in Malaya is daily growing in strength.

Open war rages in Indo-China, and the responsibility undoubtedly falls upon the French government, which has been unreasonably slow in carrying out the promises contained in the preamble to the new constitution. The situation in that Far Eastern colony is complex and obscure. The Viet Nam Party may have been unwise to demand the inclusion of southern Indo-China in one republic with the north. Yet the fear that Saigon, where something like a puppet regime has been installed, may serve as a military base for a counter-offensive is natural and justified. Nor is Viet Nam wrong in declaring that the summer conferences in Paris resulted in little more than unsatisfactory and conditional agreements. The present wave of insurrection will probably be broken, after which the Dutch pattern may be followed. Yet, in the brief run, Paris must surely yield.

If the Socialist movements of Europe fail to live up to their doctrines on colonial policy the result must be final defeat and, in all probability, total chaos in the Far East. It is a result which the more responsible leaders in the nationalist movements themselves wish to avoid. In India, the Socialist Nehru has declared that a free India would establish cooperative relations with Britain. The moderate U Aung San of Burma and the pro-Communist Ho Chi Minh of Indo-China have made similar statements, the reason for which is obvious. These leaders are not merely advocates of liberty. They are progressive men who wish to raise the living standards of their people and who know that this can only be done by maintaining trade with the West and drawing upon Western technical ability. At the same time, the European powers will suffer far less from the liquidation of their empires

if they make possible close relations, based upon liberty freely conceded, with their now rebellious dependencies.

That defines the real problem, upon the solution of which the future of a Socialist Europe in part depends. The East has thrown down its challenge not merely to the military might of the imperialist countries but to the vision and sincerity of the new political forces in Europe. The transformation of the Far Eastern scene offers a superb economic opportunity to the impoverished Western powers, all of which need the stimulus of expanding markets. By ridding themselves of the military burdens imposed by the maintenance of empires the Western peoples will be enabled to devote their resources to the real task confronting them—rebuilding their shattered economies after a new and better model.

What's Ahead for Labor?

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, December 29

A LAWYER for the National Association of Manufacturers was having a note-comparing lunch with a lawyer for the National Labor Relations Board. They got around, naturally, to labor and what the Eightieth Congress ought to do about it, starting this week, and the N. A. M. man said he had been putting a lot of thought and desk work on the subject.

One thing on his drafting board, the N. A. M. man said, was a law breaking up big-union monopoly and localizing labor-management misunderstandings. Any strike would be limited legally to a single union unit at the spot where the controversy developed; a national union would be forbidden to bring in help or to spread the walkout through other sectors of the affected industry. The NLRB man asked if that would work both ways—so the struck plant couldn't bring in strike-breakers or get other industrial aid in its time of trouble. The N. A. M. man said the point might be an interesting one, but that he hadn't got around to it yet.

The heady Republican climate down here induces such planning for domestic peace and tranquillity. Organized labor is in for it; almost anything can happen on Capitol Hill, with the repressive tenets of a revived Case bill as a moderate starter.

The N. A. M. is applauded by the press for its temperate, statesman-like, and liberal convention conduct in resolutely refusing to demand outright revocation of the Wagner act. Senator Robert A. Taft, who seems to think

WILBUR H. BALDINGER, formerly Washington correspondent for PM, is now on Newsweek's Washington staff.

most labor leaders have crypts reserved for them in the Kremlin wall, is characterized in the editorials as the sane and sober new chairman of the strategic Senate Education and Labor Committee. Wasn't he the friend of labor who last spring turned back President Truman's plan to conscript railroad strikers?

Mr. Truman himself, in his state-of-the-union message to Congress scheduled for January 6, is expected this time to give the labor question a once-over-lightly treatment and not ask for legislative specifics. He probably will suggest, however, that the government could use broader control—compulsory arbitration, say—in public-utility disputes which are damaging to the national interest. With the advice of his Cabinet the President has figured that it would be somewhat presumptuous of a Democratic Administration to try to tell a Republican Congress what to do, and that the Congress will do what it wants to anyway.

Labor itself has been curiously inert in the face of the impending onslaughts from the Hill. It has grown to take the National Labor Relations Act as a matter of course, forgetting the good old Republican years when a collective-bargaining right was something to be won with a ball bat at a picket barricade. Leaders of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. can turn out a fighting speech at the drop of a gavel or the click of a mimeograph machine, crying that hard-won gains must be held. But now is a time for earnest study and close-in lobbying.

Within labor only big, loud, aggressive Charles J. MacGowan, white-shocked president of the A. F. of L.'s big, loud, aggressive International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, has put the point publicly. His warning, a solo which did not even evoke echoes from other A. F. of L. and C. I. O. sections, was: Look, boys, we're going to get some labor legislation from the new Congress whether we like it or not. Wouldn't we be smart to do some work ourselves on legislation now, so that we will have a better chance of liking what we get?

"Let us not only express the hope but make a contribution to a thorough study of the whole industrial problem to see if it is not possible to pass legislation which will make strikes unnecessary except in very rare instances," MacGowan, who is a Republican card-carrier, wrote in the December issue of the *Boilermakers' Journal*. He deplored what he called the labor custom of "standing in the middle of the road and shouting no to all attempts on the part of even sensible people to bring about the creation of permanent and capable legislation for the adjustment of labor controversies."

Until MacGowan spoke out, no important labor figure had expressed any public interest in reviewing the lawbooks to devise measures which might be acceptable to the G. O. P. and at the same time save the Wagner act from rape—which otherwise seems as sure as the Republican invasion on January 3. President William Green

proposed to call an A. F. of L. legislative conference some time later in January, after Congress goes to work on labor. A. F. of L. Legislative Representative Lewis G. Hines, a rasp-voiced Republican, wasn't drafting any suggestions for the lawmakers; he thought A. F. of L. General Counsel Joseph A. Padway might be. Padway, preoccupied with his coming defense of Lewis in the Supreme Court, said he had no ideas; that was Hines's department. The C. I. O. from Murray down was devoting its attention to wages; perhaps the National Lawyers' Guild could do something about laws.

Around the Senate Labor Committee it was figured that these would be among the minimum proposals enacted, probably with Administration support:

1. Establishment of emergency boards and arbitration procedures to handle national industrial crises in utilities—a broad category which is likely to be stretched to cover not only transportation and power but steel, coal, and communications.

2. Revision of the Wagner act to permit employers to petition for collective-bargaining elections challenging already-won representation claims by unions—a device which could keep unions in a continuing rat race.

3. Elimination of secondary boycotts by which an A. F. of L. union refuses to handle products of a C. I. O. shop, and vice versa—an indefensible practice which neither organization has really tried to stop.

4. Amendment of the Wage-Hour Act to settle the portal-to-portal pay issue—in which claims for more than a billion dollars in back overtime wages have already been filed joyously in the courts by unions.

If these four points—and no more—are put over by Congress, labor will be getting off lucky. More almost certainly will be put over: the N. A. M.'s liberalized labor program for 1947 makes the following demands:

1. Abolish industry-wide bargaining and "joint wage action" affecting more than one employer. This would rip apart the structure of A. F. of L. craft unionism as well as the C. I. O. structure of industrial unionism.

2. Ban strikes in any collective-bargaining area not directly involving "wages, hours, and working conditions." This would cover a nearly limitless area of "sympathy" walkouts and of any "feather-bedding or other work-restrictive demands."

3. Protect strike-breakers from mass picketing "and any other form of coercion or intimidation."

4. Emasculate "union-security" provisions of closed-shop contracts.

There will be earnest but lonely voices raised on the Hill by such labor students as Senator James E. Murray of Montana, outgoing Democratic chairman of the Senate committee, and Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Republican, warning Congress that extreme measures for the imposition of industrial peace may mean incitement to industrial warfare instead. The President prob-

ably can be counted on to veto any outrageous repression. The Supreme Court may have some sobering words for all hands in the Lewis injunction case. Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach and Conciliation Director Edgar L. Warren will continue, somewhat wistfully, to promote their labor-management area-conference formula for peace and good-will.

But the rampant Republican lawmakers are in a mood for making new labor laws, veto or no veto, and they'll be made. When they get going, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. may find out tardily that boilermaker MacGowan had a sensible pre-session idea. By that time it may be too late for Bill Green or Phil Murray to do much more than scream at what Congress is doing to them.

Chicago Dumps Kelly

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chicago, December 26

THE Old Guard in Chicago, the once invincible Kelly machine, has defied the adage and surrendered. It did so when it indorsed for the Democratic nomination for mayor an independent business man and civic leader, Martin H. Kennelly, who as a director of the Chicago Crime Commission has long been an active enemy of the Kelly administration.

The machine surrendered to an aroused public opinion led by the crusading *Chicago Sun* and the independent *Daily News*. But by indorsing Kennelly it was able to upset the well-laid plans of Governor Dwight Green and Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, the leaders of the Republican Party hereabouts. In consequence Chicago, for the first time in half a century, is likely to elect as its next mayor—on April 10—a vigorous fighter against the corruption which has been associated with the city's politics.

Mr. Kennelly is president of Werner Brothers-Kennelly Company, a warehouse organization, and of Allied Vans, and is a director of Wilson and Company, the meat packers. He has never been identified with liberal causes, but liberals and independents have rallied to his support, considering his election a necessary first step in ridding Chicago of machine government and the crime that has flourished under it. They look to him to provide an administration that will tackle constructively Chicago's vast civic problems—housing, transportation, clean streets, and many others. Kennelly, they hope, may do for Chicago what the late James Couzens did for Detroit.

Readers of *The Nation* may recall an article I wrote for it last spring called *The Twilight of Boss Kelly*. In that article I described the difficulties in which the



Caricature by Seligson
Mayor Kelly

Kelly machine was floundering—the exposure of its mishandling of the Chicago public schools and the increasing wrath of Chicagoans over its apparent inability to perform efficiently.

The summer passed, and in the election campaign the Kelly machine was attacked with some energy by the Republicans. On November 5 it lost some but not all Cook County offices, holding its own in the city of Chicago. The Republican leaders, however—Messrs. Green and McCormick—surveyed the results and decided that the machine, which had really only been cracked, had been

smashed. Before the official vote in the November 5 elections had been proclaimed, they announced their candidate for mayor, an obscure politician, Russell W. Root, who had served as county chairman during the campaign. The Republican City Committee immediately and obediently ratified the selection. Root, a forty-nine-year-old lawyer of little distinction, is assistant state treasurer. He was chosen, patently, because the leaders believed that a G. O. P. trend had started and that Kelly would be a push-over for anyone.

Green and McCormick undoubtedly foresaw a city administration that would go along with their plans for 1948. Had they disregarded 1948 and, concentrating upon Chicago and its needs, picked a Republican of the caliber of Kennelly, I believe that they could have looked forward to taking over the city on April 1. But they didn't. Instead, by their gross political opportunism they made a new era possible for Chicago.

The Democrats, bewildered by the November 5 results, took no immediate action but decided to follow a policy of watchful waiting, since it was not necessary for candidates to file for the February primary until early in January. While they were waiting, Chicago's independents got busy. The *Chicago Sun*, branding Root a stooge for aspiring politicians, urged that some Republican of stature enter the primary against him. The *Daily*

MILBURN P. AKERS is the principal political writer on the *Chicago Sun*.

News, noted for its political independence, took a similar position. But the Republican high command was unable to give up its dream of conquest. Root remained in the race, and Mayor Kelly, although nearing seventy-one, began to bestir himself. It looked as if Chicagoans would have to choose between Root, the creature of Green and McCormick, and Kelly, the machine boss.

The machine Democrats now appointed a committee on candidates which promptly indorsed Mayor Kelly for reelection and then offered him full support. The Mayor, in somewhat ambiguous terms, spoke of his wish to retire and said the boys should go back and reconsider. The boys—with few exceptions his faithful henchmen over the years—did. It is at this point that the political experts begin to differ. Some contend that Kelly was all along intent on retirement and planning to substitute some faithful retainer. Others are convinced that he was setting the stage to be drafted.

Whatever his real attitude, the *Chicago Sun* came out with a blistering page-one editorial saying bluntly, "Kelly Won't Do." It followed up this attack several days later with a long, documented denunciation of the Mayor's record, reciting his sins of omission and commission, and declaring plainly that if Chicago had to choose between Root and Kelly, the *Sun* would unhesitatingly back an independent in the mayoralty contest. The *Daily News* took a similar position. The Independent Voters of Illinois, a small but active group, announced that it would advise its followers to remain out of the primary contests so as to be eligible to sign petitions for an independent.

Democratic leaders were now confronted with the fact that the only editorial support Kelly, or a Kelly henchman, would get would be from the afternoon tabloid, the *Chicago Times*. The *Sun* (morning) and the *News* (evening) would be lost to them. The *Tribune* (morning) had already come out for Root, and the fifth newspaper, Hearst's *Herald-American* (evening), was an unknown factor.

Nevertheless, the machine leaders, after talking with the other ward committeemen, determined to offer the indorsement to Kelly again. Assembling at the City Hall to hear his decision, they were handed an 800-word statement in which the Mayor didn't say yes and didn't say no. More private conferences were held. William J. Tuohy, state's attorney for Cook County, whose two-year regime has been marked by utter indifference to the machine's throttle-hold upon the public schools and a willingness to let sleeping dogs lie, was tentatively suggested as the Kelly successor.

At once came blasts from the *Sun* and the *Daily News*: "Tuohy Won't Do." The two newspapers mentioned as alternative choices such independents as Major Paul Douglas, University of Chicago economist and Marine Corps hero, Martin Kennelly, and several other

Democrats known to be independent of the machine.

The ward committeemen were again interviewed by the machine leaders. And here another factor must be taken into account. Jacob M. Arvey, a lawyer and long the leader of the Twenty-fourth Ward, the most "deliverable" of all the wards, had been named chairman of the City Committee on his return from the Pacific war. Jack, as he's generally known, has become a political enigma. Always an organization man, he had grown wealthy long before the war. Above draft age, he had gone to war because he felt so strongly about the principles at stake. When he returned after five years of service, he told many persons he had a new view on life, and wished to use whatever political skills he had for a new day in Chicago.

Most people accepted the new Arvey with a grain of salt, recalling his long service to the organization and his unusual ability as a machine leader. Today various persons who are fully informed about the maneuvering that went on before Kelly and Tuohy were downed and Kennelly put up, give full credit to Arvey. Whatever his motives, Arvey told the nominating committee after Kelly and Tuohy had both been blasted out of the running that Kennelly must be named. And Kennelly, after some persuasive talk by Mr. Arvey, was.

In accepting the indorsement Kennelly maintained his independence of the machine, said he was aware, and wanted the committeemen to be aware, that many of his ideas did not coincide with theirs, and recalled the three occasions on which he had participated in political contests in behalf of candidates opposed by the machine. His stature in Chicago is such that few other than Republican partisans are concerned about his acceptance of machine support. He has also the support of avowed machine foes, such as the *Sun* and the *News*, and of many well-known liberals, including Major Douglas. So far the Communists are practically alone in questioning his selection. The Democratic organization, afflicted with defeatism after the November reverses, has indicated an intention to go down the line.

These rapid developments put Republican organization leaders in a quandary. Reports that Root would be withdrawn and the G. O. P. equivalent of Kennelly substituted circulated widely. Influential party leaders are understood to have offered support to several such Republicans, who refused to enter a contest against Kennelly. Had they been approached when Kelly or Tuohy appeared to be the likely Democratic nominee, they might have consented.

The machine, by surrendering, had taken out of the campaign the one big issue on which Republicans counted to win the victory—the machine. Simultaneously James B. McCahey, stormy petrel of the School Board, announced his resignation, effective with the ending of Mayor Kelly's term. So that issue, too, which would

have favored the Republicans, has been snatched from them.

Root, flanked by a number of Governor Green's associates and advisers, recently held a press conference and announced he was in the race to stay.

Most political observers concede Kennelly an easy victory; they believe that Root was left in the race on the theory he might as well be the sacrifice. If that is the outcome, Colonel McCormick will have demonstrated that in his new role as boss, with Governor Green, of the

Illinois Republican Party he is hardly a sensational success.

So far, the *Tribune*, taken off its editorial feet by the Kennelly candidacy, has remained mute, reporting only the day-to-day developments in its news columns. It has made no attacks upon Kennelly, and it has given Chicago one of the best jokes of the year. In printing the story of Kennelly's indorsement by the organization, the *Tribune* allowed its writer to admit that Tuohy had been removed from consideration by editorial attacks "in two newspapers."

Will Russia Stay in Germany?

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, December 15

THE obscurity which has veiled the Soviet zone of Germany for so long has lately begun to be lifted.

But our view of what is happening there has been distorted by the tendentiousness which marks the relations of the great powers. The American press in particular has used the meager data obtained as material for speculations about the aims of Soviet policy. Depressed, or exhilarated, by the relative industrial stagnation of western Germany, observers have been greatly struck by the undeniable resumption of economic activity in the Soviet zone: this has led to inflated quantitative estimates on the one hand and rather misleading political conclusions on the other.

One of the principal difficulties in determining the trend of the Soviet occupation arises from uncertainty about the proper perspective to apply. How long an occupation, that is to say, are the Russians planning for? Some light can be thrown on this question by a brief consideration of their removal of German capital equipment, about which so much has been said in Germany and abroad.

It is obvious that the amount of dismantling and transporting of factories carried out by the Russians will depend on the actual time they intend to remain in Germany. The waste of the operation, after all, is enormous—it is estimated at from 50 to 80 per cent. And in addition the removals place a tremendous strain on a

transportation system already inadequate and partially crippled by war-time destruction. Furthermore, the Russians, still suffering from their chronic shortage of technical personnel, can scarcely expect German technicians to produce efficiently in Russia under the conditions of virtual imprisonment in which they would have to work, since it would be inexpedient for the Soviet regime to allow them to participate in the privileges of its own technical caste.

The dismantling program, therefore, can be understood only in reference to the political situation; it would be senseless for the Russians to incur the immense losses inevitable in wholesale removals if they were certain of retaining control of the area for a long time. They must have first applied the policy when they had no idea how long they would stay in Germany and in consequence took, very sensibly, the attitude of the dog in the manger: even if they lost most of the value of the transported machinery, the Germans were not going to have it—or the Western powers either.

But the Russians must have changed their minds a number of times. When they first advanced into Germany in 1944, their impulse seems to have been to seize every machine they could lay their hands on and cart it off. Officially, however, this policy was terminated on May 1, 1946, and there is no doubt that the great wave of removals, at any rate, has subsided. Some industrial plants have even been brought back and are producing for reparations; in these cases, no doubt, the bottlenecks encountered in Russia proved too staggering. However, a new outbreak of dismantling and removal began during the last week in October, and was generally linked with the disastrous defeat in the Berlin elections of the Soviet-sponsored Unity Party. It seems to me that the spasmodic handling of this question indicates abrupt fluctuations of official opinion and the absence of a long-range, carefully worked-out plan. At the same time there is a great deal of evidence, which I shall present later, supporting the

JOEL CARMICHAEL, Nation correspondent for Central Europe, served during the war with the O. S. S. and the United States Navy. At the end of the war he was assigned to Army Intelligence in Berlin. This is the first in a series of articles on the Russian zone of Germany, from which Mr. Carmichael has just returned. Speaking both German and Russian fluently, he had access to information not usually open to American correspondents.

theory that the Russians now intend a lengthy and increasingly entrenched occupation.

GERMANY PRODUCES, RUSSIA CONSUMES

The purely physical effects of Russian occupation seem fairly clear. About half the total industrial capacity of the zone has been transferred to Russia, but what is left of its resources in labor and capital is being thoroughly exploited; nothing is going to waste. This accounts of course for the somewhat naively enthusiastic reports of foreign correspondents who have been taken on conducted tours. Employment is "full," in contrast to the situation in the western zones; there is even a certain shortage of labor, with extensive employment of women. The lack of raw materials has not had the paralyzing effect on production experienced in the west: coal is imported from Poland, partly in exchange for German potash, and various other raw materials, chiefly leather, wool, and cotton, are sent in by the Russians. Of German raw materials more than two-thirds is allocated to the manufacture of goods for reparations; a large portion of what remains is appropriated by the occupation forces.

It is generally admitted that between 70 and 80 per cent of all current production is sent directly to Russia; the Russians explain, quite plausibly, that part of this is taken as reparations and part as payment for the raw materials they contributed. Of the 20 per cent allocated to the Germans, the great bulk must go into the black market immediately, since very little is seen in normal channels. Some of it has been taken back again by the Russians. According to some estimates not more than one-twentieth of the goods produced actually stays in the zone for local German consumption or for barter with other zones or foreign countries.

The failure of the Soviet authorities to keep accounts of goods actually delivered to them, or at any rate to publish such accounts, has bewildered the Germans and caused frequent displays of temper in the Allied Control Council. The Germans have no notion how much they have already paid or how long it may be necessary for them to go on paying. Nor will they be in any position to contest the evaluation eventually made by the Russians.

With respect to food, though the Red Army still lives off the country, farm produce is not overtly transported to Russia. The Red Army simply has a priority on whatever is available, and since the zone as a whole is an area of food surplus—while the British and American zones are harassed by a shortage—this does not arouse too much dissatisfaction.

SOVIET GRIP ON INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The closely knit control of industry in the Russian zone, while similar to the state planning in the Soviet Union, has had exclusively short-term objectives. After production was resumed by the Russians, all establishments

employing more than ten workers were registered and instructed to draw up lists of what goods they might expect to produce in 1946 and what their requirements in raw materials would be. The facts thus obtained were then combined into a general plan by the central administration for industry. But there was no element of "reconstruction" in the plan. Its purpose was simply to exploit the available resources as efficiently as possible; it was not a project for production as in the Soviet Union but a schedule of the capacity to produce.

The economic administration of the zone is planned and directed by a central agency in Berlin, at the head of which is a German secretary of state closely supervised by the Russians. Provincial offices carry out the directives of this central administration, which is in turn under the control of the Soviet military headquarters in Karlshorst. Direct control is exercised by Moscow over factories producing for the Red Army in Russia and Germany; these are run under the supervision of joint boards of army officers and Soviet officials. Karlshorst control extends to factories taken over by individual *Länder* and provinces and now regarded as German state property. Theoretically they are supposed to have belonged to former Nazis, but the law legalizing their confiscation was framed loosely enough to apply to practically any factory. War potential, for instance, is held to cover any goods manufactured for the Wehrmacht, however innocuous.

Most key industries except food processing are to be controlled by the newly formed Soviet Industrial Corporation, which has taken over the factories the Russians once earmarked for dismantling and transfer and then decided to keep in operation on German soil. These factories have become Soviet property, and since they are expected to be shipped eventually to the Soviet Union, the corporation is regarded as an interim measure. It is the holding company for the factories under its control, and operates through a number of joint German-Russian industrial associations, each of which has charge of one industry. Textiles, chemicals, engineering, solid and liquid fuels, and public utilities are known to come within the scope of these associations.

To boil the matter down, the Soviet Industrial Corporation is a vital element in a series of widespread interlocking cartels. Although Russian plans for it are supposed to be still rather unsettled, with some divergence of opinion between Karlshorst and Moscow, there can be no doubt that the Russians have established in their zone a complex of quasi-nationalized industries which has every prospect of remaining a permanent feature of the emerging economic structure.

Among the banks confiscated by the Russians after their entry into Germany was the Garantie- und Kreditbank of Berlin, all the funds of which had been in the possession of the Russian Foreign Trade Bank. Last September this bank was reactivated with a capital of

150,000,000 Reichsmarks, and it is now controlled by three Russian directors aided by a German chief clerk. It is supposed to handle the comprehensive trade engendered by the Russian state corporations set up in the Soviet zone under the terms of Law No. 124. In addition, interzonal trade, now extremely complicated, is to be revived and simplified, and at some time in the future the bank is to act as a clearing-house for all foreign exchange.

Since the principal industrial installations in the Soviet zone are to be administered by these state corporations, and since, further, this great complex of industrial enterprises is to be consolidated for all interzonal and foreign commerce under the direction of a bank controlled by the Russian Foreign Trade Bank, it seems clear that all interzonal trade within Germany and all trade between foreign countries and the Soviet zone will become *part of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union*. It would be difficult to overestimate the eventual importance of this administrative-economic device. Superimposed on the major enterprises of the zone, it may easily serve to integrate the zone into the whole nationalized economy established since the war in the border areas of the Soviet Union, if not into that of the Soviet Union itself.

We now have a picture of how Russian economic planning, spurred by an insatiable demand for goods of all kinds and undisturbed by any anxiety about future competition—compare the British reluctance to reestablish German automobile production because of the competition it might offer to domestic makes—has enabled the Russians to turn the zone into a convenient and entirely subordinate addition to their own system of production. Those who have voiced misgivings about the resump-

tion of German productivity on so massive a scale may be reassured by the evident intention of the Soviet authorities to suck the last drop from the maimed and emasculated economic organism they have revived. In view of the facts presented above it seems extremely likely that Soviet occupation of the Russian zone of Germany will be practically permanent.

ARMAMENT PLANTS ON GERMAN SOIL

This likelihood is enormously reinforced by a development in a different sphere, namely, the incontestable production of armaments, which received such wide publicity last August. The immense effort expended by the Russians during the war to remove their arms plants beyond the Urals has now been reversed. All their present reasons for carrying on production for reparations on German soil apply equally to the manufacture of arms. Moreover, extended as it is into Europe as far as Lower Austria and Thuringia, Russia could not expect its crippled transport system to make trans-Ural production available.

The report that V-2 rockets are now being manufactured in the great German underground factories at Nordhausen and Niedersachswerfen, east of Cassel, in so far as it is simply a demonstration that Russia, like the other great powers, is keeping up its military establishment, is not particularly significant. But the fact that this plant for arms production and experimentation is located in Germany and is being operated with German technical personnel suggests that once again the Soviets are thinking in terms of a prolonged occupation. Certainly they would never evacuate the area leaving a resuscitated German government in possession of a substantial war-making apparatus.

The Cross and the Circle

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Montreal, December 26

RECENT events in Canada point to the formation of a new and, it seems at first blush, curious political alliance between the Social Credit movement of Alberta, with its marked overtones of Protestant fundamentalism, and dissident elements among the French Canadian Catholics of the Province of Quebec. Curiously enough, anti-Semitism is one of the issues upon which this incipient alliance seems to be based. Before this year

the Jews of Canada never thought that their detractors in Quebec—notably the remnants of Adrien Arcand's National Socialist Christian Party of the thirties—might possibly form a common front with the fanatical movement that had its rise in the cattle country of the West.

In the federal elections of 1945 neither the *Bloc Populaire* nor the Social Credit movement succeeded in electing any candidates in the Province of Quebec. But leaders of both parties noted that the combined vote of their nominees was sufficient in some constituencies to have elected one or more members of Parliament. As a result, shortly after the election a number of leaders of the *Bloc Populaire* visited Alberta, to address Social Credit audiences. In a spirit of reciprocity, several Social Credit leaders, including a non-French-speaker

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor of *The Nation*, is an informed commentator on the political scene, particularly in the West. His latest book is "Southern California: An Island on the Land."

ing Mormon, visited Quebec and addressed *Bloc Populaire* meetings. When a by-election was scheduled for the Pontiac constituency in Quebec this summer, neither the *Bloc Populaire* nor the Social Credit movement proposed candidates, but elements from both groups supported the nominee of a new movement, the *Union des Electeurs*. This organization was pointedly referred to as a "movement," not a party, with the accompanying explanation that the people of Quebec were against political parties in principle and wanted a movement without a formal policy or program—a movement, it was said, that would follow the mandates of the people as articulated from time to time. The nominee of the new organization, Raymond Caouette, proceeded to win the by-election in Pontiac. But once in Parliament, Caouette quickly announced that in general he would vote with his Social Credit colleagues from Alberta.

On December 23 the *Union des Electeurs* threw their candidate into the Richelieu-Verchères by-election. He was impressively beaten by the government candidate but managed to poll three times the vote of his Progressive Conservative opponent, whose party constitutes the official opposition in the federal Parliament.

An offshoot of this curious alliance—if it is, in fact, an alliance—is the newspaper *Vers Demain*, which has been published for about a year in the Province of Quebec. Copies are not available on the newsstands, and "non-Aryans" who send in \$2 for a year's subscription have their checks returned, without comment. Today *Vers Demain* claims a paid-up circulation of 70,000. I was informed, however, that its actual circulation is probably not in excess of 35,000. What makes the appearance of this sheet a matter of some general interest is that it has been consistently anti-Semitic. For example, it has just concluded the serial publication of the good old "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." *Vers Demain* is the official organ of the *Union des Electeurs*, and in the official organ of Social Credit it is referred to as "our French-language publication."

Those familiar with the background of the Social Credit movement will not be surprised to learn of its anti-Semitic tinge. Its prophet, Major C. H. Douglas, in one of his early tracts, "The Control and Distribution of Production," wrote that he was impressed with the "curiously circumstantial evidence" which, to his thinking, seemed to confirm the authenticity of the Protocols. Years later, when the forged character of the documents had been established beyond question, Major Douglas wrote in "Social Credit" that the "authenticity of the document is of little importance; what is interesting about it is the fidelity with which the methods by which such enslavement [of the world—by Jews] might be brought about can be seen reflected in the facts of everyday experience." This was also the position of Father Coughlin. In common with many movements in Canada

which have advocated new monetary systems to combat the power of "the international bankers," Social Credit propaganda has always had overtones of anti-Semitism, and the movement employs verbal and other symbols strikingly reminiscent of those which Philip La Follette made use of in Wisconsin. The principal symbol of Social Credit is the cross and the circle; members form it with their hands at public meetings.

One of the Social Credit members of Parliament, Norman Jacques, from northern Alberta, is an active, vocal, explicit anti-Semite. Last July 29 Jacques spoke at an anti-Semitic meeting in Chicago at which the chairman was Frederick Kister. Jacques has been praised by Gerald L. K. Smith as an "outstanding crusader against internationalism, communism, and Zionism," and has spread volumes of anti-Semitic material upon the records of the Canadian Parliament's deliberations. Samples of his tirades against Jews may be found in John Roy Carlson's new book, "The Plotters." Although they have been asked by the leaders of Canadian Jewry on numerous occasions to repudiate Jacques, officials of the Social Credit movement of Alberta have thus far declined to do so. Jacques, they reply, "is a sick man . . . he has heart disease . . . he may die any moment"; besides, Social Credit is a movement, not a party, and as such is unable to discipline its adherents. Yet the official organ of the movement has referred to the Nürnberg trials as "a brutal form of Jewish revenge," and has argued that the Allies should not "starve the Aryan people of Germany." I was told, in fact, that the main difference between Jacques and the other leaders of Social Credit is that he always refers to "Jewish international bankers," while his more reticent colleagues say "international bankers." Implicit in the Social Credit ideology is the distinction between "productive capital" and "predatory capital," a distinction which tends to turn into one between "Gentile" and "Jewish" capital.

Different as they are in religion and descent, the followers of the Social Credit movement in Alberta and of the *Bloc Populaire* in Quebec are alike in several respects. Both movements are conspicuously negative in character: they have been "against" nearly everything—Bretton Woods, UNRRA, the United Nations, the British, the Communists, the international bankers, the Jews, foreigners, and so on. *Thinking* in both movements is replaced by faith in a hodgepodge of nostrums. Both feed upon the discontents of the lower middle class. It is worth noting that the Catholic church has expressed no opposition to its members joining the Social Credit movement. A Social Credit-*Bloc Populaire* fusion is not essentially improbable, as witness the collaboration between Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith in the thirties. Given a period of economic depression and widespread despair, such a fusion might have great political consequences.

The End of Tuberculosis?

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

WE FIND in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of November 30, 1946, a paragraph which seems to announce the coming of one of the greatest victories of mankind. It says: "Streptomycin is an anti-bacterial agent which possesses the unique ability to inhibit the growth of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* in vivo, both experimentally and clinically. The manifestations of tuberculosis may be suppressed both in experimental animals and in man, with at least temporary retardation of the pathological processes as judged by objective criteria."

This cautious statement is based on two years of treatment of one hundred patients with various types of tuberculosis in the Mayo Clinic, one of the world's outstanding scientific institutions. Drs. H. Corwin Hinshaw, William H. Feldman, and Karl H. Pfuete had already been credited, in 1940, with being able to arrest experimental tuberculosis in guinea pigs by sulfa drugs (promin, diasone, promizole). But the clinical use of these drugs was not feasible. In 1944, after streptomycin was developed by Schatz, Bugie, and Waksman, it was tested by the newly perfected methods of the Mayo Clinic, and its superior therapeutic potentialities were recognized promptly.

Streptomycin has in recent weeks become available for civilians, but physicians need to acquire more experience with the drug before they can make full use of it. For the time being it is recommended only for those patients who do not respond to conventional therapeutic methods. Great amounts are required for the treatment of a case of tuberculosis. Toxic by-effects have been observed. The acquisition of artificial resistance to the drug is to be considered. But Dr. Hinshaw and his coworkers say, "Streptomycin is recommended for more extensive trial in treatment of many forms of tuberculosis because of definitely and consistently encouraging results."

In spite of the fully justified reservations of the Mayo physicians in regard to the immediate usefulness of streptomycin, the tremendously important fact remains that for the first time in history a drug has proved its efficacy against this scourge of man, and we can safely foresee the final extinction of the disease.

Tuberculosis has been slowly but steadily declining in this country for several decades. Simultaneously with the exciting statement in the *Journal* of the A. M. A., the November issue of the *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company says: "Through a well-coordinated and vigorous attack it should be possible virtually to eliminate tuberculosis as a cause of death in our country within a generation." The death rate from the disease in the United States has been lowered four-fifths since the turn of the century—from about 200 to about 40 per 100,000. "In large areas of the country the tuberculosis problem has already been reduced to almost negligible proportions." In five states the death rate has dropped to well below 20 per 100,000: in Utah, where it is lowest, it is only 12. Forty-three states had a tuberculosis death rate under 50 in 1944; only twenty states were in this category in 1934.

There are various reasons for this brilliant success. Facilities for detecting existing cases in the early stages have multiplied. X-ray tests have become routine in health examinations, and periodic check-ups have become more frequent. Military-service examinations, too, have been of benefit. Fewer active cases diminish the chances of infection. Living conditions on the whole have improved, and hygienic and nutritional standards are higher. There has been progress in medical and nursing care, and the newly organized Tuberculosis Division of the United States Public Health Service has been doing much useful work.

However, tuberculosis is by no means stamped out. Even now it takes more than 50,000 lives a year in this country. Tuberculosis is still a serious cause of disability in the most productive years of men and women. It is the principal cause of death among white females between the ages of twenty and thirty-four, and ranks second only to accidents in white males from twenty to thirty-nine. More than one-fourth of all deaths among colored males in the broad age group of ten to thirty-four years are due to tuberculosis.

The ability to extinguish, within the next ten or twenty-five years, a smoldering flame so destructive to mankind can help revive our defeated faith in the human species. Tuberculosis is now rampant in many countries, especially in war-torn Europe. If we can break the power of this infection in America, we can break it everywhere—a truly heroic goal for the community of man. A life unburdened by such a cruel disease would be a better life whatever the political future of the world.

DR. GUMPERT, a practicing physician of New York and the author of a number of books, contributes monthly articles to *The Nation* on new developments in medicine and related fields.

Emily Greene Balch

BY JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

EMILY GREENE BALCH, who together with Dr. John R. Mott was on November 14 awarded the Nobel peace prize, is the first graduate of the editorial staff of *The Nation* to receive that honor. During 1916-17 she was actively associated with Oswald Garrison Villard and other distinguished liberals in the Committee against Militarism, which carried on a vigorous campaign to prevent American entry into the war. She kept up her active opposition to the war, and in 1918 the trustees of Wellesley College, where she was professor of economics and social science, refused to renew her appointment. Despite her twenty-two years of distinguished teaching, the principle of academic tenure, already shaken by her progressive economic views, was not strong enough to withstand the war fever—though the decision was narrow and President Pendleton and all the alumnae trustees supported her. The Balch case was one of the outstanding violations of academic freedom during the First World War.

Mr. Villard, who had a high opinion of her scholarly attainments and of her accurate and discriminating judgment, seized the chance to add her to the editorial staff of *The Nation*. He and the group he had gathered about him were then at the height of their crusade for a just peace settlement that could be maintained. Miss Balch made especially valuable contributions to the International Relations Section, which was a keen weapon in this historic fight. She left *The Nation* in 1919 to take up her life work in Geneva with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In her association with the *Nation* group Miss Balch acted both as the ardent advocate of specific causes and as the informed expert bringing exact knowledge to bear on international issues. This double role was continued in her life-long devotion to the detailed problems of creating peace. In the peace movement she has been above all the practical and realistic scholar. She is conscious of the number of different channels through which men can cooperate and distrusts sweeping governmental action from the top. She has always found special promise in the international administration of matters of common interest—in various kinds of functional international "au-

thorities" or trusteeships to deal with specific problems.

In disagreement with *The Nation* of 1919 Emily Balch was a supporter of the League of Nations. From the outset she felt that even enlightened public opinion must work through existing political organizations capable of dealing with concrete political issues. With all its limitations, the League was a going concern, an instrument for dealing with a multitude of international problems. In the course of these activities the League could develop habits of cooperation that might be extended to wider political relations. This experience of the League, she recognizes, has not been lost; and the opportunity of acquiring more is the greatest promise of the United Nations. "What is needed," she pointed out last November, "is exactly the sort of thing the Economic and Social Council and the UNESCO stand for—namely, human, tolerant, elastic cooperation in which the threat of war is as inappropriate as it is in any civilized undertaking. I hope we are not going to try a federal world state, but instead a complex interweaving of functional arrangements for common interests."

In company with a remarkable group of coworkers at the Geneva headquarters of the Women's International League, Emily Balch devoted much work to specific issues of international government, in close cooperation with experts in the League Secretariat and with many European statesmen of good-will. She planned many international congresses of women and helped organize conferences on drug control, the internationalization of aviation, and above all disarmament. She undertook some ten "peace missions" to investigate problems of international tension on the spot. Her most successful one, with Paul H. Douglas in 1926 to Haiti, undoubtedly helped to bring about the withdrawal of the American occupation forces.

The Nobel peace prize, while usually given to statesmen whose official position has made it not too difficult for them to work effectively for peace, has also been bestowed on representatives of those unofficial organizations whose work has prepared the ground for governmental action. In honoring Bertha von Suttner, Jane Addams, and Karl von Ossietzky the Nobel Committee has recognized how much private citizens can contribute to the conditions for international peace.

It is interesting to note that of the three women who have won the award, Jane Addams and Emily Balch, have chosen to work through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This organization grew out of the Congress of Women held at The Hague in

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, Jr., is professor of philosophy at Columbia University. He is the author of the widely read book "The Making of the Modern Mind" and coauthor, more recently, of "Naturalism and the Human Spirit."

1915—a group of pioneers in the movement for women's rights who tried to stop the war, and almost succeeded. It has through the years enlisted the support of eminent leaders among women—Jane Addams from America, Lida Gustava Heymann, Yella Hertzka, and Gertrud Baer from Central Europe, Gabrielle Duchêne and Mme Roland from France, Helena Swanwick and Catherine Marshall from England. Like Emily Balch, most of these women have not been absolute pacifists. The Europeans have in the main been Socialists, opposed alike to war and to the social conditions that breed it. They naturally found themselves in the forefront of the fight against fascism. The prominent role played by the W. I. L. in the resistance movements, and especially in working out methods of non-violent opposition, was undoubtedly in

the mind of the Nobel Committee in honoring its international president, Emily Balch.

Miss Balch is well fitted to be a symbol of the whole body of voluntary workers for peace throughout the world. Never the narrow partisan of a single method, she has always gladly cooperated with organizations of very different shades of opinion, convinced that all are needed in the work of constructing peace and that in a pluralistic and not too centralized movement they can learn much from one another. With her dry and kindly sense of humor, her modesty, her integrity of mind, and above all with that priceless quality of spiritual intensity and vision, she has won the respect of sincere workers for peace everywhere. And in her they have all received recognition.

Homeless America

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

III. A Workable Housing Program

THE government's policy in housing has been to have no policy. Each new emergency has spawned a new proposal; each proposal has had to be shaped to suit the more vocal pressures. Fifteen billion dollars of federal commitments for housing have brought forth a maze of laws, regulations, and pronouncements that have allayed public clamor for a time, raised hopes, and in the end left the housing problem unsolved.

In treating the problem again as an emergency we only set the stage for a new emergency and speed its arrival. Mounting sales prices threaten soon to start another epidemic of foreclosures. We are assured that houses will spring up as soon as materials are available, but none that are built will be within the reach of the rank and file. Homeless veterans are becoming unmanageable. The makeshift houses now being hastily put up to meet the immediate deficit of four million dwelling units will leave us with as painful a hangover as ever followed an orgy of jerry-building.

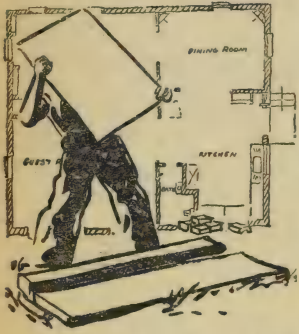
The only way the housing crisis can be met is through public building operations; yet this solution remains unmentioned and unmentionable. If local communities and the 800 local housing authorities were given the signal to build houses for veterans and others, land would quickly be purchased, mass production inaugurated, and

labor used efficiently. Plans and specifications would be integrated, parts standardized. Materials would be purchased in bulk; the complete outputs of factories would be contracted for; millions of standardized parts would be turned out on mass order. Larger self-contained neighborhoods would replace the current mushroom developments. Instead of waiting for little builders to select small sites at random, then subserviently moving into the area with costly schools, streets, and utilities, the cities could plan their growth in advance, bring new neighborhoods into being where they should be. If speculative profit were eliminated, interest reduced to the going government rate, and the amortization period extended, homes could be built at prices within reach of veterans and others in the middle-income group.

What, then, holds us back? In the main it is the acceptance of the myth that the end of hostilities means the end of the public's right to build housing. From now on, according to the myth, we must revert to pre-war practices and depend for our houses on the two-by-four builder—anything else would be socialism. Yet if fifteen months after the war's end we can prosecute John L. Lewis and his union in an effort to stop the coal strike, why do not the government's war-time powers authorize it to build houses? What stops government from building for returning veterans as it did for war workers? It has long been acknowledged that the war powers may be employed for the period of reconstruction. We are using those powers in moving temporary houses, giving premium payments to materials manufacturers, and encouraging prefabrication. Yet any official who dared suggest home building by public agencies would be automatically classed as anti-capitalist.

CHARLES ABRAMS, former counsel to the New York City Housing Authority, is author of "The Future of Housing." This article is the last of a series on the housing problem in America.

The question whether government intervention is socialist or capitalist in principle hinges upon three things: (1) whether the activity is affected with a broad general interest; (2) whether the government's action competes with private effort; (3) whether the intervention, if in



fact competition, will be only temporary, as during the war or other emergency.

The provision of decent shelter at rents returning veterans can afford, like slum clearance and low-rent housing, has long been upheld as a public function. These activities do not compete

with private effort, for the private builder will not undertake them. Even Adam Smith conceded it to be the proper function of government to build those public works "which could never repay the expense to the individual."

Judged by the most rigid criterion, namely, that it must benefit private enterprise rather than contribute to the general welfare, construction of houses by public agencies meets the test. In the building of homes the predominant private functions are not those exercised by the speculative builder but by the factories that supply the materials, the labor that puts them together, and the contractors and subcontractors who organize and superintend the work. The builder simply acquires the land and activates various private skills and agencies to create the finished product. His is usually a transient interest; his investment is small. In fact, under the arrangements set up by the Federal Housing Administration, home building has become a wholly publicly financed operation masquerading as private enterprise. If, instead of maintaining this fiction, public agencies hired the more competent builders to act as their agents, no participants in the industry would be displaced and the home buyer would get better value for his money. The stock attack on all public ventures is that they are not so efficient as private, but the private builder can hardly boast of his success. Local housing authorities, on the other hand, though they have been in existence only for a decade, must be credited with one of the best performances in the history of public operations.

A public building program would not preclude private home building for sale or rental. Some of the land assembled by a public agency could well be resold for private undertakings. Nor does public building preclude private ownership. Having built the houses, the public agency could dispose of them as the federal government has done with its war housing. The larger projects could

be sold to mutual-ownership corporations, private investors, or the tenants themselves, with preference shown to veterans.

A public building program offers the only immediate remedy for the present housing crisis, but it is not a cure-all. Other reforms must be sought concurrently. Definite long-range plans should be formulated for the rebuilding of our cities as befits our wealth, energy, and culture. All urban slums should be cleared in fifteen years and good subsidized housing provided for the displaced occupants. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill is a start in this direction and should be passed without delay. Rural slums should also be cleared and rural houses repaired through federal aid.

Home ownership must be placed on a sound basis. Well-built homes in sound neighborhoods, properly financed and carrying low interest rates, would fortify the home-ownership investment. The owner rather than the lender must be protected against fortuitous defaults. A sound mortgage system must be devised. Though our whole economic system has been influenced by the unprecedented expansion of mortgage debt, no real effort has been made to analyze the system's impact or correct its defects. Federal supervision is essential. The current unconscionable interest rates on government-insured mortgages should be reduced. Obsolete mortgage laws should be revised, foreclosure costs lessened, cumbrous procedures eliminated, persecution of owners through deficiency judgments banned. Freer competition on mortgage loans should be established and lobbying by the government-insured lending institutions prohibited.

The present G. I. Bill of Rights should be replaced by a program meeting the needs of all veterans—the farmer and the city dweller, the Negro and the white man, the able and the disabled. The current arrangement is a vicious device enabling veterans to buy homes most of them cannot keep. Local authorities should build the houses with federal aid and without profit.

Only a politically irresponsible government will put the welfare of an industry that cannot fulfil its function in society above the welfare of the people. If circumstances make it impossible for private enterprise to supply some essential of life, it is the duty of government to intervene. When private enterprise again operates adequately, then and only then is it time for the government to withdraw.

During the war the government built not only housing, directly through private contractors, but plants for war industries. It took this action because it could do the job quicker and better than private enterprise. No one considered it a challenge to our way of life. Is the logic that dictates government building in a war emergency less forceful in a post-war emergency? The bottleneck in housing production is not the materials shortage but a misconception of the function of government.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Fighting for Tariffs

AMERICAN delegates to the recent preparatory conference of the International Trade Organization encountered a good deal of skepticism about the ability of the present Administration in Washington to implement its own proposals for the freeing of world trade. How far was the United States prepared to go, representatives of other countries were apt to ask, in lowering its own tariff walls? Was it willing to plan for a permanent import balance so as to permit foreign creditors to pay their debts to America and to continue buying American goods? It was not easy to provide reassuring answers to such questions; it has become still harder to do so since the elections and the remobilization of the protectionist storm troops.

Although the tariff was in no sense involved in the elections, triumphant Republicans have been quick to claim a mandate to end the Administration's efforts to reduce tariff barriers the world over through negotiations authorized by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Senator Butler of Nebraska has written to Under Secretary of State William C. Clayton demanding a suspension of such negotiations until the Congress has "an opportunity to write a new foreign trade policy" to replace the "lame-duck" program of the government. Representative Daniel A. Reed, second ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, has drafted a bill which would deprive the President of the right to make new reciprocal agreements and call upon him to cancel all existing ones. Although it is highly improbable that such a measure could be passed over a Presidential veto, G. O. P. strategists may decide to proceed with it "for the record." If that accomplished nothing else, it would certainly hinder negotiations with other nations by underlining the unstable nature of American policy.

Meanwhile a heavy barrage of protests against lowered tariffs will be fired off at public hearings which the Interdepartmental Committee on Reciprocity is to open on January 13 in connection with negotiations with eighteen foreign countries scheduled for the spring. Early in November the government published a list of imports in regard to which tariff concessions would be considered, and invited interested parties to file briefs. The response, particularly from industries producing light consumers' goods, has been voluminous and violent. The underwear and knitgoods industry, for instance, is planning not only to resist a further reduction in duties but to demand restoration of the 50 per cent cut included in the 1939 trade agreement with Britain. In an interview with the *Journal of Commerce* Roy A. Cheney, president of the Underwear Institute, declared that they were faced with competition, not from individual British firms, but from the whole "Fascist-Socialist" government of Britain. Since underwear is definitely not on the

British government's nationalization program, Mr. Cheney's complaint is as strange as his use of a popular Communist epithet. But it suggests that in presenting their case the high-tariff boys will rely as much on appeals to prejudice as on statistics. It was ever so.

The rayon industry, supposed to be an outstanding example of the efficiency and initiative of private enterprise, is another which will plead for higher tariffs. Its brief will stress the danger of Japanese and Italian "dumping" and the strategic importance of the domestic rayon production. It will point out also that the largest American rayon manufacturer was British-owned until sold to provide war funds. Now, it will be alleged, the British are out to destroy the asset they sold to American investors.

Predictions of ruin through the competition of cheap foreign labor will also be voiced by the cotton, woolen, leather, shoe, pottery, and other industries. Growers of wool, in addition to "preparing to resist to the utmost the reported efforts of the State Department to reduce existing wool duties," will seek quota limitation of imports, according to a story in the *New York Times*. In this endeavor they can count on support from Western Senators of both parties, to the embarrassment of the Administration, which has zealously preached the wickedness of quantitative restriction of imports to foreign countries. But the hardest blow to the government's program up to date is the recent attack on it from the traditionally low-tariff South. Secretaries of Agriculture in thirteen Southern states have announced the filing of briefs with the Reciprocity Committee prophesying that if the present trade-agreements program is implemented, farmers will see crops "rotting on the land" while the railroads carry "trainload after trainload" of foreign vegetables.

This Southern manifesto calls for "a truly reciprocal" policy permitting the exchange of American farm products for commodities "which are not natural to our soil nor suited to our climate." Coffee, tea, rubber, silk, sisal, jute, and bananas are instanced as beneficial imports, but no effort is made to explore the difficulties likely to be met in persuading Brazil, a large exporter of cotton, to swap its coffee for Texas cotton.

In any case, imports of non-competitive products, whether industrial or agricultural, will not provide other countries with enough dollars to enable them to buy the goods we want to sell and pay their debts. William K. Jackson, president of the National Chamber of Commerce, said recently:

We have become the world's greatest creditor nation, and the only way we can ever hope to recover any substantial part of these credits is through the acceptance of the goods and raw materials that our debtor nations can send to us. . . . We cannot be impoverished by receiving back the equivalent of the goods or credits which we at some time sent away from our country. It is inevitable that some disadvantage will come to some industry or segment of our country, but with intelligent and sympathetic co-operation these disadvantages should prove negligible compared to the great good that will come to the greater number of our people.

Unfortunately, history proves all too plainly that in tariff matters the sum of sectional interests, multiplied by log-rolling, is normally found by Congress to be greater than the national interest.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

TEN years ago an experimental engineer named John Hogan was testing the acoustical range of a new method of high-fidelity broadcasting by playing recordings of classical music on his experimental station, W2XR, at the top end of the radio dial where the numbers run high. The average set at that time could not reach 1560 on the dial, but Mr. Hogan was flooded with mail asking for advance notice of the time when he was going to broadcast certain recorded classics. And radio repair men found that more and more people were bringing in their sets to have the dials reset so they could get W2XR.

Today some five hundred thousand people in and around New York City swear by WQXR, the station's present name, and thousands more in other parts of the country wonder why their community doesn't have a QXR. The reason for New York's singular good fortune is simply that the 10 per cent of the available audience who listen to WQXR in New York City and the vicinity amount to half a million people, enough to give the station a thumping financial success, whereas in no other community would 10 per cent of the available audience mean enough listeners to support a quality station. People in New York still want to know when their favorite music will be played, and 38,000 of them pay \$1 a year for the monthly program booklet; 1,100 subscriptions to the booklet were ordered for Christmas gifts.

WQXR, now owned by the New York Times, is the quality radio station in the country. There the listener is king, not the advertiser. There every program, sustaining or commercial, that goes on the air is written and produced by the staff; none are written or produced by an advertiser. The basic material may be furnished by the advertiser, but that is all.

WQXR knows its listeners do not like singing commercials. But if an advertiser who wants to reach the WQXR audience with a jingle is willing to let WQXR revise the jingle, the station will go to work at it. Using only the tune of the famous, or infamous, Pepsi-Cola jingle, which has been dinned into the ears of listeners on almost every station, WQXR had it done on a pianoforte, giving it a music-box quality which listeners found pleasing. When the United Fruit Company wanted to air its familiar "Chiquita Banana" jingle over WQXR, the station dropped the lyric, orchestrated the melody to sound like something by Mozart, and used it as the signature to a quarter-hour of Latin American music.



WQXR has a continuity staff of seven writers to turn out the custom-written programs and commercials; many a 50,000-watt network affiliate operates with fewer writers. It has a studio orchestra of eleven musicians; most stations have no more than six and use them infrequently. Other stations have advisory committees, but WQXR consults a committee of 4,400 listeners, half of them taken from the subscription list for the program booklet and half from persons who have written to the station. Eight times a year the station asks them to give it a going over. Their only remuneration is an invitation to the concerts given expressly for them three times a year at Hunter College by the augmented station orchestra.

On election night the station scheduled twelve spots in that evening schedules for late election returns. Care was taken not to interrupt any selection and not to break into the mood of a program; and the election data were kept brief. The advisory committee, however, would have liked more breaks for election news, and that is what the audience will get next year.

Since the Times bought the station in 1944, the advertising standards have become even more stringent than before. Newscasts are no longer sold; the Times presents the news in short four-minute takes. The station figures that if an advertiser sponsors the news, there is liable to be pressure, perhaps only enough to make a news editor cut out an item he thinks the advertiser might not like. But even that is taboo.

The Times has also discarded commentators in the belief that every commentator has some bias, and that WQXR has not enough air time to present every point of view. Instead, the station uses the forum technique, with Times staff members as moderators; for a fillip the forums are broadcast each week from a different church, temple, service or women's club. In contrast to the newsrooms of most stations, which contain a news ticker, the daily papers, and an announcer with scissors doubling as newsmen, the Times staffs the WQXR newsroom with nine editors and writers who get a copy of everything that comes in to the newspaper from its correspondents and thirty-odd news tickers.

As everyone knows, WQXR's long suit is its music, more than 50 per cent of which is classical, symphonic, opera, and chamber music, about 25 per cent the lighter classics, and about 2.5 per cent popular non-swing tunes. Newscasts take about 10 per cent of the schedule; there are no sports and only a minute amount of religious broadcasting; forums and children's, women's, and public-service programs add up to a little more than 5 per cent. With a fifty-fifty split between commercial and sustaining time, it is obvious why the "class" listening audience likes WQXR.

However, I received a postcard recently from a WQXR fan in St. Albans, Long Island, complaining that the station advertised brassières, girdles, and stock-market tips. This slight headache stems from the Times ownership of the station. Any firm that advertises in the paper, where the acceptance rules are truly rigid, is automatically acceptable to the station. The alleged stock-market tips are nothing more than the Babson Market Service, which advertises in the newspaper. The girdle advertiser is also a Times client, and the copy makes its points inoffensively. So well does WQXR know its audience that the postcard I received was the only complaint they had had about the commercials on that program.

BOOKS and the ARTS

PHILOSOPHY: SPECULATION OR SCIENCE?

BY HANS REICHENBACH

IN THE usual conception, philosophy is the construction of a system. A philosophical system is a vast aggregate of ideas covering all domains of the physical and intellectual universe: it comprises a theory of knowledge, an interpretation of the fundamentals of science, an account of the structure of the cosmos, and, on the other hand, a set of directives for life derived from some superior rules of morals or religion. The German word *Weltanschauung* is perhaps the most characteristic term for such a comprehensive philosophy.

Looking with the eyes of the unprejudiced spectator, we see immediately that a philosophy of this kind is a strange mixture of two different objectives. One is of a cognitive nature, directed toward an understanding of matters of fact; the other is of a volitional nature and intended to supply a control of the emotional attitudes of man, including both his individual and his social behavior. This dual function of philosophy dates from ancient time. In Plato's dialogues Socrates repeatedly attempts to convince his opponents of the parallelism of knowledge and ethics, of the *true* and of the *good*; and the alternative true-false has been over and again considered the analogue of the alternative right-wrong. A somewhat closer study reveals that the emphasis on such duality was usually accompanied by a very definite practical purpose, the aim of protecting ethics from doubt, of making moral laws as certain as the laws of nature or even as the laws of logic. Spinoza's system of ethics, which in its form imitates Euclid's system of geometry, is perhaps the outstanding representative of a cognitive-valuational parallelism. Kant's philosophy repeats the same theme; his "Critique of Pure Reason" was written with the intention of establishing a basis for his "Critique of Practical Reason," and his synthetic *a priori* was meant to supply a rational ground both for knowledge and for morals.

Even without entering into a logical critique of such parallelism we observe one of its most conspicuous consequences—the fact that the theory of knowledge in such a philosophy is ultimately a means for an end and therefore not developed in its own right. It is not based on specialized studies; it indulges in extreme generalities, leaving detailed analysis to other disciplines. To construct generalities not based on analysis of details, however, means speculation; in fact, it is speculation as opposed to research that has distinguished philosophy from science. Science proceeds analytically; it studies the minute detail before it proceeds to generalization. The philosopher has attempted to replace minute analysis by intuition, and has believed that there exists a direct approach to ultimate truth or rightness that does not need scientific substantiation. Radical idealists like Schelling have based a claim of superiority on the evasion of scientific

method. He calls science "blind and deprived of ideas" and insists that his philosophy trains "a new organ of vision and of the understanding of nature" capable of solving the problems which science has been unable to solve.

No wonder that the scientist felt disappointed by such philosophy, that he distrusted generalities not derived from the analysis of the detail. It is true that not all philosophers were as arrogant as Schelling and disdained the scientist; but their methods must appear pretentious to the men who compile long sets of observational data before they venture to formulate the simplest generality, and who control their inferential chains by the elaborate methods of mathematics. Helmholtz, one of those physicists whom science has led to philosophy, complains about "the impudence with which certain people who do not understand the smallest geometrical theorem judge about the most difficult problems of the theory of space, convinced of their superior wisdom." The nineteenth century has borne out the antagonism of scientists and philosophers. The high degree of technicalization to which science rose in that century has separated more strongly the scientist from the philosopher. As a result of such development, the science of our day is completely severed from philosophy. Seeing that the philosopher is unable to interpret scientific results and scientific method, the scientist has attempted to construct his own philosophy, which, though not always too successful, at least has helped him in the development of scientific theories.

The philosophical work of the scientist was taken up by a group of younger men who, trained not only in the history of philosophy but also in the mathematical sciences and mathematical logic, renounced an active participation in scientific discovery and concentrated on the elaboration of the philosophical implications of science. Disregarding the philosophical systems, they rather tried to bring into the open the philosophical undercurrents of the evolution of science, thus opening a new source which is feeding philosophy with new content and new methods of work. The introduction of scientific method into philosophy found its first expression in the clarification of the program of philosophic investigation. The cognitive branch of philosophy was separated from the valuational branch and was made the objective of careful analysis carried through with the means of mathematical logic and undertaken without any intention of finding ethical implications.

One of the foremost results of such scientific philosophy is the clarification of the nature of a question. The adage that a fool can ask more than a wise man can answer finds its logical equivalent in the distinction between meaningful and meaningless questions. A question is meaningful only if

Oxford Books

INCLUDED IN THE NATION'S LIST
OF OUTSTANDING BOOKS OF 1946

From Max Weber

ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGY

Translated, edited and with an introduction by **H. H. GERTH** and **C. WRIGHT MILLS**. A selection of newly translated writings from the work of one of Europe's greatest social scientists, with a biographical introduction, notes, and bibliography. \$6.00

★

A CRITICAL HISTORY of English Poetry

By **SIR HERBERT GRIERSON** and **J. C. SMITH**. This collaboration between two great scholars, which covers 1200 years of English poetry from Anglo-Saxon times to 1939, is designed to stimulate a sounder understanding and a deeper enjoyment of the virtues and pleasures of poetry. \$5.00

★

THE Carthaginian Peace

or THE ECONOMIC
CONSEQUENCES
OF MR. KEYNES

By **ETIENNE MANTOUX**. "Important... an intelligent, factual and illuminating appraisal of the Treaty of Versailles, and of Keynes's attack upon it, in the light of subsequent events."—*The Nation*. \$4.50

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 11

it is so asked that before we can give the true answer we at least can tell how a possible answer would look. Thus to ask for the origin of the terrestrial globe is a reasonable question, because we can imagine an answer, for instance in the form of a theory according to which the earth was originally part of the sun and then detached by centrifugal forces; whether this answer is true remains to be found out by scientific investigation. But to ask for the origin of the universe is an unreasonable question; it is meaningless because we cannot say how a possible answer would look. Any answer would make the universe the product of some other occurrence which in turn would have to be included in the universe and therefore could not be the source of the universe. A review of philosophical systems shows that many so-called philosophical questions are of the meaningless type. No wonder that a great many of the philosophical controversies are so empty and futile. The distinction between meaningful and meaningless questions is the scientific form of a criticism which common sense has always raised against philosophy. "Where concepts are missing, the word is right at hand," says Goethe. The term "metaphysics" is now often used, by its opponents, to indicate what they consider to be an empty brand of philosophy.

Not all philosophical questions are meaningless, however. Some have remained unanswered because their answer required a scientific technique which up to now had not been developed. The question of the origin of life, for instance, has found a new approach through Darwin's theory of evolution; and the near future may perhaps supply us with the proof that living cells may be constructed from inorganic matter. The question of the nature of space and time has found an answer in certain mathematical and physical discoveries, reaching a climax in Einstein's theory of relativity. We have learned to distinguish between mathematical space, a conceptual construction open to various geometrical forms, and physical space, which is part of the structure of the universe; and we know that space and time, in the physical sense, express some very general features of the physical world, such as are given in the behavior of solid bodies and light rays. Some of the answers thus supplied by science to philosophical questions have turned out to be surprising even to the scientist. Thus the question of the nature of cause and effect has found a negative answer, in that it has been shown that there exists no strict causality in the physical world, that the future is indeterminate, and that the dream of a pre-determination of the future and of a possible strict prediction of future events must forever be abandoned. Only statistical predictions are possible.

The concept of probability which thus has received a legitimate place in the system of physics has likewise turned out to be indispensable for the solution of a problem which the history of philosophy had faced for about two hundred years without the hope of a solution—the problem of the inductive inference. This problem, which found its critic in David Hume, is now accessible to an answer based on probability notions; it turns out that the procedure of inductive knowledge is more closely related to the betting of the gambler than to the rationalized conception of knowledge which so far has been the basis of philosophic investigation.

In addition to answering old questions, the philosophy

of science has learned to ask new questions of which the philosophical systems had never thought. That there is more between heaven and earth than was dreamed of in traditional philosophy has found a vivid demonstration in the results of modern quantum physics, according to which the elementary physical particles, when unobserved, behave in an irrational way, so that the world of unobserved objects cannot be constructed along the lines of macroscopic phenomena. The critique of the foundations of mathematics, furthermore, has led to the discovery of concepts incomprehensible to traditional logic. That the whole need not be larger than its part was shown in the theory of sets; that logic is not restricted to the alternative true-false but can be replaced by a multi-valued logic, which possesses more than the two truth values of truth and falsehood, was shown in mathematical logic. One of these non-Aristotelian logics, a three-value system, has been used for the interpretation of quantum physics.

Scientific philosophy is on the march, and speculative philosophy is dying, though it still supplies the major material of our instruction in philosophy. The philosophy of the systems is dying because it has no connection with the work and the achievement of the scientist. If academic philosophy is so inefficient in the education of youth, if it has no influence on scientific pursuit, the reason is to be found in its adherence to outmoded forms, in its inability to turn away from speculative creations which, in their time, may have represented necessary forms of thought but which find no application in the age of a mature science. What does it help to teach the student of science the history of philosophy as a sequence of "philosophical systems, to guide him through the philosophical museum of stuffed products of human imagination? He will learn philosophy only if it is taught in close contact with his scientific studies; if it helps him to understand the methods of his scientific work and the results of a science grown from the soil of experiment and observation. Philosophic systems will not be awakened from their paper lives if occasionally a new system becomes a literary fashion, such as existentialism in present-day France. Such injections with new verbalisms will not give new life to a dying form of philosophy.

The extension of scientific philosophy to the inclusion of the social sciences leads to great difficulties. One reason is that the social sciences are not so highly developed as the natural sciences, that they are too controversial in their methods and their results. Another reason is derived from the confusion of cognitive statements and volitional aims mentioned above. Social organization is a means to an end; but to what end it is to be adjusted cannot be found out by scientific methods because the question of the end is not of a cognitive nature. Purpose is man-made and is not derivable from the structure of the universe. We human beings set up the aims of our society; what we call a better world is a matter of volitional decision. If we stand for our decision, if we are willing to take upon us the trouble of the fight for a better world, we do so because we trust in human will. There is no such thing as "the good" in the sense of an object of knowledge. The distinction between good and bad is volitional; and to follow our decision requires confidence in our set of values but does not presuppose an adherence to cognitive truths.

COLUMBIA BOOKS

*Recommended by The Nation in
their list of Outstanding Books of 1946*

A HISTORY OF American Philosophy

By Herbert W. Schneider. In this brilliant synthesis of American thought an outstanding scholar in the field surveys the entire range of ideas developed in this country, many of which still influence our current thinking. His volume is of two-fold importance: first as a study of one segment of the general history of philosophy; second as a much needed contribution to the history of American culture. \$4.50

THE CONCENTRATION OF Economic Power

By David Lynch. "His summary and appraisal of the TNEC will be cherished by many. . . More than a ready guide to significant statistics. . . A well-woven background of the committee's origin."—*The Nation*. \$5.50

Beyond Supply and Demand

A REAPPRAISAL OF
INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS

By John S. Gambs. "An original and important book, clearly and entertainingly written."—*The Nation*. "Exceptionally broad and thorough study . . . an exhilarating and fruitful intellectual experience."—*Chicago Sun*. \$1.60

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS NEW YORK 17

HON. EUGENE P. CONNOLLY

and

DASHIELL HAMMETT

INVITE YOU TO A

TESTIMONIAL DINNER

TO

CONGRESSMAN

VITO MARCANTONIO

Friday • January 10, 1947 • 7 P. M.

HOTEL COMMODORE

Lexington Ave. & 43rd Street

S P E A K E R S

DOROTHY PARKER.....Writer
 A. F. WHITNEY.....President, Brotherhood
 of Railway Trainmen
 HON. EMANUEL CELLER.....Member of Congress
 HYMAN BLUMBERG.....State Chairman, ALP
 HON. A. CLAYTON POWELL.....Member of Congress
 ALBERT DEUTSCH.....Columnist, PM
 JOHANNES STEEL.....Commentator
 DONALD OGDEN STEWART.....Writer

Reservations may be made at:

New York County ALP, Dinner Committee
 28 Greenwich Ave., New York 11, N. Y. • ORchard 4-1041

\$10.00 per person

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE *Nation*Money-Saving Magazine
Combinations

with Harpers Magazine \$8.50

You Save \$2.50

with Consumers Union \$9.25

You Save \$1.25

with Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union \$11.75

You Save \$3.75

with Free World \$8.50

You Save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to
 different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following
Nation magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

1-4-47

Only the relation between ends and means is of a cognitive nature. From the higher aim we derive the subordinate aim: that war is not good if we want the greatest happiness of the greatest number is demonstrable by cognitive means. Fortunately the volitional aims of human beings are not so very different, and a great deal of political controversy is therefore of a cognitive nature. Thus the question whether state ownership of the means of production should be demanded is of a cognitive nature for all those who pursue a democratic aim. That the answer is so difficult results from the fact that the science of sociology is still in its beginnings. But the philosopher should at least point out where cognitive relations exist, and what questions can be answered, in principle, by the social sciences.

Not all political controversies, however, can be settled by cognitive means. The proponents of the existence of a master race, for instance, cannot be shown by cognitive means to be wrong; they stand for a different aim. We do not wish to say that such aims should be tolerated, but we should know that we cannot convince our adversaries by something like logic. The different aims are represented by different social groups; which group will be victorious is a matter of social power. Our hope that the social struggle can be settled without resort to bombs and bullets is based on the fact that the majority of men prefer peaceful aims to the valuatational system of the superman.

It would be a serious mistake to call upon philosophy to be a leader in the social struggle. Ethical decisions, the maturation of will, grow from the activities of life, not from the philosopher's study. We take our set of values from the sociological environment in which we live, and we shape our decisions under the pressure of the tension between social strata, of the discrepancies between religious morals and the exigencies of life, of our necessary adjustments in our personal struggle for existence. The philosopher can help such developments by the clarification which he contributes to the struggle. But even that social function he will acquire only when his philosophy of values is as close to social life as his philosophy of cognition should be with respect to scientific knowledge. The philosophy of speculation is as unsuited for such achievement as it is in the cognitive field. Social philosophy has its future in scientific method as much as does the philosophy of knowledge. If the academic philosopher does not realize this situation, if he insists on the claim that philosophy can supply us with a system of ultimate truths and ultimate values, academic philosophy will more and more lose contact with actual life and live on only in the isolation of the philosophy departments.

Philosophers never have been lawgivers, and even the present-day colleagues of Plato. I am afraid, will not become kings. But philosophers have been, and should be, educators; and philosophic clarification of thought should help to shape the face of society in a world of industry and class movements. The path to a functional incorporation in modern civilization is open only to a philosophy which is willing to appropriate scientific methods for philosophic pursuit. Between speculation and science there is no third; the philosopher has to make up his mind, and his choice will determine whether there will be a philosophy that is an active ingredient of intellectual life.

Neurosis and Lucidity

THE KAFKA PROBLEM. Edited by Angel Flores. New Directions. \$5.

WHAT has modern literature to set beside this?" André Gide is reported to have asked at a Picasso exhibition in Paris in 1932. He was referring to the distortions, arbitrary forms, free constructions, and general departure from naturalism that are the familiar and triumphant feature of all painting we know as truly modern. His interlocutor, had he been alert, might have answered that in Franz Kafka literature had at last caught up with painting in these particular qualities of modernism. In these bold innovations in technique, his distortions, free construction, and illogical logicity, Kafka has perhaps more to offer the future novelist in the way of going beyond naturalism than any of his great contemporaries.

And perhaps it is this very novelty of his art that is chiefly responsible for the babel of critical voices we get in this not very distinguished collection of essays. Chiefly, but not altogether; for when George Woodcock declares Rex Warner to be superior to Kafka, or when Max Lerner speaks of a "wild subjectivism" in Kafka, who is, moreover, "God-drunk," or when Edwin Berry Burgum refers to "so disordered a talent," or—but why go on? The point is that we are back again in that vast modern army of whim and wilfulness that marches under the challenging banner of "Anything Goes." Such lapses aside, however, in a good many of the contributions to this book we might almost be present at a confusion of critics before the early showings of Matisse, Picasso, Klee, Miro, eagerly jostling each other and aggressively asking, "But what does it mean?"

The quick leap past the literary work to get at its meaning is precisely the great critical temptation in the case of Kafka. Two contributors, Camus and Maguy, are enough aware of this to begin by announcing that they approach Kafka's writings as constructions with their own internal characteristics as literature—though perhaps neither holds to this point of view rigorously enough. But if Kafka's work becomes merely a hurdle to be taken quickly for the meaning beyond it, the critic usually comes a cropper in one or another of two ditches on the other side: a very muddy ditch, the excessively theological interpretation; or a ditch whose water is much too insipidly thin, the exclusively or mechanically social interpretation. Max Brod, his friend and editor, who strove to see Kafka in the pattern of his own pietistic Judaism, has already made us familiar with this first interpretation, but in the present volume the most extreme and vigorous representative of the theological critics is John Kelly, who would see Kafka grounded as firmly in the rigid and elaborate "theology of crisis" of Karl Barth as Dante was in scholastic theology and philosophy! If Kafka did not read Barth, this does not seem to bother Kelly, for he proceeds to equate Barth with Kierkegaard, whom we know Kafka did read. No notice is taken of Kafka's own statement that neither Judaism nor Christianity was the door by which he entered or left existence. Kafka, we remember, began to read Kierkegaard for the parallel between their broken-off engagements. The very comparison between Kierke-

gaard and scholastic theology only serves to show how little the critic has grasped the meaning of this philosopher, the very movement of whose thought is against system, and in a certain sense against philosophy itself, and whose philosophical contribution might be summed up under his own half-jesting title, "Philosophical Scraps."

No doubt Kafka was a religious writer, but in a sense far subtler than Brod or Kelly recognizes: in the sense of consecration with which he approached the act of writing; and in his unblinking gaze at certain absolutes of existence, guilt, and loneliness he was confronting those experiences with which religions have traditionally attempted to cope by other means, by more or less elaborate systems of belief.

If Brod and Kelly are ready to receive Kafka into the fold of Zionism or Geneva, Mr. Burgum, on the other hand, is definitely the commissar purging Kafka as a proto-fascist, disordered mind and diseased personality. It might be better to pass over such an exhibition in silence, were it not that Burgum's is no isolated mind but a representative of the barbarous mentality of Stalinism which now threatens the few tattered shreds of civilization remaining in the world.

But though his critics do not hesitate to load Kafka with much more theological, metaphysical, and social baggage than the traffic can bear, there seems nevertheless to be a concerted shying away from any application of Freud to the data of Kafka's life or writings. Only Paul Landsberg in the present volume makes a legitimate use of Freud in interpreting "The Metamorphosis" as a liberation from an obsession, and rightly finds therein added reason for praising Kafka. Rudolf Vasata blithely states that Max Brod is quite right in refusing a psychoanalytic interpretation of Kafka's relation to his father—as if anyone, much less Kafka, could so easily escape his father! The applicability of Freud to him and his works, far from being a necessary diminution of his stature, may actually witness his real depth and universality. The strains of neurosis are in us all, and the fact that in those lucid hallucinations which are the stories of Kafka some of the deepest compulsions of human beings are expressed, and to that extent liberated, only renders mankind the more his debtor. What, after all, has the modern writer become but that outcast who is appointed to suffer *lucidly* for the rest of humanity?

WILLIAM BARRETT

JOIN

THE BALLET SOCIETY

GEORGE BALANCHINE, Artistic Director

LEON BAZZIN, Musical Director

Second Program:

Monday and Tuesday, January 13 and 14

Hunter College Playhouse, 117 East 44th Street

"RENARD" ("The Fox") (First U. S. Stage Performance)

Igor Stravinsky—George Balanchine—Esteban Frances

"PASTORELA" (Mexican Folk Opera) (First U.S. Performance)

Paul Bowles—Lew Christensen—Alvin Colt

RATNA MOHINI and her Javanese Court Dancers

Stravinsky's "Rossignol" and arrangements by Colin McPhee

IRIS MABRY (Young American Dancer)

"DIVERTIMENTO" (Classic Ballet) (First Performance)

Alexei Haieff—George Balanchine

Admission by subscription only

THE BALLET SOCIETY

130 West 54th Street

Phone: Circle 6-7831

JOIN THE BALLET SOCIETY AT ANY TIME

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
86th ST.
NAME: LEX.
HAMILTON
123th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RIKO

NOW

"HARBOILED DRAMA OF MURDER AND LOVE"
—N. Y. Sun

GEORGE RAFT
LYNN BARI

'NOCTURNE'

—AND—

JAMES MASON
'THEY WERE SISTERS'

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYUO
Coney Island

Queens
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 52St.

"Fluent, musical and enchanting."—N. Y. Herald Tribune

CARY GRANT
ALEXIS SMITH

In the story of COLE PORTER • with COLE PORTER songs

'Night and Day'

In TECHNICOLOR • with

Monty WOOLEY • Glancey SIMMS
Jane WYMAN • Mary MARTIN

—AND—

'I'LL TAKE MILK' • Leon ERROL

PARAMOUNT Presents

BETTY HUTTON • SONNY TUFTS

IN

'CROSS MY HEART'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

ANDREWS SISTERS

TONY PASTOR and His Orchestra

PLUS

LES PAUL & HIS TRIO

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present
"IRRESISTIBLE HUMOR."—Barnes, Herald Tribune

HELEN HAYES

—in—

'HAPPY BIRTHDAY'

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST Theat., 44th St. West of Broadway, Evenings 8:30,
Matinee: Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"JUBILANT & JOYFUL."—Brown, Sat. Review of Literature

ETHEL MERMAN

IN THE MUSICAL SMASH

'ANNIE GET YOUR GUN'

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
IMPERIAL Theatre, 43th St. West of Broadway, Evenings 8:30,
Matinee: Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30.

STAGE PLAYS

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

Smash-Hit Revue with JANE KEAN

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon
In New York—NATIONAL THEAT., 41st St. W. of B'way, Mats. Wed & Sat.

• AND ON TOUR •

BOSTON—SHUBERT THEATRE
"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

"A smash hit of
enormous pro-
portions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEAT., 43th Street East of B'way, OH 4-4236
Evenings 8:40, Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

MAX GORDON Presents

FREDERIC FLORENCE
MARCH ELDREDGE
YEARS AGO

The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON

Directed by Garson Kanin

MANSFIELD THEAT., 47th St. W. of B'way, CI 9-9056
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

"Must be seen.
... Warming,
charming
chuckling."
—Morehouse, Sun

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

JOSE FERRER IN
CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAN SHERMAN

PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON

ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON

BARRYMORE THEAT., 47th Street West of Broadway, CI 4-0390
Eves., Incl. Sun., 8:30, Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

JEAN DAIRYMPLÉ Presents

BERT LAHR

with JEAN PARKER in

BURLESQUE The FAMOUS COMEDY

By George Manker WATTERS and Arthur HOPKINS

BELASCO Theat., 44th St., E. of B'way, BR 9-2067

Evenings: 8:40, 11:20-12:40; Saturday Evenings 11:50-12:40
Matinee: Thursday and Saturday 2:40, 11:20-12:40 tax included

**Buy Your Books
through The Nation**



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside of United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESBY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IT HAS often been objected by the more serious-minded that Shaw's prefaces make his plays unnecessary. In the case of "Androcles and the Lion" he outdid even himself, for never before has a mountain of earnestness brought forth a friskier mouse. Perhaps the best way to take the play is to forget the intolerable burden of preliminary lucubrations and to accept it for what it is—a joyously irresponsible little farce entirely appropriate to the Christmas season, when even adults traditionally attempt, with greater or less success, a return to a happier childish world: That at least seems to be the mood in which the American Repertory Theater has approached the current production at the International Theater. The lion should be readily understood by a generation raised on Disney, and the big scene is made that in which two quite entrancing bullocks created by Remo Bufano ponderously pull the cart bringing Androcles's old friend to the arena where Androcles himself is awaiting martyrdom. The moral—which is chiefly that the early Christians, like the early members of every revolutionary movement, seem to their conventional contemporaries inspired by nothing except tire-some bad taste—is left clear enough, but is reduced, as Shaw himself reduced it as soon as the preface was finished, to little more than incidental importance in a divertissement which is primarily a way of leading up to the always satisfactory conclusion "and they lived happily ever after."

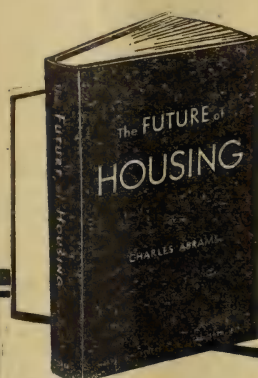
It has long seemed to me that those who struggle to resolve the paradoxes of Shaw tend to overlook, because it is so obvious, one of the most important keys—which is simply that this big bad diabolist is, as a matter of fact, so kindly and so soft-hearted that he has always found it impossible to summon sufficient implacability to write a play in which anything irreconcilably evil puts in even a temporary appearance. He blusters mightily about, for example, the Battle of the Sexes, Nietzscheism, and the Revolution. But the battle of the sexes, instead of being as in Strindberg a war of extermination, becomes merely a pleasant little sham contest in which both sides win; Nietzscheism becomes, similarly, merely an earnest determination to improve from which all ruthlessness has disappeared; and revolution

turns out to be nothing except the process of voting the rascals out. He never writes tragedy, because in tragedy someone has to get hurt; and it may even be that the absence of heart which has so often been complained of means merely that he cannot bear to create a character endowed with the organ which makes a certain kind of suffering possible.

If this is true, then "Androcles" is merely the most obvious of all the examples. The preface may treat persecution as the cruel and bloody thing which historically it was, but when the play comes to be written the author cannot bring himself to create the actual image of anything so painful. Nor is it merely that the martyrs are saved and the Romans themselves rendered likable. The very emperor himself, for all that he is presiding over a butchery, is made into a fairy-tale ogre who wouldn't hurt a flea. Obviously the author is the same man who, according to a recent news-

paper story, sent an insulting letter to a chapter of the League of Woman Voters which had asked him to autograph a book for sale. A curmudgeon would, of course have simply thrown the request into the wastepaper basket. Shaw instead plays the role expected of him and contributes a characteristic screed which, as he well knows, will sell for a great deal more than a simple autograph while at the same time it enables him to stay in character.

And has it ever been noticed, I wonder, that few if any other modern writers of repute are so completely free in their personality as well as in the characters they create from any touch of what we call—and tend to praise as—the "neurotic." That was part of the stock in trade of his immediate predecessor, Ibsen, whose originality was in no small measure connected with his exploitation of the irrational components in human character. It becomes



At last,
a
constructive
program
for better
housing

The FUTURE of HOUSING

By CHARLES ABRAMS

Author of "Revolution in Land"

"I found this—for the layman—the most interesting analysis of all the factors involved, social, economic, political, and humanitarian—of any book on the subject I have read... practical, challenging, and striking—a sound middle of the road approach between planned housing and private enterprise."—Virginia Kirkus

\$5.00 At your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS, 49 E. 33rd St., New York 16

almost the whole of Strindberg, and it is at least a *sine qua non* of most of the intellectually fashionable writers from Dostoevski through Joyce to Kafka. Yet Shaw and also Shaw's characters tend to seem—perhaps, indeed, are—not fully human because they are all so harmless, so well adjusted, and, fundamentally, so serenely optimistic in temperament no matter what opinions they profess to hold.

As a whole the present production is perhaps the most thoroughly satisfactory which the American Repertory Company has offered. Visually it is very nearly perfect and a sheer delight. Almost as much can be said for the Androcles of Ernest Truex and a great deal, if not quite so much, for Philip Bourneuf's interpretation of the role of the emperor and for Victor Jory's Ferrovius. Undoubtedly, on the other hand, something more could have been made of parts less minor than they seem in certain performances, but the general spirit of gaiety is so well maintained that it does not matter too much. Sean O'Casey's "Pound on Demand," used as a curtain-raiser, is so excessively trivial a skit that I almost forgot to mention it.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN MARCH, 1945, I published the important news of Victor's imminent resumption of production of a number of the important recordings that it had placed on the inactive list for the duration of the war. It was planning to do this because after more than two years of the Petrillo ban it had almost exhausted its reserve of new recordings; and the plan was dropped when the capitulation to Petrillo enabled the companies to resume recording, and all available plant, labor, and materials were devoted to pressing copies of the new recordings by the big-name, big-sale people.

Things like the Glyndebourne re-

cordings of Mozart's operas therefore continued to be scarce; and recently there was a rumor that Victor intended not to resume pressing the European recordings at all, but only to import HMV copies, which are much more expensive. This rumor appeared to be confirmed by the HMV copies of scarce items that suddenly appeared in almost every shop window. I therefore made inquiries—one to Victor itself, which brought me the assurance that the rumor was false and that Victor would, at a time which it could not be definite about, resume production of its pre-war catalogue.

My other inquiry went to a dealer, who wrote that he suspected the rumor originated with the large shops which specialize in importing records from England. As far as he knew Victor had given no indication of planning to stop pressing from its European masters; on the contrary, "within the past year a large number of 'connoisseurs' items were restored to the catalogue and actually pressed and delivered in limited quantities for the first time in five years." These included Mozart operas, Bach's B minor Mass, and Budapest and Busch Quartet performances; and the new-style labels and albums indicated that the sets were not from past surplus but from new production.

He also gave me the encouraging news that in recent months "as much as three-quarters of our Victor shipments have been older items many of which have long been out of stock. Columbia, on the other hand, has emphasized new releases (and rotten ones at that) at the expense of older numbers. A few months ago Columbia sent out a special fall production list devoted mainly to things which dealers were already heavily stocked on. I understand the howl was pretty loud; and in the past two weeks Columbia has been turning up with newly pressed items such as Beecham's London Symphony, Gieseking's Mozart and Beethoven recordings, the Szegedi-Flesch Bach, etc. Quantities are not large yet, but they are the first influx in five years of some of the best things in the Columbia catalogue."

And finally he added some information about the new European recordings that some of us have been wondering about. Here again commitments to the big-name performers whom Victor and Columbia have under contract, combined with insufficient production facilities, stand in the way. "From fairly reliable sources I gather that Victor does not plan to issue any of the new British releases, except Beecham's, until their

domestic artist relations are settled down. I was told that Victor definitely hopes to put out things like the French 'Pelléas,' the Italian operas, and British moderns as soon as it catches up on catalogue production. But Columbia shows no inclination to use any of the very fine things, especially chamber music, issued lately in England."

I might interrupt at this point to mention that when I inquired at Columbia a year ago whether there was any plan for rehabilitating fine recordings—like the one of Mozart's Concerto K. 491—that had deteriorated, I was told that the company's policy was to remake such recordings with the artists it had under contract. I mention this because it is part of the picture my dealer friend gives of the consequences of Columbia's "subservient artist policy," as he calls it. Thus, "Columbia has been going through the throes, apparently, of renewing the Kostelanetz-Pons contract, and its releases have been fouled up with that junk. This, plus a weirdly mistaken notion that Oscar Levant is a pianist, just about precluded the release of any first-rate Columbias for weeks. The Serkin and Lehmann records, when they have arrived, have been pitifully short in quantity."

I have the impression that Victor's artist policy has caused its releases to be fouled up with as much junk as Columbia's. And while American production facilities are devoted largely to junk, HMV is sending over its pressings of the good things—of which the English are consequently deprived—in order to get the needed dollar exchange.

On Victor's list of these importations I note the recording of Bach's "Goldberg Variations" that Landowska made in Europe a number of years ago, which is vastly superior to her new Victor recording—a finer performance on a finer-sounding harpsichord, and better recorded—and well worth the higher price. I note also the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals performance of Haydn's Trio in G Major, on two 10-inch records. But not, I notice, their performances of the Beethoven Opus 97 and Schubert's Opus 99. Is that in order not to lose Victor even a few sales of the inferior Rubinstein-Heifetz-Fuermann performances? And that reminds me to ask why Victor has never released its own recording of the Fuermann-Rupp performance of the two Beethoven sets of variations on Mozart's themes, which I know from test pressings to be two of the most marvelous ensemble performances ever put on records.

Read Your Share in the
Coming Depression
by Stuart Chase
THIS MONTH MAGAZINE

January Issue Now on Sale
THIS MONTH Magazine - 247 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Letters to the Editors

The Laski Trial

Dear Sirs: I attended the recent trial in the action brought by Harold Laski against the *Newark Advertiser and South Notts Gazette*, and it occurs to me that readers of *The Nation* might be interested in an account of the whole episode as it appeared to one observer. I shall try to set down the facts objectively, though my sympathies, political and personal, are frankly with Mr. Laski.

The incident which led to the suit occurred during the campaign preceding the General Election, when Mr. Laski spoke at Newark on June 12, 1945, for the Labor candidate, Air Vice-Marshal de Crespigny. The meeting was out of doors, in the market square, and it was a big enthusiastic one. About 1,500 people were there and no interruption occurred until the end. Just as the meeting was breaking up, a man stepped forward in the crowd and asked Mr. Laski two questions: Why had he evaded military service in the First World War, and why had he advocated violent revolution during the second? He quoted from two speeches, allegedly made in 1943, from the "Tory Speakers Handbook" issued for the election. Laski replied that the first accusation was untrue. He said that a Tory M. P., who had made the charge, had later offered him an unqualified open apology in the House of Commons. As to the second, Laski repudiated that in equally strong terms. What he had said, he told his questioner, was that unless serious popular grievances were remedied by legal means, 1789 and 1917 showed the danger of the people taking matters in their own hands and of a consequent drift to violence and revolution.

The events that followed suggested an interesting behind-the-scenes collaboration. On the Monday after the meeting the editor of the *Daily Herald* called Laski on the telephone, saying that a man named Carlton had written to the *Nottingham Guardian* of that day to the effect that he had been at the meeting and had been shocked to hear that the chairman of the Labor Party had said if "the party could not get its measures by fair means, they would get them by violent revolution." The editor also said that Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* was going to splash the

story next day; and, sure enough, most of its front page next day was full of it. It was played up much the way the Zinoviev letter was in 1924, and the savings-bank scare in 1931. Laski then took out writs for libel against these papers, the letter-writer, the *Newark Advertiser*, and the *London Evening Standard*, which repeated, in worse form, what Beaverbrook's morning paper had said. The whole maneuver followed, and was clearly intended to support, Churchill's outrageous charge about a "Socialist Gestapo." By bringing suit Laski put a stop to these libelous tactics in the right-wing press for the duration of the campaign.

The trial began on November 26 this year before the Lord Chief Justice and a special jury. The defendants requested this, as a special jury consists of people who pay rates of more than £100 a year. Laski's counsel had asked to have all the actions tried together, since he thought it could be shown that a carefully organized conspiracy for election purposes had been organized. The Chief Justice refused this and granted the plea of the defendants to have the action against the *Newark Advertiser* tried first, though it was the last in point of time. Laski was cross-examined for two hours by the defense in an endeavor to show (1) that he had said he was in favor of revolution at the meeting, (2) that all his books preached the desirability of making a revolution in Britain, and (3) that he was generally an offensive character, disowned by the Labor Party. Ten witnesses, including the Air Vice-Marshal, swore that the plaintiff had never said the words attributed to him in the report. It was shown that the *Newark Advertiser's* own reporter had no such words in his shorthand report and, at the order of his editor, had put in the words written down by the questioner, a Tory journalist who writes for the *Express*, from recollection, hours after the meeting. They had one witness who thought he heard Laski speak the words

and one who said that he mentioned revolution. Laski's counsel, in a brilliant closing speech, showed how the opposing counsel had torn words out of their context, and pointed up the astonishing fact that the editor of the accused newspaper had replaced his own shorthand reporter's account with a version fixed up by a professional Tory propagandist.

The judge summed up in a speech which sounded very correct but showed he was against Laski from the start. He never mentioned the alteration of the report or the relation of the questioner to the Tory candidate. He never discussed the evidence of Laski's witnesses. He told the jury that violence and revolution had clearly been mentioned. He referred them to Laski's writings, which had been quoted by the defense without their context, and said that the words used at the meeting, while not sufficient to sustain an imputation of treason, were certainly capable of suggesting that Laski was a man who made seditious writings and incited others to disorder. He then told the jury they must decide whether the report was true and accurate. The jury, after deliberating for forty minutes, found for the defendant with costs. This means that Laski will somehow have to meet costs in the neighborhood of twenty thousand pounds—an almost unheard-of amount.

Everyone I have talked to thinks the decision outrageous. Within a week hundreds of Labor supporters have sent money to a defense fund which Morgan Phillips, the secretary of the Labor Party, has opened to help Laski cover the costs. It is quite possible, however, that he will have to sell his house and the library he has spent his life building up.

The judge was once a Tory candidate, and apparently the jury agreed with his pretty obvious intention to hit the Labor Party through Laski in revenge for the Tory defeat in 1945. Special juries have been doing this kind of thing ever since the French Revolu-

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND! Who's On It Now?

Revealed by **ROBERT S. ALLEN**, formerly of Pearson and Allen

VICTOR RIESEL, Guest Chairman • **ROBERTS' Orchestra**

SUNDAY, JAN. 5 — 8:30 P. M.

DANCING TO 1 P. M.

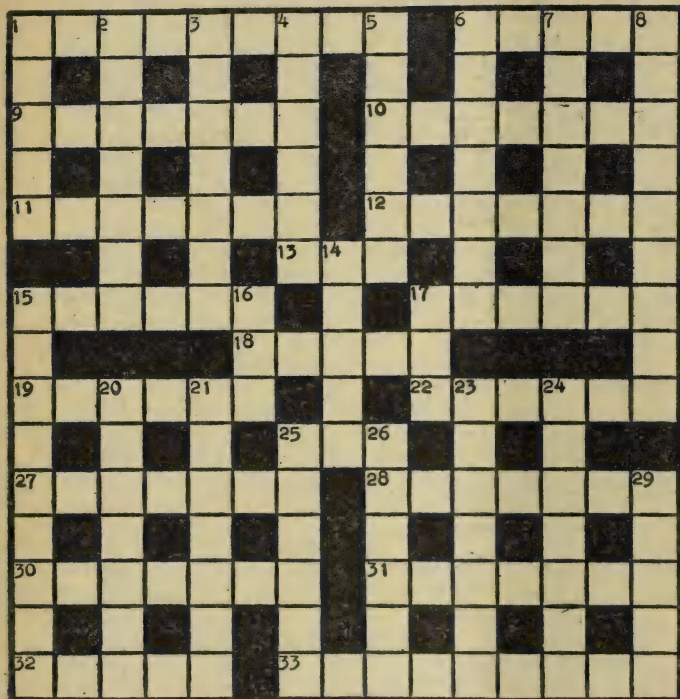
**110 West
48 Street**

**Adm. \$1.00
Tax Incl.**

**THE MODERN FORUM
MEETS EVERY SUNDAY**

Crossword Puzzle No. 193

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Game formerly known as "shuttlecock and battledore"
- 5 OGPU's predecessor
- 9 The logic of Aristotle
- 10 Where the French beast devours the German
- 11 It is spread to catch fish and crooks
- 12 Where law ends this begins, according to Pitt
- 13 In short, send out succor
- 15 Is sued for failure to find work
- 17 You may call Beatrice this, if you know her well
- 18 Played its part in old defense and modern attack
- 19 Sprite in the guise of a clergyman
- 22 Eat
- 25 A destructive insect
- 27 Don't ask for this in this famous New York store
- 28 Only way you can recall an oath
- 30 Rabbits whose ears stick out at right-angles
- 31 The bomber is its natural enemy
- 32 We all have a hand in it at some time
- 33 Gained her? But for loss of civil rights

DOWN

- 1 Made some beer for the children?
- 2 Erroneously supposed to be the time when canines are specially liable to rabies
- 3 Spells or turns

- 4 Ten set in principles
- 5 "But me - - - -," as Fielding said (2 and 4)
- 6 A Minister of Supply
- 7 No longer night or day then
- 8 A light gas
- 14 Turkish dynast
- 15 Two vowel-sounds pronounced as one
- 16 Yaffle
- 17 --- yourself first, then call in God, was Euripides advice
- 20 It's hell, that's what it is
- 21 Seaside resort in Dorset, England
- 23 Zulu spear
- 24 Fret over Ted
- 25 Haggard heroine
- 26 Seat vacated in favor of a spider, in the nursery rhyme
- 29 More than underdone

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 193

ACROSS:—1 DUMBSHOW; 5 PUTS UP; 10 CURRENT; 11 PARTING; 12 EXACTS; 14 LEGATION; 16 INJURED; 17 HALMA; 18 WHEN; 20 ERUPTED; 22 IDOL; 24 REVEL; 26 SECULAR; 29 ADDENDUM; 30 LEVITE; 32 OCARINA; 33 DALLIES; 34 NUDIST; 35 MEETINGS.

DOWN:—1 DOCKED; 2 MARIANA; 3 SEED-TIME; 4 OATH; 6 UNREAD; 7 SWINISH; 8 PAGANINI; 9 UPPER; 13 SNARLED; 14 LUMP SUM; 15 GENERAL; 19 RIGADOON; 21 DERELICT; 23 OLD HAND; 25 ELISION; 26 SNAILS; 27 CUBAN; 28 LENSES; 31 ADZE.

lution. But the sum of this particular verdict is that it was the pay-off for a Tory plot that failed to come off in 1945.

ARCHIBALD MCIVOR

London, December 12

[American friends of Harold Laski who would like to help defray the costs of the trial may send subscriptions to Morgan Phillips, treasurer of the Laski Fund, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1. Checks drawn on American banks are now negotiable in the United Kingdom.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Wants Crane Documents

Dear Sirs: I am at present engaged in writing a thesis for the Sorbonne on Stephen Crane and the beginnings of realism in the American novel. May I ask any person possessing documents hitherto unpublished bearing on this subject kindly to communicate with me as soon as possible? I make the same appeal for material on W. H. Hudson. My New York address is: International House, 500 Riverside Drive.

GEORGES REMORDS

Paris, November 22

A German Peace Movement

Dear Sirs: Only a few people in the United States know that there has always existed in Germany a decent peace movement which tried very hard before World War II to convince and educate the German people that war is inconsistent with culture and civilization.

It will be of interest to all friends of the courageous German anti-militarists to learn that a respectable minority in Germany are trying again to organize a German peace movement to educate and influence the German people against any future rearmament and war. According to reports which have reached this country only lately, these people are in most urgent need of encouragement. I think it is in the interest of a future enduring peace to assist them. That is the reason why I appeal for encouragement to them. I know Americans with practical common sense will want to send parcels and letters to these anti-militarists. In this way we serve the next generation.

I shall be only too glad to let all those who want to answer my appeal have the addresses of worthy anti-militarists.

VEIT VALENTIN

Library of Congress

Washington, December 1

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 11, 1947

NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION ENDING hostilities has adroitly pulled one of the G. O. P.'s favorite planks from under it. During the campaign, Republicans pictured the Administration as clinging desperately to its war-time powers and boasted of their plans for ending this usurpation. So when Mr. Truman voluntarily surrendered such of those powers as were terminable at the official end of hostilities, Republicans were forced to applaud publicly, even though they could barely keep their smiles from becoming grimaces. One consequence of the President's action is that it brings Congress squarely up against certain problems which the majority might well have wished to ignore until a more strategically convenient hour. For instance, during the war, farmers were guaranteed price maintenance of their most important products at 90 per cent of parity for two full years after the end of hostilities. By making this date December 31, 1946, Mr. Truman insured the termination of that guaranty on December 31, 1948. The Republican majority in Congress will now be under pressure to legislate a new farm program before the next Presidential campaign, for if agricultural prices begin to slide as expected in the next twelve months, farmers will be increasingly intent on securing some alternative measure of price support. On the other hand, such support is likely to prove extremely costly unless accompanied by a system of stringent crop restriction. Consequently, the Republicans may find that they must either impose new controls on farming or jeopardize their fiscal program of budget balancing, debt reduction, and tax cuts.

✱

ANOTHER EMBARRASSING PROBLEM FOR THE G. O. P. is created by the automatic termination on July 1 of the special war-time excises imposed under the Revenue Act of 1943. Among the items affected will be the tax on admissions, reduced from 20 to 10 per cent; the cabaret tax, reduced from 20 to 5 per cent; taxes on jewelry, furs, cosmetics, and luggage, reduced from 20 to 10 per cent; and the distilled-spirits tax, reduced from \$9 a gallon to \$6. Other taxes to be diminished by various amounts include those on telephone and telegraph charges, transportation, and electric-light bulbs. It is estimated that as a result revenue for the next fiscal

year will be reduced by about \$1½ billion, which means that the Republicans have that much less to play with in concocting a tax-reduction program. This will probably prove the final blow to Representative Knutson's proposal for a 20 per cent "across the board" cut in income tax, the implications of which have already given the shivers to some of his more farsighted colleagues. Of course, Congress could pass a bill restoring these excise taxes, but that would not be a very popular move. In fact, sellers of furs, liquor, cosmetics, and so on are already agitating for repeal to be made effective before July 1, fearing that otherwise consumers will hold back their purchasing. Meanwhile, the question is being asked: if some taxes, many of them on luxury items, are to be slashed, why not those on such articles as business machines, electric, gas, and oil appliances, films and photographic apparatus, sporting goods, cigarettes, cigars, automobiles, tires, radios, and refrigerators, which were imposed or increased during the war under other statutes? That is a very pertinent question, for such hidden taxes are definitely regressive, bearing much harder on low incomes than on high. Their reduction should at least be given equal consideration with a reduction in income tax.

✱

THOSE WHO RELY ON NEWSPAPER HEADLINES as guides to political thought may have concluded that the primary function of the newly formed Americans for Democratic Action will be to combat the Communists. The truth is the contrary. The founders of the A. D. A. believe it necessary to exclude Communists in order to allow the new organization to perform its real function without interference. That function is to give the United States what it has lacked for many years—a broad and militant progressive movement unattached to any old-line party and free of the often constricting embrace of the Communists. Still in the throes of organization, the A. D. A., born of the five-year-old Union for Democratic Action, includes among its objectives an expansion of the New Deal program "to insure decent levels of health, nutrition, shelter, and education"; protection of civil liberties from both "concentrated wealth and overcentralized government"; support of the United Nations and of the American plan for international control of atomic

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	29
The Atomic Report	31
Peace for Palestine?	33
Notes for a New Year <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	33

ARTICLES

Republicans on the Hill <i>by Wilbur H. Baldinger</i>	34
This Brain for Hire <i>by Joachim Joesten</i>	36
The C. I. O. Southern Drive <i>by A. G. Mezerik</i>	38
In the Wind	40
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	41
Soviet Politics in Germany <i>by Joel Carmichael</i>	42
Students Talk It Over <i>by John Curtis Frankel</i>	46
In One Ear <i>by Lou Frankel</i>	46

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

A Chancellor at Dachau <i>by Alfred Werner</i>	47
Innocence. <i>A Poem by Arthur Mizener</i>	47
Music and Society <i>by Robert E. Garis</i>	48
The People's Attorney <i>by H. David Davis</i>	48
Rimbaud in Exile <i>by René Blanc-Roos</i>	49
Hurry Up Please Its Spinach <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	50
The Queen and Columbus <i>by Klaus Mann</i>	51
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	53
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	54

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 194 <i>by Jack Barrett</i>	55
--	----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

energy; and steps "to raise standards of living and support civil and political freedoms everywhere." An ear even slightly attuned to political formulations will perceive marked divergences here from the aims of the Progressive Citizens of America, whose formation we noted in these columns last week. Moreover, while Henry Wallace, addressing the P. C. A., disavowed the use of Russian standards as a guide for American liberals, that organization clearly accepts the tactical principle of the Popular Front. Those liberals who believe this principle to be a delusion will be immensely heartened by the creation of an organization without Communists in which are represented both wings of the labor movement and such leaders as Chester Bowles, Wilson Wyatt, Leon Henderson, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Reinhold Niebuhr, to name only a few of the A. D. A.'s guiding spirits. The creation of these two major organizations presents progressives with a choice that calls for some hard thinking. We propose in the next issue of *The Nation* to deal more fully with the implications of this choice.

✱

FILMING "THE CAPTAIN FROM CASTILE" presented one difficulty to Twentieth Century-Fox: the villain of the novel is a priest of the Inquisition, and a cruel and corrupt one to boot. The Legion of Decency, in its usual compelling tones, warned the producers that the novel was not acceptable to the church because of its violation of historical truth: it had not made it clear that the Inquisition "was aimed at the crypto-Jews, who became Catholic converts for the purpose of subverting Catholic thought." (In just this way, Eisenstein's "Ivan the Terrible" has been condemned by the Soviet Union for violating historical truth—that is, it did not present Ivan as a "progressive statesman.") Two scripts had to be torn up, but the third was satisfactory: in it, the villainous priest appears briefly, does not accept bribes, and is not cruel. The Inquisition, too, is "touched on only briefly and fleetingly." How odd that the Legion of Decency should feel that it had to hush up something so congenial to the temper of our age as an Inquisition! If the Legion had as much imagination as it has power, we should before long be admitting Bing Crosby's finest impersonation, that of Torquemada in Warner Brothers' sensational epic of the Inquisition, "The Good Shepherd."

✱

LAST WEEK, WE URGED THE AVOIDANCE OF over-hasty legislative efforts to deal with the portal-to-portal issue. Since then, two Republican Congressmen have provided prime examples of the kind of thing we feared. Representative Knutson has proposed to levy a 100 per cent "windfall tax" on any money the workers may collect in portal suits; Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan has introduced a bill amending the Fair

Labor Standards Act of 1938 retroactively so as to wipe out all portal-to-portal claims. In addition, Mr. Hoffman proposes to end the provisions in the act for liquidated damages in the case of violations, so that employers who deliberately ignored minimum standards would be able to go on cheating their workers without fear of punishment. Finally, the Hoffman bill provides a definition of "work week" which excludes "time going to or from work, changing clothing, putting on aprons or overalls, taping or greasing arms, putting on finger cots, preparing equipment for productive work, turning on switches for lighter machinery, opening windows or assembling or sharpening tools, or time spent in preparation for work which is not time actually consumed in productive work." We do not envy the judges who will have to make the fine distinction between preparations for productive work and actual productive work if this bill is passed. But in any case, the definition is a ridiculous one and does not correspond to the facts of industrial life, which shows that once a man enters his employer's plant he is under orders and should therefore be on paid time. Apart from this feature, the bill stands condemned, just as the Knutson proposal does, by its attempt to destroy property rights without due process. Many lawyers believe that the Supreme Court would find it unconstitutional on these grounds. If it did not, all property owners would have cause for alarm, for the precedent created could have much wider application.

✱

THE ERA OF PRIVATE PROFIT IN BRITISH COAL mines has ended. On New Year's Day the flag of the National Coal Board was hoisted at every pit-head, and the miners went to their jobs as citizens working for their fellow-citizens. Ironically enough, at the very moment of this transformation, Britain was faced by an acute shortage of coal, bringing production in some industrial plants to a halt and forcing the authorities to consider the imposition of a semi-blackout. British critics of the Labor government are trying to link the crisis to public ownership, though nothing is more certain than that it would have arrived sooner, and proved more severe, if the old regime had remained. Since the Nationalization bill became law in the early summer, there has, in fact, been a marked improvement in the miners' morale. Recruits for the industry have been coming forward in greater numbers, absenteeism is sharply down, and production is rising steadily. In January, 1946, output averaged 3,250,000 tons per week; in the third week of December it was 4,000,000 tons, and although there was a much-advertised Christmas slump, the record of the holiday week was far better than in 1945. The current shortage is the result of increased demand as much as of decreased supply. Under conditions of full employment, British industrial-fuel requirements are higher than before the war, while improvements in the standard of

living have raised consumption of electric power 75 per cent above the pre-war level. Full correction of this unbalanced supply-demand situation can be achieved only when the National Coal Board completes the reorganization of the industry and vastly increases its mechanization. Such long-range aids to efficiency will take time, but it will be surprising if greater output does not soon result from reduced friction between men and management and the desire of the miners to forward the success of a reform they have long passionately advocated.

✱

THE CURIOUS AMERICAN RELISH FOR converting its sports into Big Business is illuminated by recent bulletins and communiques about the Biggest Deer Hunting Season in History. Deer hunting is really big business in Michigan, where the current season represented an investment of nearly \$75,000,000 as 325,000 hunters clogged three-lane highways leading to the Upper Peninsula. According to sources which *The Nation* considers unimpeachable, the self-respecting deer hunter does not dare venture into the woods nowadays without a minimum investment of \$130 in equipment: rifle, \$65; 20 rounds of ammunition, \$1.80; rifle cleaning kit, \$2.50; knife, \$2; compass, \$2; flashlight, \$1.65; match box, 75 cents; long underwear, \$5; cap, \$1.50; shirt, \$6; coat, \$15; trousers, \$11; socks, \$2; boots (rubber), \$8; boots (leather) \$15; gloves, \$2. If a hunter is lucky enough to kill a deer; and escape being shot himself, it costs him \$50 to have the head mounted. While deer hunters actually do kill deer—24,000 this season in Maine—they seem to be incredibly reckless shots. In fact, the mortality rate among deer hunters must be considerably higher than that for combat troops in the war.

The Atomic Report

THE first report of the Atomic Energy Commission, which was adopted on December 30, 1946, may turn out to be the most important achievement of any United Nations body. Into it have gone six and a half months of hard work by representatives of twelve nations—scientists, engineers, policy makers. In the course of its labors the commission developed a technique of co-operative research, discussion, and formulation of results that might well be taken as a model for other U. N. committees engaged in similar tasks. The lessons learned should be of particular benefit in working out plans for wider disarmament and arms control called for by the General Assembly resolution of December 14.

The commission cut to the minimum the showy debates which in practice have always tended to emphasize differences between the main power blocs and frustrate real achievement. Instead, it carried on most of its de-

liberations in a working committee where scientists and policy makers could examine problems on their own merits and not in the frame of reference of narrow national interests. It is true that complete agreement was not reached; the report was adopted by ten assenting votes with Poland and the Soviet Union abstaining. But in the course of the commission's work many important aspects of atomic energy were investigated, the feasibility of a system of control established, the necessary safeguards against the illegal use of atomic energy outlined, and vital elements in a system of international management, control, and inspection mapped out in some detail.

The effectiveness of the commission's method was demonstrated during the slight crisis that developed out of Mr. Baruch's attempt to force an immediate vote on a resolution embodying the essential characteristics of the original American plan. The opposition to this "stand-up-and-be-counted" ultimatum did not come primarily from the Soviet Union but from nations which had no quarrel with the American plan or even with the American position on the veto. General McNaughton, leader of the Canadian delegation, accepting the principles on which the Baruch resolution was based, was anxious to give every member of the commission full opportunity to examine every proposal on which the commission took positive action. In this stand he was backed by the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and France, nations particularly concerned in the possible development of an irreparable split between the United States and the Soviet Union. As the result of sending the Baruch proposal to the working committee, a number of important amendments were incorporated, and the final recommendations of the commission took into account the arms resolution of the U. N. Assembly.

It is unfortunate that the representative of the Soviet Union deliberately boycotted these final discussions. Had he not done so, his objections, entered in the final meeting of the commission, might have had some validity. As it is, he is in the curious position of urging that at some future time the Baruch plan be examined item by item when this was precisely the opportunity provided him by the Canadian amendment. It was in the working committee that Mr. Gromyko might have pointed out how the American proposal conflicted with the terms of the Charter, the Assembly resolution, and the original Soviet proposal of June 19, 1946. He might have argued that the elimination of the veto contradicts the letter and the spirit of the Charter. But in that case, so does Mr. Molotov's statement that in the day-to-day operations of an international inspection body the veto must not operate. And the Assembly resolution clearly states that the "international system" set up for the control of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction will operate through "special organs, which special organs shall de-

rive their powers and status from the convention or conventions under which they are established." The same convention or conventions—which must carry the unanimous assent of the great powers—could presumably provide for the elimination of the veto in the case of sanctions for proved violations (for which definite penalties have already been prescribed). Moreover, whatever legalistic case Mr. Gromyko might be able to prove, he failed completely to meet the commission's main conclusion that the security of any nation against the illegal use of atomic weapons must rest upon the certainty that no nation can violate the basic convention with impunity.

But the highlighting of the veto issue has failed to illuminate the actual differences between the point of view expressed in the atomic report and that held by the Soviet representatives. As a matter of fact, six and a half months' discussion has not brought out what the Russians really want. They have insisted that a convention to outlaw atomic weapons is a prerequisite of any scheme of atomic control. In the matter of the enforcement of such a convention they remain vague. At the outset, Mr. Gromyko seemed to insist that the enforcement could be carried out through national organs and that an international system would violate the rights of sovereignty. This stand appears to have been modified by Mr. Molotov in the disarmament discussions before the Assembly, when he came out for an international control agency. But what is to be the nature of this international agency? Is it simply to be a subordinate adjunct to the Security Council, subject to the latter's veto? Will it have to receive special mandate from the Security Council to engage in any specific task of inspection? Will it be intrusted only with powers of inspection and be denied those larger powers of ownership and management of atomic-energy installations which, in the Atomic Energy report, are regarded as necessary safeguards? No Russian representative has made himself clear on these points.

As for the American position and that shared by the great majority of members of the commission, there is no objection to the convention outlawing atomic weapons. In fact, such a convention is at the very heart of the commission's proposal. But it is firmly held that such a convention would be absolutely worthless without accompanying and simultaneous safeguards.

One cannot emphasize too strongly that this is an interim report. The section on safeguards appears not to have had the same detailed study as the scientific and technical section, and the report itself calls attention to the magnitude of the unfinished task. The Security Council could do no better than gratefully acknowledge the document as a report on progress and tell the Commission to keep up the good work. When the Commission reassembles after its recess, it will miss the showmanship and drive of Mr. Baruch, whose resignation has just been handed to the President. But no matter who succeeds him

—Senator Austin would be an improvement on Mr. Baruch—in the American delegation there are men of scientific and technical competence, political understanding, and international good will who will expertly assist in devising a system of international control that may turn out to be the first institution of world government.

Peace for Palestine?

ON JANUARY 1 the British government unofficially announced that it was prepared to give serious consideration to any responsible proposal calling for the creation of separate, independent Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. This was not a new idea, for partition has twice been put forward, once in the Peel report issued ten years ago and recently in the quite unrealistic and discredited Morrison-Grady plan. It is known, too, that in conference with Dr. Weizmann and other Zionist leaders, shortly before the twenty-second World Zionist Conference just concluded, London had privately discussed the proposal made by the Jewish Agency in August, 1946, calling for partition on a basis which would make possible a "viable Jewish state." However, the present statement follows closely upon the decision of the Basel conference not to participate in further negotiations unless the situation changed, and so may be regarded as an effort to produce such a change. For overcautious as it is, Mr. Creech Jones's communication does seem to imply some sort of commitment to the idea of the "viable state."

It would seem that London has had its eye upon the realities that lay behind the sensational and rather misleading debates in Basel. For the American resolution rejecting Dr. Weizmann's conciliatory policies, while it was passed by a narrow margin, did no more than instruct future negotiators to refer any new proposals to the Zionist Executive for acceptance or rejection. Since it is known that fourteen out of nineteen members of the Executive favor a partition plan satisfying the essential territorial and political demands of the Jews, the defeat of the Weizmann position was more apparent than real. There is reason to hope that the Colonial Secretary had this fact in mind when he made his conciliatory statement.

The excessive caution of the London announcement was obviously due to a fear that the Arabs would instantly decline to enter negotiations. The Arab high command in Palestine, still insisting on its right to nominate the Grand Mufti as a delegate, has indeed declared that it will not attend the London conference if partition is to be discussed, and the Cairo leaders have supported this ultimatum. In reality, therefore, London for the first time has challenged the Arab movement and intimated that it will, under certain conditions, seek to persuade or compel a change in Arab opinion. If that is so, we be-

lieve it would have been wiser to give the Zionist movement a clear guaranty that full statehood within an agreed area would be quickly granted. To do so would certainly provoke trouble; yet the support of the majority of Zionist opinion and the approval of civilized people throughout the world should be more than sufficient compensation. And a resolute decision to set up a separate Arab state in Palestine would have a powerful appeal for the moderate section of Arab opinion and might conceivably reduce the time and intensity of the resistance.

The new outburst of violence on the part of the terrorists has been countered, inevitably, by stern measures of repression. Non-fraternization orders have gone out to British troops and searches and arrests have increased. The talks between the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Archibald Cunningham, and Mr. Bevin are sure to be influenced by these events. Observers fear they may result in decisions which will upset rising hopes for an agreed compromise solution. Certainly, the insistence of the British that the Jewish Agency itself must assume responsibility for curbing the terrorists is a bad omen. The Agency cannot act as long as it is without authority; nor can the Haganah be expected to put down the Irgun and Stern Gang by force when its own organization is outlawed and its arms confiscated. The Haganah has, it is true, threatened to "take action" unless the terrorists quit their attacks. That such action would go so far as civil war is unthinkable, however, unless a complete reversal of British policy gives power as well as responsibility to the Jewish agencies of government and defense.

Notes for a New Year

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AS I WRITE, the year is only four days old. I have looked it over carefully and without enthusiasm. The best thing I have noticed is that the angle formed by the sun's position at noon and the points on the horizon where it rises and sets is spreading. Not enough to waste many lines on, but enough to cause a modest sense of expansion around the heart. Man's hope may be better measured by that widening arc along the earth's edge than by any of the dubious prognoses of better days you see listed in the morning paper.

THE year 1947 finds me increasingly weary of that old, that noble word liberalism. You meet it these days in all kinds of places, including the pages of *The Nation*. The new *New Republic* acts as if it were a recent, rather exciting discovery of Henry Wallace's. For half a generation or so the word had fallen on bad times and was generally used as a rather derisive epithet, modified by the adjective wishy-washy; but now it has won a new lease of life and I think I know why. Liberal-

ism has become a charm, worn outside the shirt on the left side, to ward off communism and other forms of political evil. I don't believe in charms.

A California friend, speaking at *The Nation* dinner in Los Angeles, said that a liberal was a radical with a wife and two children. The definition is too cynical. Anyhow, the word brings quite different images to my mind. When I think of a liberal I am apt to see an old gentleman walking carefully along the top of a high, narrow fence, a nervous little smile on his face, his eyes fixed on the skyline. Either that, or I see him standing with one leg planted on either side of a sharp, jagged issue. From time to time, he topples over on his face and is neatly sliced into two factions.

But perhaps I am wrong. In South America, radical parties are nearly always reactionary. Here, who knows, the various new liberal parties and groups may grow up to be radical. It would be against history, but I hope so.

HAVING come out recently in support of the positive and forward-looking in political action, may I put in a dialectical word for the nasty, the negative, the downright destructive? I favor both—ideological blueprints and Bren guns, but we're going to fool ourselves again if we simply concentrate on blueprints while the other side demolishes our few hard-won positions.

I firmly predict that Republican counsels of moderation, however shrewd politically, are soon going to be overwhelmed by the demands of the storm troops of the right. Everything will be heaped together and attacked in one lot—liberals, Communists, foreigners, New Deal legislation, labor, Russia. Perhaps Robert A. Taft, too, unless he looks sharp.

It is well to recognize this in advance, because there

won't be much time to prepare when the saturation bombing begins. What we must do is to fight back, beginning now. After all, the first job of an opposition is to oppose. And one of the best short-term reasons for a positive program is that you can oppose with greater effect if you know what you'd like to do in case you win.

WHILE I'm in the mood, I have another prediction for 1947—a sequel to the one above. I predict that the Communists and their various allies and friends, taking note of the threatening signs of the times, are going to become cooperative to the point of embarrassing their liberal opponents. They may not insist on joining the Liberal party or editing the *New Leader*, but they will do their best to convince the amorphous American left of center that they are amiable, trustworthy traveling companions. I predict that they will be firmly rebuffed, at least in the earlier stages of the Great Reaction; but they are going to be an embarrassment just the same, with their habit of doing first and more energetically a lot of things the rest of us are sure we could do better but haven't quite got around to.

My predictions, by the way, like Pearson's and Winchell's, are based on strictly inside information, namely, information from inside the oracle's head.

Oil and Power—

Keith Hutchison's page, *Everybody's Business*, has been omitted from this issue. Next week Mr. Hutchison will write about the Anglo-American oil cartel now being perfected for exploitation of the huge petroleum resources of the Middle East.

Republicans on the Hill

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, January 6

AFTER fourteen years the center of government gravity has shifted from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. The White House is no longer the important news beat for the reporting of United States history. The Hill is the place, and the man to watch is not the President but a Republican named Taft, or Martin, or even Knutson.

In other years a new session of Congress was not really convened until the pitch came up from the White House. Now it hardly matters what Harry Truman says, except for the record, in his three messages this week to the Eightieth Congress. The Republicans are fully in charge

of their unaccustomed job of governing, and they have made it clear that they want no advice from the Administration. What they want is cooperation, meaning that the President should keep out of their way while they wash away the sins of the New Deal.

The state-of-the-union message which Mr. Truman took to Congress today was even-tempered, conciliatory, and punctuated with wistful hopes that "in our hands, yours and mine joined together," the Legislature and the Administration "can work together." The President mildly asked for the continuing development of his policies, domestic and foreign, whose goal, he said, was prosperity and peace. This message was nothing like last

year's in which he essayed a bold post-war program in a score of social sectors. That program had already been junked; today he simply mentioned his former objectives as things that were still on the nation's agenda.



Caricature by Eckhardt

Representative Knutson

With a hundred anti-labor bills in prospect on the Hill, the President cautioned Congress not to press "punitive legislation" against "a few labor leaders." His four-point labor-management proposals offered few specifics except the organization of a temporary joint commission of the Senate, House, public, management,

and labor to survey the field and come up, especially, with some answer to "nation-wide strikes in vital industries affecting the public interest." Such a survey had been suggested before by the President; it was unlikely that the Republicans would take the renewed suggestion any more kindly now.

The shape of things to come was obscured at the opening of Congress last week by the show in the Senate over a Mississippi obscenity. (A hopeful result of those proceedings is that it is not currently necessary to give Theodore G. Bilbo the dignity of the prefix of Senator.) But beyond the Bilbo headlines there was plenty to indicate that the Republicans, in picking up where they left off in 1933, were starting 1947 as of that Democratic date.

While the post-war world watched and rightly worried, the most powerful parliament was preparing a program in which a bi-partisan foreign policy was to be maintained politically but scarcely economically, and in which domestic policy was to be keyed to a balanced budget. Senator Robert A. Taft, ablest and most powerful Republican on the Hill, laid out these party approaches in a radio speech after a day laudably spent keeping Bilbo from his seat. The six-foot-one Ohioan, brain center of the statesmen at the right of the Senate aisle, gave assurance that "our political policy throughout the world" would be continued along lines which Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, now president pro tem of the chamber, had helped Secretary of State James F. Byrnes draw.

But the inseparable economics of foreign policy will evidently undergo isolationist weakening. Taft said ominously that "reasonable assistance" to the rest of the world, instead of foreign rehabilitation loans, and "reasonable tariffs," instead of reciprocal-trade agreements, were in the Republican book. The interpretation of "rea-

sonable" by Republicans who opposed Bretton Woods and British loan agreements and who yearn for Smoot-Hawley tariff days will be something to make the Administration—and foreign countries—shudder.

For domestic fare Taft offered the nation hope for emergency housing in a revised Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. (But he plans to cut it up in sections, giving the real-estate lobby a clear chance to sabotage a part at a time, particularly that part which would subsidize a half-million homes for low-income families.) Taft said there ought to be federal aid for health and education, but nothing like the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill. He promised a "just-to-all" set of new labor laws, adding in an offhand manner that they might ban such offenses as closed shops and industry-wide bargaining.

Joseph W. Martin, the plodding, bulky publisher of North Attleboro, Massachusetts, who jubilantly took up the Speaker's gavel in the flood-lit festive Republican House, made his party's domestic course even plainer. In his own state-of-the-union message, which asked for "cooperation" by all hands but did not contain a single reference to the Chief Executive, Martin observed by way of preamble that the world "lies crushed, broken, and in waste." He thanked God, however, that "the beacon of freedom and security . . . still burns brightly in the United States of America, sending its gleams of hope to the furthestmost points of the world." In the next paragraph Martin described the desperate domestic situation which the Republicans will solve for the comfort of the rest of the world: "Here at home we face grave and pressing problems. The debt into which this nation has been plunged is of such magnitude it cannot be paid off in more than a century. Our people are bowed down under a burden of taxation which is well-nigh intolerable."

Symbolically, House Resolution No. 1 in the Eightieth Congress was offered by Harold Knutson, the Minnesota Representative who has chafed for years to tear down the Democrats' tax structure and now has his big chance as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. The most apt local comment on Knutson's tax-cutting resolu-

tion was a Herblock cartoon in the *Washington Post* captioned "Something for Everybody!" Knutson was tossing a huge money bag to a well-stuffed upper-income bracketeer holding a bushel basket. A little guy in the lower brackets held out his hat for a single coin.

Knutson proposed to cut the government's income by more than \$3,400,000,000, through a 20 per cent



Caricature by Seligson

Senator Taft

income-tax slash applicable to all incomes except those above \$302,000, whose tax would be cut only 10 per cent. Earlier, in a tax seminar for reporters, Knutson said there were no immediate plans for further reductions in corporation taxes. He thought Congress had done enough for corporations for the present. This was taken to be proof of Knutson's restraint in the field of government economics.

President Truman meanwhile was superintending the rewriting of his various messages—on the state of the union, on the report of his Council of Economic Advisers, and on the budget. The budget message was expected to be so long and exhaustive that its reading would take a

working day in the Capitol. But from appearances on the Hill the three messages would be little more than footnotes in the history of the Eightieth Congress as written by the Republicans. This Congress is their property, and they intend to administer it as such.

The Senate, however, has one gold sticker on its first report card. Bilbo is out, and it looks as if he would not be back—or if he does come back, as if he wouldn't get in. A memory that opening-day visitors in the crowded Senate galleries will not lose is that of Bilbo standing in the aisle, his head bowed, piously mumbling the Lord's Prayer in concert with the chaplain: "... deliver us from evil." The Senate gave a needed assist.

This Brain for Hire

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

MEMO to a would-be war criminal: If you enjoy mass murder, but also treasure your skin, be a scientist, son. It's the only way, nowadays, of getting away with murder.

It isn't safe any longer to be a warmongering politician. If you lose, they'll hang you. If you are a general and lose, they'll shoot you. If you are an industrialist, you'll go to jail. But if you are a scientist, you will be honored, regardless of who wins. Your enemies will coddle you, and compete for you, no matter how many of your countrymen you may have killed. You may even get the Nobel Prize. (Warning: Medicine isn't safe; you might be charged with sadistic experiments. Be sure to pick a nice, clean, safe job such as atom bombs or stratosphere rockets.)

You think I'm kidding? Then read and ponder the story of what became of the Nazi scientists.

In the climactic phase of the war Hitler had at his disposal what was probably the greatest pool of scientific and technical knowledge ever assembled in a single country. Thousands of nuclear physicists, rocket constructors, experts on ballistics, supersonic aerodynamics, jet propulsion, poison gas, were working for him. What he lacked was the capacity to make the right judgment as to which of the newfangled weapons was most likely to win the war at one stroke and therefore should be given top priority. He stunted the atomic scientists, allowing them only a measly \$7,500,000 to spend during the

war, and backed the rocket builders to the tune of \$500,000,000.

The two principal nerve-centers of the Nazi scientific war machine were the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin and the Peenemünde Experimental Station, where the V-2 rockets were hatched. These two institutions employed several thousand scientists and technicians; in the first, the emphasis was on theory, in the second on application.

The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute had two principal departments—the Institute for Physics, headed by Professor Werner Heisenberg, who had won the Nobel Prize, and the Institute for Chemistry, headed by Professor Otto Hahn. Both were eminent nuclear physicists, but the honor of being Germany's top atomic scientist passed to Hahn in January, 1939, when he discovered, in collaboration with Dr. Fritz Strassmann, the secret of uranium fission that started the world race for the atomic bomb. Hahn, who is now sixty-eight, and Heisenberg, who is forty-five, were both Nazi Party members, but Hahn has been given credit for being lukewarm in his political views since he long collaborated with Dr. Lise Meitner, the Jewish woman scientist who was instrumental in bringing Hahn's discovery to the attention of American scientists.

Top dog at Peenemünde was Dr. Werther von Braun, now forty-four, who invented the deadly V-2. Under Braun's management 3,600 of the winged monsters were made and launched at Peenemünde. He was an active Nazi.

Hahn, Heisenberg, von Braun, and scores of other Nazi scientists were all in the mandatory-arrest categories fixed by the Allies before Germany's surrender. Indeed, at the hour of the collapse they were eagerly hunted down by special pursuit teams composed, in

JOACHIM JOESTEN is a journalist and author who has been contributing articles on international affairs to *The Nation* since 1935. He has just finished a new book which he expects to call *"Germany on the Rebound."*

the case of the United States army, of commando troops and War Department scientists. The latter, thirty eagle-eyed professors led by Dr. Samuel A. Goudsmit of the University of Michigan, formed the so-called ALSOS mission. (*Alsos* is a Greek word which means "Groves." Get the idea?)

By the time ALSOS went into action the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and its personnel had been evacuated from Berlin to the little town of Tailfingen in southern Württemberg. The town was occupied by the French First Army in mid-April, 1945, but before the surprised Frenchmen knew what was going on, an ALSOS team from General Patch's Seventh Army, operating a little farther north, had appeared on the scene and nabbed Professor Hahn, along with some of his colleagues. Professor Heisenberg, the second most-wanted scientist, was not there, having established his headquarters in Copenhagen.

After his capture by the Americans Hahn vanished into the limbo of atomic secrecy. A few weeks later, after the liberation of Copenhagen, he was joined by his colleague Heisenberg. All inquiries about their whereabouts and fate were answered with shrugs and head-shakings. Insistent reporters were told, "Ask General Groves" (head of the Manhattan Project), which was tantamount to "Try to get past Cerberus."

Hahn, Heisenberg, and the others did not fare badly at the hands of their American captors. They were not maltreated; they were not lodged in a jail; they were not even held for trial before a war-crimes tribunal or a German denazification court. They were merely kept out of circulation for a few months while the American army prepared to drop the bomb on Hiroshima.

Hunted by the sleuths of the world press in the United States, France, Belgium, and other countries, the two scientists lived peacefully on a farm near London. Then late in January, 1946, they were returned to Germany. For the past few months they have been living in complete freedom in the university town of Göttingen, in the British zone. With them are a number of other well-known German atom scientists—namely, Max von Laue, Walter Gerlach, C. T. von Weizsäcker, Karl Wirtz, Erich Bagge, and Horst Korsching, all former members of the Kaiser Wilhelm Physics Institute.

That citadel of Germany's militarized science has been abolished by the Allied Control Council, and Germans have been forbidden to engage in any kind of war research. Law No. 25, which went into effect on May 7, 1946, specifically prohibits the study of applied nuclear physics, applied aerodynamics, rocket propulsion, jet propulsion, gas turbine engines, radar, under-water sounding devices, electric coding and decoding equipment, ship design, and the remote control of aircraft.

Nevertheless, Professors Hahn and Heisenberg, with their entourage of atom scientists, have just been granted permission by the British Military Government to con-

tinue their work at Göttingen, where they have founded the "Max Planck Society," named after the eighty-nine-year-old "father of German physics." Naturally their activities have only peaceful purposes, but who is going to draw the line, and where? Heisenberg now heads the "Department for Cosmic Rays" of the Max Planck Society.

That Hahn and his associates are now working for the British was clearly brought out in a United Press dispatch from Göttingen of November 2, which reported that Hahn had threatened to discontinue his research unless the British military authorities would let him go to Stockholm to receive the Nobel prize for chemistry awarded him in 1944. He got what he wanted and made the trip in December.

* Outside of Germany the edicts of the Allied Control Council have only limited effect, and today between two and three thousand German scientists are actively engaged not only in war research but in the actual development of formidable war weapons. They have been hired—in a few cases the word "drafted" would perhaps be more appropriate—by the United States, Britain, France, and Russia. If a larger number of them—and the more prominent ones—are at work in the Western countries than in the Soviet Union, the reason is simply that Nazi professors preferred to be in the western part of the Reich when the time for surrender approached.

The United States, which is long on atomic but short on rocket talent, took the pick of the German experts on guided missiles. Dr. von Braun, whom G. I.'s interrupted in the middle of the absorbing job of constructing a 100-ton rocket designed to deliver a "pay load" of six tons of explosives to our East Coast cities, is now employed by the Army Ordnance Corps at Fort Bliss, Texas. With Dr. Ernst Steinhoff, developer of V-2 remote controls, and Dr. Martin Schilling, he took a prominent part in the rocket tests conducted in December at White Sands, New Mexico.

Dr. Rudolf Hermann, former director of the Peenemünde Institute for Supersonic Aerodynamics and Ballistics, is one of eighty-six German scientists now working at the aeronautical laboratories at Wright Field, Ohio. Among the others are Dr. Alexander Lippisch, of the Messerschmitt Aircraft Works, who designed the Me-163, the only rocket fighter that saw combat service.

In all some 270 German war scientists, mostly rocket and aircraft specialists, are now at work in various parts of the United States, and the army plans to bring in at least 730 more in the near future. The hush-hush which surrounded the arrival of the first hundred German scientists, headed by von Braun, late in 1945, has been abandoned; the identity of the ex-Nazis working at Fort Bliss and Wright Field is a matter of public record, and the army even proudly announces that it

hopes to save \$750,000,000 in basic research by using the know-how acquired from Hitler's former minions.

The pay which Braun, Hermann, and company draw from the army is not high by American standards—from \$2.20 a day for the small fry to \$11 a day for the big shots, plus \$6 a day for living expenses—but a much more alluring reward is dangled before the Nazi scientists. If they behave well—and why shouldn't they, now that the war is over?—they will be permitted eventually to take out citizenship papers. No one, apparently, finds anything incongruous in the idea that the men who spread death and disaster in London and Antwerp, and worked feverishly to do the same to American cities, will one day be United States citizens.

The British have fifty-six German scientists working for them in England, besides the Hahn-Heisenberg group in Germany. Most of the Germans in England are at the Royal Aircraft establishment at Farnborough, Hampshire, where they are engaged in aerodynamics, jet propulsion, helicopter development, thermodynamics, and related matters. Ten are employed at the guided-projectiles center at Westcott, Buckinghamshire; five turbine scientists work at Newcastle-on-Tyne. All receive the same salaries as British scientists and will be permitted to stay in the country if they make good.

Russia, where atomic research has an A-1 priority, has picked up all the German nuclear brains it could find in its zone or attract from the other zones. Since the fall of 1945 two groups of German scientists have been installed in tourist hotels on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. In one are the top-ranking physicists Professor Max Steenbeck, Gustav Hertz, and Fritz Vollmer. The other is headed by Baron Manfred von Ardenne, who used to operate his private laboratory in Nazi Germany; he is now building a cyclotron for the Russians. Two former associates of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, Peter Thiessen and Christian L. Develogua, have also been reported in Russia. Among the lesser lights in von Ardenne's group are Kurt Mie and Karl Bernhardt. The average salary offered these scientists by the Soviet government is said to be 2,000 rubles a month, or \$500 at the official rate. The latest well-known German scientist to take a job in Russia is the physicist Wilhelm Burkhardt, who went to Moscow in October.

France has had to content itself with the crumbs from Germany's scientific table. No really big name is known to have taken service in France, but a recent Reuters report stated that 500 German ballistics experts had arrived at the military airfield of St. Raphael to work on rocket weapons.

The C. I. O. Southern Drive

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Atlanta, January 2

EVERY newspaperman along about last June was busily predicting that the C. I. O. drive to unionize the South would be a great headline maker. "Organizers driven out of Harlan County," "tar and feathers in Mississippi," "union representatives jailed in the Carolinas"—these were the very least of the expected sensations. More than a few editors and commentators foresaw killings. Instead, a dull series of collective-bargaining elections have been reported, with only now and then a spicier item about a beating. Many persons have assumed therefore that the widely heralded drive has been a fizzle. But the results, not headlines, pay off. Judged by the statistics at hand—the number of bargaining elections won, the number of union recruits enlisted—the drive to unionize the South is well on its way to success.

By December 15 more than 290 victories in National

Labor Relations Board elections had been chalked up since the drive began. The biggest plants, such as the great atomic-energy plant of Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation at Oak Ridge, are signing agreements, which indicates that the fruits of midsummer organizing are now being harvested and that the entire campaign is picking up momentum. Only fifty-four elections have been lost by the C. I. O.

Moreover, the loss of an election does not remain a permanent entry on the red-ink side of the C. I. O.'s ledger. Last spring employees of the Goodyear Rubber plant at Clearwater voted against C. I. O. representation. But the drive organizers had only just begun to fight. And on October 4 there was another election, with the result that Goodyear's 1,345 employees are now members of the United Textile Workers of the C. I. O. This may not seem spectacular; yet the gains are so sizable that they exceed the hopes of the veteran organizers, Van Bittner and Sherman Dalrymple, who head the drive. The younger organizers expected more, and because they have poured so much dynamic energy into each individual organizing effort, believe they should have achieved more. Objectively considered, however, it

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "Revolt of the South and West," has been traveling through the South and the Middle West studying current political and economic developments.

stacks up surprisingly well, in view of the traditions and circumstances of the South.

In the past any effort at unionization in the South has been greeted by a militant and organized "hate" movement, financed by employers and supported in many cases by the political power of towns, counties, and whole states. This time the boys who make a living out of whipping up anti-Negro and anti-labor hatred were just as ready and willing as before. But the bulk of the population hasn't been so easily whipped up; many corporations have learned that money spent with the Ku Klux Klan can boomerang; and entire states have said "thumbs down"—as in Georgia, where the KKK was outlawed and the Columbians have just been administered a sound civic and legal thrashing.

Consider, in the light of what Northerners had been expecting in the South, Lucy Randolph Mason's report that up to now she has heard of so few clear-cut violations of the civil rights of organizers that they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Miss Mason is in charge for the C. I. O. of investigating violations of civil rights. Consider also that in the twelve states included in the drive there have been only eighteen reported beatings—Detroit, during the 1937 automobile organizing drive, could have doubled that figure any week. Yet Northern employers have joined with Southern employers in trying to stop the drive and the KKK is working hard. The Klan and allied outfits have in many localities provided themselves with union suits which they wear under their more characteristic nightshirts. They now support trade unionism, insisting, however, that the unions be run by officers with certain qualifications—they must be white Protestant Gentiles.

The flirtation of the "hate" movements with unionism, perverted though it is, marks a new era, for it indicates that the most uninformed segment of the white Southern population, on which the KKK has always relied for its strength, knows the score at long last. This is not to say that the path of the C. I. O. will now be easy or that Bilbo and the hate-mongers have lost their punch. Nor have the industrial bourbons abdicated. They have put up here and there the bitter fight against unionism which everyone anticipated. In Alexander City, Alabama, the National Labor Relations Board hearing on charges of unfair labor practices brought against the town's big employer by the C. I. O. was denied the use of the City Hall (the mayor is a nephew of the company's head), the Disabled Veterans' Hall, a lodge building seven miles from the town, and a night club four and a half miles from town. But the company, for all its old-style bourbonism, isn't what it used to be, and the hearings are proceeding in the federal courtroom nearby.

For too many years Northerners have used the South as a scapegoat. The South and illiteracy, the South and

barbarity, the South and reaction—the words have been coupled almost as synonyms. And this chorus of disapproval has reacted on the South, stiffening domestic isolationism in a population which has been inculcated with regional pride for generations. As a result the best



citizens of the South, the authentic progressive leaders, have been frustrated. The North has not made the effort required to understand the forward developments in the South, and hence its present surprise at the pacific reception accorded the C. I. O.

For the record, let it be said that the C. I. O. has not made the same mistake. Because the C. I. O. is so largely made up of native Southerners, it has understood the habits and even the prejudices of the people among whom it is working. It has made no daring pronouncements on the place of the Negro in its organization and for that reason has been soundly condemned by some Northerners. Yet in practice the C. I. O. recruits without reference to color, and it goes to bat on color issues, major and minor, when they arise. For instance, when a Columbia, South Carolina, hotel refused to provide accommodations for a Negro business agent, the C. I. O. moved its headquarters from the hotel to the hall of a local union. It sounds like a little thing, but, multiplied many times, such a demonstration does more than words. The C. I. O. stands squarely on the proposition that the worker shall have his dignity and his rights. To win these for him in the South means a double fight, for the achievement will only be real when the Negro worker has the same measure of dignity and rights as others.

The C. I. O.'s policy of political aloofness has given rise to even more violent criticism than that aroused by its failure to make strong statements on the Negro question. The Southern organizing drive, through its directors, has ignored the entire left, including the constructive Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It has not even gone along with the P. A. C., which is hard to take. But the drive is designed to unionize. Until it does that, it cannot hope to influence the political pattern. The South is still hamstrung by voting restrictions, and the controlled electorate has a tradition both of violence and of welcoming a man on a white horse. These are ingredients of fascism, and they have been stimulated in the South many times by hatred of radicals and outsiders. In this context, the political strategy of the Southern drive makes sense.

One of the worst handicaps which the C. I. O. must struggle against is the label of "outsider." Only educa-

tion and information will finally lay that ghost. Actually the C. I. O. is not an outsider at all, since its membership in the South is all Southern and the membership chooses its own leadership. The real outsiders are the Northern monopolists who, owning most of the plants, have controlled the Southern workers. They have so successfully used the cry of "outsider" to divide and rule that they have forgotten how vulnerable they are themselves. Recently at an NLRB hearing one of the attorneys defending a Northern corporation pointed to the C. I. O. organizers and shouted, "These men aren't Southerners. They are outsiders." The C. I. O. lawyer interrupted. "Where are you from?" he asked. "I'm from Boston," replied the discomfited attorney. Further questions brought out that the corporation was being defended by two Bostonians and three New Yorkers. "Outsider" wasn't heard any more that day.

But before the South as a whole will understand who are the real outsiders, the C. I. O. must do a big job. As the organizer of the resources and the man-power of the South for the betterment of Southerners, it must integrate itself with the community in which it works locally. The South is still predominantly rural, and its traditional back-country aversion to unions can be overcome only by proof that the C. I. O. is indigenous and working in the interest of the entire community. This will be the real answer to the cry of "outsider." It demands that the C. I. O. call the turn on the monopolies and promote home-owned business. It demands that the C. I. O. show the relationship between high wages and high-level industrialization. It demands that the C. I. O. promote technical schools and agitate against exorbitant freight rates, rigged prices, patent restrictions, and the other causes of industrial and agricultural backwardness.

All this has to be done in terms that can be understood by human beings who have been denied information and the education necessary for making use of information. High food prices, lack of schools and roads, eroded farms, low wages, migration of young people out of the South—all must be targets, and the reasons for the continued existence of these evils must be exposed. In this campaign educators, independent business men, professional men, and many farmers can be allies; and as these segments of the population recognize in the C. I. O. the champion of a better community and a better South, they will stop fighting its unionization efforts. The political quislings will take the opposite side—as indeed they must on the basis of their allegiances. The consequences of C. I. O. success will benefit the whole country politically.

All this is, I think, understood by the leaders of the C. I. O. Southern organizing drive. And if it were not enough to make the success of the drive imperative, one final item would clinch it. On the day that the South is finally organized, the death knell will sound for the

elective restrictions which deprive the poor white and the Negro of their votes. More information and better education follow in the wake of unionization. The combination spells the beginning of the end of the long domination by prejudice—it means a happy goodbye to the Bilbos and the Rankins.

In the Wind

IN KEEPING with the holiday spirit, the Wind has spent the last fortnight riffling through old wastebaskets and conning the tattered productions of Hucksters, large and small. The Wind is now ready with its short survey of the ethos of American huckstering. Immediately following a brief talk by President Carpenter of the du Pont Company over the air waves on the night of December 23, for instance, the du Pont Cavalcade Choir spun into "Joy to the World, the Lord Is Come."

ALSO BRINGING joy to the world, the Granger Products Company of Floral Park, New York, advertised its men's jewelry this way in the December *Farm Journal*: "Luxurious Xmas Gifts at skinflint prices."

NOW FOR an extract from "A Short Course in Salesmanship" by F. C. Aspley, printed by the Darnell Corporation in Chicago: "When the upper lid covers about one-half the width of the top arc of the iris, you may be sure you have full attention and interest. When the lid lifts clear to the top edge of the color ring, [it] . . . should lead to a successful sale."

TRIUMPHANT publicity release from the Publicity Counsel for Art Competition of Loew-Lewin Productions, Hollywood: "Art Triumphs Over Censorship! Boston censorship has capitulated. Eleven new canvases by outstanding American and European painters [have] just completed a remarkably successful showing at the Stuart Art Gallery. All eleven pictures were painted in competition for the selection of one to be featured in 'The Private Affairs of Bel Ami,' a Loew-Lewin motion picture . . . starring George Sanders."

FROM a poop-sheet on "The Premises of the Declaration of Independence and Their Consequences," distributed gratis by Building Supplies Corporation of Norfolk, Virginia: "We may rightly 'hold these truths to be self-evident.' . . . The vote is not a constitutional right, but is a privilege controlled by each state. . . . The privilege . . . of voting . . . should be part of our educational system. *But not how to vote*—a present means of subversive infiltration by underpaid teachers and professors."

NAVY DEPARTMENT public-relations officers, by the way, must be having a hell of a time explaining how the Byrd expedition to the South Polar regions came to forget its 270 pairs of skis, which are now being rushed to the party by aircraft carrier, or icebreaker, or both.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

The People's Front

THAT nations of different political and economic structures can work together to secure peace has become a fixed belief. If this were not so, the entire idea of the United Nations would explode like a pricked balloon. But once established, the belief does not exclude a continuing contest between the capitalist nations and those of socialist tendency. It is not, in the last analysis, a competition carried on in the classic form of a balance-of-power struggle. The nations are not competing merely as nations, but also as representatives of opposing conceptions of life. Most of the recent surveys of world events in 1946 and forecasts for 1947 are meaningless precisely because they minimize the ideological factor in international relations.

Two nations symbolize the nature of this contest—the United States and Soviet Russia. This simplification ignores the middle-of-the-road philosophy evolved by Labor Britain and the efforts of various Western countries to find equilibrium on a socialist basis; but because peace depends above all on relations between America and Russia and on the use to which they put their immense power, people all over the world tend to judge events in their relation to the two giants. An objective look at international developments in the past year shows that the Soviet Union has scored more points than its rivals. The year 1946 opened amid loud denunciations of Russia: the Soviets were behaving badly in the United Nations—they should be put in a corner, isolated along with their eastern satellites, and forced to obey the rules laid down by their Anglo-Saxon betters; 1946 closed with Russia commanding respect in the councils of the United Nations, leading on the question of trusteeships, tossing into the international arena the explosive subject of general disarmament with its strong popular appeal, and handling the ticklish issue of the veto in a way that forced consideration of its arguments even though the vote went against it.

The anti-Russian policy backfired partly because its advocates failed to take into account the socialist factor. They did not see that mobilizing world opinion against Nazi Germany and against Soviet Russia are two very different matters. In Europe at least the workers cannot be won over to a program whose ultimate logic is war with the Soviet state. It is all very well for disillusioned left-wing intellectuals and disgruntled ex-Communists to base their thinking on the assumption that Russia is just another expansionist state, out to grab territory and establish its hegemony. The workers may listen to this bitter indictment, and even agree here and there, but when it comes to a possibility of war against Russia, their answer—whether they are Socialists or Communists or Anarchists—is "Merde."

There is nothing radically new in this attitude. I have been rereading lately the whole story of Western relations with Russia in the early years of the Revolution. Then, as now, the British workers, for example, disliked many things in Soviet foreign and domestic policy, but they liked still less the idea of sending troops against the new-born revolution to please

the gentlemen of the City. It was their revolt that ended British intervention. Looking back at that period one realizes that then as now the promoters of the anti-Russian coalition had the same purpose behind their immediate objectives: to stop the advance of socialism.

Writing in the *World-Telegram* the other day, William Philip Simms observed sadly: "Moscow is expected to dominate the international scene during 1947 even more completely than in the past. . . . In 1946 Russia never, at any time—whether at London, Paris, or New York—yielded on a single fundamental point." Unlike Mr. Simms, I believe the anti-Russian trend was checked not by the intransigence but rather by the elasticity of Soviet foreign policy. Before my recent visit to Russia and after my return I dismissed as unfounded all rumors of an irreparable break. I was convinced that Moscow would never permit disagreements to be carried to the point of damaging the United Nations or risking war. Here again, in the matter of concessions, the socialist factor is too often forgotten. A socialist state, possessed of the vigor and imagination of a regime only thirty years old, is capable of far greater resiliency than the Western countries, saddled with a decrepit economic system and a tradition of striped-pants diplomacy. It was not a malicious columnist in *Pravda* but the highly informed correspondent of the *New York Times*, James B. Reston, who biting observed that the State Department was trying to "play a new role with an old team."

If the 1946 balance has been unfavorable to the anti-Russian crusaders, the outlook for 1947 is more dismal. At the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow next March, the Russians are likely to turn up with a better plan for a German treaty than the British and Americans. For with rumors of imminent war discredited and tension noticeably relieved, the Russians are not as fearful as they were a year ago that western Germany may be utilized in an assault against their country. The bargaining positions of the three powers are more even.

If the Moscow conference is successful, it will give the Big Three a new opportunity to substitute cooperation for bloc-building. Differences in ideology need not be an obstacle. Recently a British magazine printed an account of the visit of a Labor delegation to Russia, written by the secretary of the party, Morgan Philips, who is described as "bitterly anti-Communist." According to Philips, Stalin said there were many roads—"not only the Russian"—to socialism; he paid tribute to the accomplishments of the Labor government in the domestic field, and expressed his belief in the possibility of a lasting collaboration among the victorious powers.

After all, if the Allies mean business, they still have two unfinished tasks—the liquidation of fascism, and the fulfillment of their promises of a better world made during the war. So please, gentlemen, during 1947 a little more reconstruction and less juggling with bombs and blocs.

DEL VAYO

Soviet Politics in Germany

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, December 15

IN MY first article I showed how the Russians have reorganized German trade and industry and made the economy of their zone an adjunct of the Soviet Union's. Of even greater importance in the long view is the way they have changed the social stratification. The existing class society has not been destroyed, but its internal structure as determined by the distribution of power has been strikingly transformed. In the words of a German administrative official with whom I spoke, "The classes which are the natural enemies of democracy have been broken."

EXPROPRIATION OF LAND AND BUSINESS

The semi-feudal rural aristocracy has been liquidated by the agrarian reform, which was begun last year and is now practically completed. As is known, estates of more than 250 hectares were expropriated without any indemnification and parceled out to landless peasants. It is evident that this reform must have been based on political rather than economic considerations, for the great Junker estates were extremely efficient and well-run agricultural units, whereas the new "colonists," many of whom had been expelled from the east, were so totally without resources that a serious harvest deficit was inevitable. The new small landholders, lacking seed, tools, housing, and other necessities, were compelled to depend on a government bureau, the *Bauernhilfe*, and this bureau has retained extensive economic and political control of its beneficiaries. Thus the reform accomplished two purposes: it satisfied the landless and exiled peasantry at the expense of the great landlords, and it brought the peasantry under the blanket control of the state.

By another decree any property however small can be expropriated if it is not directly exploited by the owner himself. This measure was aimed against landholders who fled to the west and left their farms in charge of a friend or hired man, but it can be used

against new German "kulaks," whose continued existence as a class is thus made dependent on an apparatus for which they no longer perform any indispensable social function.

Expropriation of stores and other business concerns belonging to Nazis, war criminals, and arms manufacturers has been legalized by a measure which was nominally submitted to the popular will in a referendum in Saxony. After being approved there, it has been applied throughout the zone. Possible loopholes in it are plugged by a general ruling (Law No. 24 of the Soviet Military Government) permitting expropriation of any business enterprise "needed by the community." Of course the needs of the community are ascertained by the occupation authorities.

I do not think that the process of general expropriation now in full swing should be regarded as the first step in a far-reaching nationalization program, though it evidently sets up an administrative base for a future program of that sort. Rather it is a method of lashing to the state apparatus a castrated remnant of the former middle classes by turning them into a managerial caste—a phenomenon which has been observed elsewhere. The expropriation, it should be noted, is not all-inclusive: certain notorious Nazis have kept their businesses, and well-known anti-fascists have lost theirs. The determining factor, so far as I could discover, is the individual's relations with the authorities, or what might be called pull. Some expropriated concerns are nationalized, some kept by the occupation authorities, and some sold. Occasionally the former owner turns up again as manager. The industrialists have become in effect the agents of the state economy.

The important point in all this is that the class from which the managers and technical experts spring is not being liquidated as such but simply purged; and the survivors are aware that they retain their privileges or authority, not by virtue of their position in a stable society, but through the tolerance of the authorities. In short, the principle of property, while juridically upheld, has been supplanted by the principle of patronage.

BLOCKED BANK ACCOUNTS

The class structure has been attacked at its very roots by the blocking of bank accounts and the closing of banks. These decrees are still in effect throughout the zone, and in consequence all fortunes except those in the form of personal belongings have disappeared. In what now seems to have been a final concession, the

JOEL CARMICHAEL, Nation correspondent for Central Europe, served during the war with the O. S. S. and the United States Navy. At the end of the war he was assigned to Army Intelligence in Berlin. This is the second of three articles on the Russian zone of Germany, from which Mr. Carmichael has just returned. Speaking both German and Russian fluently, he had access to information not usually open to American correspondents.

holders of less than 1,000 Reichsmarks were allowed to make one last withdrawal of 300 marks. It took the great German inflation of 1923 a year to wipe out the savings of the middle classes; the ruling which blocked all bank accounts accomplished the same thing at one stroke. True, inflation has been avoided, and with that in mind some apologists have called the operation effective "therapy," but if one considers what has happened to the middle classes as a result, its object cannot have been to save the patient.

Old people who live on their savings are dying off. Others have become day laborers; still others gangsters. These new proletarians and the criminal elements which have emerged simultaneously will undoubtedly be a common social phenomenon for some time.

Even youth is subjected to the leveling treatment. An educational reform applied in the whole zone except Berlin sets up a single school system in which primary school is compulsory until the age of fourteen and secondary schooling is reduced to four years. Its avowed object is the abolition of educational privilege.

THE NEW ELITE

Yet to say that a classless society is being created in the Soviet zone would betray the observer's astigmatism. Along with the leveling process described above a development in the opposite direction is clearly visible. Out of the ruck of liquidation and impoverishment a privileged few are emerging—an élite composed of the German intellectuals who support the Soviet-approved Socialist Unity Party (S. E. D.). Among them are the more important party officials, the staffs of the journals, radio stations, and theaters sponsored by the Russians, the heads of women's and youth organizations, and of course the directors of the central administration in Berlin and their representatives in the provinces.

This élite has extremely tangible privileges—extra weekly allotments of food and liquor, special lodgings, and even automobiles. Indeed, its members enjoy much the same luxuries as the Soviet officials, whose social life they share to a certain extent. The Soviet authorities seem to be trying to create a new class entirely devoted to the new order—that is, to their position in it—and hence bound to defend it. The new class has not yet achieved a sufficiently broad base in the German community to stand on its own feet. Its origins are both too recent and too blatantly linked with a foreign power to give it the necessary self-assurance. It has a clandestine and apologetic air. Years of political evolution must pass before the red blood of a self-sustaining authoritarian caste flows in its veins.

THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION

At first sight the political scene in Germany appears similar to that in Western Europe, particularly in France and Italy. The former multitude of parties has been reduced to three big blocs—in western Germany the Com-

munist and Social Democratic parties and a rightist party with a strong religious tinge. Any others are of little consequence. In Soviet Germany the fusion of the Communists and Social Democrats in the Unity Party further simplifies the pattern. There the whole of the left is counterpoised to the whole of the right—the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party.

Politically the German bourgeoisie has been hamstrung by the destruction of the Nazi Party, to which one of its wings had given consistent and energetic support, and by the S. E. D.'s adoption of a social-reform program essentially similar to that of the bourgeois Social Democrats. Rightist middle-class groups have thereby been deprived of an openly reactionary party, and the Social Democrats have found themselves obliged to oppose policies they have traditionally favored.

The C. D. U. strongly objects to being called rightist, and in composition it is in fact extremely heterogeneous, containing former Christian trade unionists, members of the old Center Party, Democrats, and members of the Bavarian People's Party. It can be described as right-wing, however, in that it crystallizes the opposition of the middle classes to the program of the left groups and the influence of the Soviet Union. And it does include all the most reactionary persons in Germany today. In this respect it is similar to the French M. R. P., which has been explained as the *Machine à ramasser les Pétainistes*. But whereas the M. R. P. had its roots to some extent in the French resistance movement, and its chief figures are therefore more or less intimately acquainted with the left leaders, the C. D. U. has no bonds with the left.

The chief weakness of the C. D. U., that is, of the splintered and demoralized German middle classes, stems from the inadequacy of mere hostility to the left and the Soviet Union as a base for a bourgeois party. A genuine program is essential, and this the C. D. U. leaders, because of their extraordinarily diverse origins, cannot produce. The resulting flabbiness of purpose is made worse by the difficulty of maintaining contacts across zonal boundaries. I often heard the reproach that in Berlin, where it must compete with the S. E. D., the C. D. U. is progressive and even socialist; in Hamburg it is conservative and capitalist; in Cologne clerical; and in Munich counter-revolutionary and particularistic. Such variations are perhaps explained by the desire of the C. D. U. to stand above party in the narrow sense and become a union of all tendencies this side of Marxism. The charge of clericalism is denied by pointing out that for the first time in German history Catholics and Protestants are effectively combined under one banner. But the inherent instability of the party is so great that not even the necessity of making a united front against the Communists and Social Democrats in the west and the Unity Party in the east is likely to be enough to keep the Christian Democrats glued together.

ONE OFFICIAL PARTY

The S. E. D. is not only the instrument of the occupation; it is also the blatant organizational expression of the neo-élite the Russians have been systematically cultivating. No one but a professional supporter of the party could take seriously the official pretense that the S. E. D. is on an equal footing with other parties. "There are three parties, but one is *the* party," was a remark I heard frequently. And only in a purely formal sense does the S. E. D. represent a fusion of the Communists and Social Democrats. Its driving force is of course the Communist Party. Outside Berlin the fusion was compulsory; in Berlin, under the aegis of quadripartite control, some choice was possible. As a matter of fact there already existed a perfectly genuine quasi-ideological split within the S. P. D., and a great many Social Democrats in Berlin voluntarily acquiesced in the fusion because they were convinced that the only way to realize a reformist program was to participate in the bureaucratic power not so much of the occupation authorities as of the Soviet Union itself.

Their attitude of course was simply another reflection of the fact that Germany is too enfeebled to sustain any independent political activity. It is stretched taut and helpless between two magnetic poles, around which all political manifestations necessarily gravitate. To reproach the occupying powers with backing their own horses by favoring their "own" political parties is naive. Germany's present position makes that inevitable.

Commentators on German politics have been somewhat misled about the Unity Party by the language in which it clothes its purposes. Its leaders bend over backward to avoid *saying* anything that might be distasteful to more than the most ideologically hidebound of its opponents. This is probably one of the reasons why the extremely drastic social leveling that I described above has been so little emphasized; the authorities have been extraordinarily reticent about what is taking place. Nationalizations and economic reforms are seldom mentioned; the talk is always of "purging Nazis and war criminals," of "cleansing the economic apparatus of crypto-fascists," and so on. The radical alteration of the social structure which has already been carried out is cloaked in such euphemistic jargon as "rooting out the last vestiges of fascism," "economic denazification," or "the elimination of excessive purchasing power." These tactics can only be understood as a form of political cajolery. They represent the prudence not of a party campaigning for power but of one that is already firmly entrenched and seeking to broaden the base of its power.

Despite routine denials, the S. E. D. has the unmistakable aura of an official party. It is in control of the youth movement, the women's and peasants' organizations, and the highly centralized organization of labor. Outside

the big cities there is no other effective party. Above all, it is recognized as the only channel for getting a respectable job.

THE S. E. D. AND THE OCCUPATION

The basis of the party's authority is its connection with the occupation forces. It is considered the chosen agent of the Russians, and hence any opposition to it is equivalent to an insurrectionary attitude to the conquerors. "Officially" of course the S. E. D. denies this and calls itself a national party, but its national pretensions are seriously weakened every time it denounces criticism of itself as an "intolerable anti-Soviet provocation." The Russians for their part emphasize their intimacy with the S. E. D. by announcing that many of their decrees are in response to the demands of the party.

While the S. E. D. derives strength and prestige from its close relations with the occupation authorities, it also shares their unpopularity. And with the majority of Germans in all zones the Russians are decidedly unpopular, not for political reasons but because of the disasters of the war, the atrocious conduct of the Red Army during its triumphal entry into Germany, and the ineradicable distaste of any people for foreigners in control of their country.

The party's official position with respect to former Nazis, as enunciated some time ago by Walter Ulbricht, its vice-president and real leader, is that there is a clear distinction between "big" Nazis, who are to be eliminated, and "little" Nazis, who may possibly be forgiven. In practice the concept of bigness is shaded by social considerations, and the term can be applied to any middle-class industrialist whether or not he was a party member. Social Democrats must exhibit superhuman devotion to the party in which they have been merged to mitigate their fundamentally suspect character. They can be held criminally liable for so-called diversionary activity—open criticism of the S. E. D. line—or fascist activity, such as an attempt to restore the S. P. D. The Russian political police determines the severity of their punishment, which may vary from bread-and-water rations for a few days to unexplained lasting disappearance.

The genuinely sincere political following of the S. E. D. in the zone is rather restricted. There are the actual Communists, who are entirely dependable but are handicapped by having to conceal their real aims—that is, if they are professional Communists and not merely communistic-minded Germans. In any case they are not numerous enough at present to fulfil their ultimate responsibilities. There are the German patriots who are speculating on the chance that the Russians will provide the props for the restoration of German power. If their guess seems good, their numbers will rapidly increase. And there are the usual opportunists, the largest group of all, who are simply waiting to see which way the wind will finally blow.

The Russians' attempt to cajole the Germans by favors to the S. E. D. is hampered by their material impoverishment, which bars any real liberality, and by the Germans' own invincible feeling of superiority, despite their respect for Soviet strength. The Russians have not yet

benefited from the misery, industrial stagnation, and political gloom in western Germany. I found the atmosphere in their zone charged with hostility and distrust. Yet I believe their administration is more firmly established than that of any other occupied area.

American Students Talk It Over

BY JOHN CURTIS FARRAR

Chicago, December 30

IN *The Nation* of December 21 Harold J. Laski said that a student organization cannot be political without being partisan. Recently in the United States there has been the beginning of an organization whose founders know it must be political but at the same time are determined to keep it free of partisan control.

During the last few days representatives of almost two million college students have been meeting at Chicago; 295 colleges and 12 national student organizations sent delegates; both radical and conservative groups participated. The major decision taken by the conference, on which there was unanimous agreement, was to initiate the building of a secular, non-partisan national student organization based on the campus as a unit. Leftist elements did not in any sense control the proceedings.

The Chicago meeting was organized by members of the United States delegation to the International Students' Congress in Prague last August. They had helped form the International Union of Students at the Prague meeting, and believed that if the United States was to cooperate effectively with the I. U. S. in promoting international understanding, a new, all-inclusive national student organization was necessary. Various existing organizations, such as the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, American Youth for Democracy, and Unitarian Youth, agreed that some sort of over-all body was needed to coordinate their activities.

When this idea was presented to the conference, however, it was quickly taken out of the hands of the Prague delegation. Some 456 of the 475 delegates came directly from campuses, and many of them were wary both of the students who had planned the conference and of the organizations interested in it. The reports which had reached the United States about the International Union of Students had emphasized the communistic character

of its executive board. The chairman of the United States delegation, moreover, was Russell Austin, who had been elected by leftist groups in the American Veterans' Committee to the chairmanship of the Chicago University chapter.

Mistrust of the student organizations came from various sides. American Youth for Democracy, Intercollegiate Division, which has more than 5,000 members at more than 75 colleges, is not predominantly Communist, but many of the leaders are. On campuses where it has well-organized chapters, as at Hunter and Cornell, it is able to control or at least influence the election of delegates to student conferences. One of its practices is to use the racial issue to its own advantage in elections. On the other hand, the leaders of the two large Catholic student groups, the National Federation of Catholic College Students and the National Federation of Newman Clubs, each with more than 150,000 members, though progressive in some ways, are bound by principles which are handed down to them as absolute and uncompromisable. They have employed what amount to obstructionist tactics in meetings where other points of view prevailed. And they have used red-baiting to their own ends. At the Chicago meeting both the Catholics and American Youth for Democracy were out to build up their own power in the new organization.

The general desires of the students from campuses were formulated by the delegation from the University of Texas. (Texas students had already entered the political field in an unsuccessful attempt to elect their candidate for governor of the state.) The Texans were led by George Nokes, one of the twenty-six members-elect of the Texas state legislature who attend the university, and by James Smith, president of student government and leader of the fight to gain admittance to the law school for a Negro student. Smith was elected president of the Executive Committee charged with putting on a convention next summer at which the new organization will be set up, defeating Russell Austin, who was afterward elected vice-president by a hundred-vote plurality. The Texas plan embodied many objectives on which there seemed to be general agreement—namely participation in the International Union of Students and in other

JOHN CURTIS FARRAR is back at Yale after serving in the navy during the war. He was one of the American delegates at the International Students' Congress in Prague last summer.

international activities, increased educational opportunities, better living conditions for students, and the encouragement of self-government on the campus.

The conference panel on "aims and purposes" stated definitely that a primary aim of a national student organization should be to eliminate racial discrimination in education and suggested specific action for securing the repeal of the segregation laws in certain Southern states. Delegates from seven Southern states informed the plenary session that they would not be able to ask their universities to participate further in the organization if this were allowed to stand. Several Negroes from the North suggested that a middle course might be indicated. Finally a compromise was worked out which paid lip service to the ideal of equality but left the usual loopholes for segregation in the phrase "equal access to educational facilities." The question whether the white Southern schools will be admitted will be discussed more fully at the constitutional convention next summer.

In this matter, as in others, the delegates showed a healthy desire not to make important decisions quickly. They resolved to send the American vice-president of the International Union of Students, William Ellis of Harvard, to the February meeting of its executive board in Prague. On the basis of his report and of all other information that can be gathered, the convention will decide what the position of students in the United States should be with respect to the I. U. S. The exact extent to which the new organization will engage in political activity will remain under consideration.

The naive altruism which many people expect to rule student meetings was not in evidence at Chicago. The elections were decided in all-night private caucuses at which was formed a coalition between Catholics and liberal elements to keep the A. Y. D. from electing its candidates to important offices. The liberal group felt that in general the thing to fear was the left; the Catholic minority, they believed, could not retain control for very long even if it gained it temporarily. Russell Austin was the only candidate approved by the left who was elected to an executive office or staff position; he was made vice-president of the Executive Committee largely because he had done so much to assure the success of the conference. The A. Y. D. elected only two or three of their people to the thirty-three man Executive Committee; the Catholics have seven or eight members, most of whom come from church universities.

The Chicago conference highlighted two important qualities found in present-day college students. They have certain national and international objectives for which they are willing to work hard; and they do not intend to be used by partisan political forces. Because this attitude is exactly what the country needs, the student movement should make a valuable contribution to political life.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

FOR some time an extremely important minority in the radio industry has argued that radio's service to the listener was not what it should be, and that the industry ought to have some specialist examine it under the microscope and determine how good and how bad a job the broadcasters

are doing. About thirteen months ago, after repeated needling by Dr. Frank Stanton, then vice-president and now president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, the National Association of Broadcasters took action. A survey was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, and a detailed analysis of the data assembled was made by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. Last November the results were published by the University of North Carolina Press in "The People Look at Radio."

The book pinpoints radio's weaknesses and suggests what might be done to remedy them. It presents the side of both the critics and the industry. It weighs the social responsibilities of radio against the claims of the advertisers.

About one-third of radio's audience were found to be really against commercials. The features most generally condemned—and this will surprise no one—are their length, their dulness, their overselling, and their use of noises to get attention.

The examination of newscasts indicates a need for more local news, but the book explains that stations use news services for national and international news coverage and would have to set up their own machinery for local news. It suggests that local sponsors might cover the cost.

In dealing with the fact that only 12 per cent of the respondents complained of inaccuracy or bias in radio newscasts, Mr. Lazarsfeld points out that although the question is now purely academic, the time may come when radio will have to prove its freedom from bias.

With respect to comedy, Mr. Lazarsfeld notes that "there is very little satire on American programs. A few comedians use their programs to show up prejudices, or move more or less timidly in the direction of social criticism. But the great educational power satire could have . . . is not fully utilized."

"The People Look at Radio" is well worth reading on many counts, but the most important statement it makes is this: "The volume and position of commercials and the tendency to oversell . . . are the two factors which the industry, by self-regulation, should do something about in rather short order." It will be interesting to see what action, if any, is taken by individual stations.



BOOKS and the ARTS

A Chancellor at Dachau

AUSTRIAN REQUIEM. By Kurt von Schuschnigg. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

ALMOST a decade ago Kurt von Schuschnigg, then federal Chancellor of Austria, in a large volume, "Dreimal Oesterreich," expressed his political philosophy, the creed of a highly cultured Austrian conservative strongly influenced by his early training at a Jesuit college, an admirer of Mussolini's corporate state, and a staunch monarchist. When the book appeared in Dorothy Thompson's English translation, the author was already a prisoner of the Nazis, whom he had vainly tried to appease by measures that were more than just conciliatory. Anyone expecting that *Anschluss*, captivity, and World War II would be able to change Schuschnigg's semi-fascist philosophy will be disappointed. Unlike Léon Blum, who as a prisoner of the Nazis revised some of his favorite opinions, the Austrian continued to cling to his pet ideas, to judge by his present book of memoirs. It is composed of excerpts from his prison diaries, lengthy political treatises also said to have been written in prison, and the transcripts of telephone conversations between Berlin and various capitals in the days of the *Anschluss*.

As if he were pleading for kindness on the part of reviewers and other readers, Schuschnigg insists that his book cannot claim to be "anything but a personal account and a human confession." But is there any reason why the book should be regarded as anything but a purely political apologia? The ex-Chancellor's sufferings in various Nazi prisons and camps were, at worst, of a psychological nature; after all, much of the time he was united with his family, and he had radio, books, and newspapers; for one who, like this reviewer, spent quite some time in the hell of Dachau, it is somewhat amusing to read that Schuschnigg, the privileged prisoner, liked it there: "Nowhere did we fare so well as here, and nowhere was the treatment so relatively decent."

The reader probably will be left cold by Schuschnigg's diaries if he has read such tragic documents as Langhoff's "Moorsoldaten" or Szalet's "Experiment E," but he will read with great interest Schuschnigg's long discussions of Austrian politics. The monarchist Schuschnigg regrets the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, asserting that the creation of new states carved out of its body merely aggravated the minorities problem, and endeavoring to show by means of some rather dubious mathematics that the number of "irredentist" people in Central Europe was greater in 1919 than it had been before. He naively traces the deep differences between the political parties in post-war Austria back to the lack of a personality who could have bridged them, like Vienna's "beloved" Mayor Luger, an arch-reactionary, or old Emperor Francis Joseph, one of the grave-diggers of Austria. He revives the myth that the peace treaty of 1919 "bereft" Austria "of the means to maintain her independence." Referring to Austria's internecine strife, he

claims that "we had no intention in 1933-34 of dissolving the Socialist Party, of crushing their trade unions, or of changing the existing political position of the party," although nowadays nobody doubts that Dollfuss, Starhemberg, and Fey precipitated the tragic showdown. He maintains that the authoritarian regime had not destroyed democracy in Austria: "We retained the principle of free elections, not through political parties, but through corporate bodies," not mentioning the fact that these bodies were composed exclusively of protégés of government and clergy. He denies that there was any government-inspired anti-Semitism under his regime, especially in the economic field, although actually many Jewish physicians, teachers, and other experts lost their jobs. He calls the fears of a Hapsburg restoration, then held by many foreign observers, "hysterical" and "outright surprising," although Schuschnigg was more favorably inclined toward the old dynasty than any other chancellor of the republic.

Schuschnigg tries hard to convince the readers that in March, 1938, he could do nothing but yield to Hitler's demands in order to avoid useless bloodshed. That may be true, although it is thinkable that even then, in the twelfth hour, armed resistance to German pressure might have blocked Hitler's plans for a future "bloodless" conquest of Europe. But it is strange to note that an Austrian patriot like Schuschnigg should still cling stubbornly to the fallacious idea that Austria was and will always be "a German state." Millions of Swiss people protest that they are Helvetians, although they talk German.

Schuschnigg's language is clear and concise, and he seems to mean what he says. But his confessions do not exonerate him; he was a poor statesman, vacillating and wasting his opportunities, who permitted himself to be trapped by his "best friends," including fifth columnists. He was also a small man who worried more about his electricity bill than about the hecatombs that took place outside his own swanky "prison" in the Belvedere Castle. ALFRED WERNER

Innocence

The wisdom of the old will sometimes show
A kind of innocence, the gentle smiles
Hovering about the eyes that seek to know,
The veined, brown hand that yet beguiles
When it is lifted slowly from the knee
While the old voice with sudden richness rings.
Yet their hearts too may know a secret glee,
Seeing that fallen powers still have wings.
So Satan, after all that summer's day,
Found strength, though impotent, to fly from hell
To where the wisdom of experience
Might tempt us all. The old may still betray
The young, who, like the angels, cannot tell
The guile of conquest from old innocence.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Music and Society

MUSIC IN OUR TIME. By Adolfo Salazar. W. W. Norton. \$5.

MR. SALAZAR believes that the "form society assumes at a given moment is reflected in the art of that moment. That art, so closely bound to the life it mirrors, is affected in an analogous way by the crisis through which the contemporary society may be passing. . . . And it is the object of this book to demonstrate this correspondence in the field of contemporary music." There can be disagreement enough about this whole conception of the relationship of art to society, but it might well be useful as a basis for a clear statement of the intention and the achievement of modern music. It is disappointing that Dr. Salazar has not really done anything with it in his book. Outside the introduction this "correspondence" seems, surprisingly, to be taken for granted; what the crisis in music corresponds to in society as a whole is never made explicit; and as a result the crisis in music seems, in Dr. Salazar's statement, not very clear, and not very exciting either. "The external forms of style are symbols which the artist uses to express, within the realm of each art, the way of life in his epoch. . . ." But Dr. Salazar talks only about these external forms of style. I am myself not satisfied enough with this version of the correspondence between art and society to be willing to supply the missing links in Dr. Salazar's argument by my own inference, and I doubt that other readers will want to either. It is by no means obvious what this inference should be. What exactly does the break-up of tonality parallel in the crisis of society as a whole? Without precise formulation of the "correspondence," the long discussion of musical nationalism lacks significance. (I think particularly of the misleading emphasis put on Debussy's nationalism.) And if we have to and want to make these large-scale inferences for ourselves, Dr. Salazar's statement and approval of Stravinsky's answer to the crisis—by a thorough eclecticism and a return to tonality and formal structure—can be interpreted as very dubious politics indeed. Dr. Salazar's theory of correspondence appears to be a superficial and arbitrary *post facto* frame, designed to give coherence to what is merely another history of musical styles during the last hundred years.

Nor as a history, with a simple chronological order, does the book seem particularly illuminating or incisive. Distinguished mainly by copious reference to the other arts and to biography, by its non-critical objectivity, by its sympathy with its material, and by its impressive array of sheer in-

formation, the book suffers from a loose and digressive structure and from imprecise terminology. Despite pages of analysis, "impressionism" and "expressionism" are not clearly defined; the analogies to the painting of the period introduce more examples instead of illumination. The word "poetic" is used as a technical term with an apparently precise meaning which is never made clear: this makes the discussion of Fauré's music difficult to follow. And there are other instances. Here, it seems to me, Dr. Salazar would have been more helpful if he had gone to what he admits is the root of the matter with a discussion of the "ways of life" which produced these different kinds of expression. One needs at least a sketch of his aesthetic to understand his terminology in the regions to which he seems to extend its implications.

Finally, a history of "tendencies" and "leading ideas" must maintain an equilibrium between the particular and the general; it cannot be true or useful unless it does justice to the individual composer and work in all their particularity. One cannot complain if in his chapters on nineteenth century background Dr. Salazar abstracts from the music of Berlioz, Chopin, and others only those qualities which contemporary music inherits and develops, although these qualities are not those which make Berlioz or Chopin uniquely themselves. But if in turn he abstracts from the music of modern composers only those qualities which will show the line of development from the nineteenth century through our century most clearly, then the tendency has become more important than the music, and the individual work has become, in fact, the "secondary source." It is doubtful that the layman reading this book for assistance in understanding modern music (why else?) will be helped by Dr. Salazar to come to that personal and individual experience with each work that is the real knowledge of music. For example, the pages on Satie, Chabrier, Fauré, Berg, even the whole chapters on Debussy and Stravinsky, in my opinion, do not succeed in defining exactly or even, sometimes (Satie, Chabrier), recognizing the unique characteristics of temperament and technique which distinguish each of these composers from the others who perhaps wrote in the same style. For this blindness, an awareness and even an incisive statement—which Dr. Salazar's book does not seem to me to be—of the development of forms and styles in a period is not an adequate compensation.

ROBERT E. GARIS

The People's Attorney

BRANDEIS: A FREE MAN'S LIFE. By Alpheus Thomas Mason. The Viking Press. \$5.

DURING Brandeis's formative years, both as a lawyer and a public man, a revolution was taking place in America. With the absorption of free land and the closing of the frontier, industry replaced agriculture as the norm. The drift of population was from rural to urban areas, and the corporate form of business organization replaced individual enterprise. Accompanying this change in the picture of American society came the opportunity for the exploiter and the monopolist to grasp power.

Mr. Mason shows that Brandeis was one of the first lawyers to realize the implications of this new situation. He reacted unfavorably to the tendency of the prominent attor-

"The resolution of conflict in self is like the making one of opposites in art."

AESTHETIC ANALYSIS PUBLICATIONS by Eli Siegel

1. THE AESTHETIC METHOD in SELF CONFLICT: 50¢
2. PSYCHIATRY, ECONOMICS, AESTHETICS: 50¢

Eli Siegel won the Nation Poetry Prize in 1925 with *Hot Afternoons Have Been in Montana*. This fiercely discussed (and misunderstood) poem foreshadowed the present Aesthetic Analysis.

FREE PUBLICATIONS of the Committee for Aesthetic Analysis: "A Declaration of Purposes" and "Questions and Answers about Aesthetic Analysis." For copies of any or all of these, and for information as to the Aesthetic Analysis Poetry Group and lectures, write to MARTHA BAIRD, 67 Jane Street, New York City.

neys of his day to tie up with the dominant economic interests; he knew that the real conservative is he who is ready to adjust the status quo to the changing pattern of society. He was a practical man, and he gave warning that "there will come a revolt of the people against the capitalists unless the aspirations of the people are given some adequate legal expression; and to this end cooperation of the ablest lawyers is essential."

Against this background the author traces Brandeis's activities through four main periods. During the first period he was a practicing lawyer in Boston. Already the methods he used as a champion of public causes began to emerge. Engaged in such famous battles as the franchise contest with the Elevated Railway in Boston, the fight for savings-bank life insurance, the notorious New Haven Railroad case, and the United Shoe Machinery affair, Brandeis exhibited a tenacity which wilted his opponents. For nine years, from 1905 to 1914, he fought the New Haven Railroad in its attempt to absorb the Boston and Maine. He had many setbacks, with court decisions going against him and officials and newspapers publicly condemning him; but he fought back, rallied others to his side, and persevered, until his contentions were upheld and victory was complete.

In the second period he appeared as an attorney on the national scene, fighting the famous public-land controversies of the Taft regime. Two issues were involved—the defense of national resources against individual encroachment and the establishment of individual responsibility in public office. Brandeis held to a strict definition of individual responsibility, and he constantly emphasized moral law as the basis for good government.

By this time he was a rich man. Some saw a contradiction between his personal fortune as a corporation lawyer and his stand as the "people's attorney." He is "the most liked and the most hated man at the bar in America," said L. S. Richard. But Brandeis had no blanket social program to cover all the cases he handled; he was concerned only with specific causes, and was guided by an organic view of the law which considered that it needed to be adapted to social changes. He did not try to overturn the economic system but only attempted to make it work better.

Next he turned to the political stage, first attaching himself to La Follette progressivism and later becoming adviser and spokesman for Wilson's Administration. He was certain of the worth of democracy as a way of life, but realized that democracy is an empty word unless the people fulfil their duties as citizens. He therefore considered it necessary for men of independent thought to rouse the public from apathy to action; and that was the role he assigned to himself.

Last comes the period during which Brandeis was a Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Mason shows how he helped to shape the court's understanding of its own powers, how he worked with Holmes toward an application of law based on fact and democratic needs rather than on rigid precedent. The factual meaning of the famous phrase, "Holmes and Brandeis dissenting," is explained to the reader in terms of legal and socio-political history.

It is clear from this biography that the author has diligently uncovered most of the necessary documents. Mr. Mason has been studying Brandeis's life and work for a num-

ber of years and has acquainted himself with every relevant incident. But in his anxiety to leave out nothing he sometimes clouds the broader issues of Brandeis's life and leaves the reader with merely a sourcebook of details. He has tried to remain a neutral, content to present a vast mass of material from which the reader must make his own selection. But the details are too complicated: it would have been better to edit his material more severely.

H. DAVID DAVIS

Rimbaud in Exile

PROSE POEMS FROM THE ILLUMINATIONS. By Arthur Rimbaud. In a New Translation by Louise Varèse. New Directions. \$1.50.

HELEN ROTHAM'S translation of Rimbaud's prose-poems was published by Faber and Faber in 1932. New Directions published a few selections from this book in 1943; it is hard to understand why, instead of reprinting all of the more accomplished Faber book, New Directions now publishes Mrs. Varèse's translation. A short review of this book could consist of a mere quotation: "La mer de la veillée, telle que les seins d'Amélie"—"The sea of the vigil, like Emily's breasts."

Louise Varèse is expert with the dictionary, but because grammar at times bores her she succeeds in spoiling one of Rimbaud's best poems: After the Deluge begins with the description of a fresh green world emerging from the purifying flood waters, makes a long contrast with the immediately consequent bloodthirst and sordidness of men, and ends with the invocation that the water may come to destroy

*Russia and Her Geography . . . an
interesting and stimulating study*

THE U.S.S.R. A GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

By JAMES S. GREGORY, Formerly Geography Master, Trinity County School, Middlesex; and D. W. SHAVE, Senior Geography Master, Trinity County School, Middlesex Lecturer in Geography Method, Westminster Training College, London

Authoritative and interesting facts on one of the world's favorite topics of discussion—Russia. This unusual book presents a full survey of all important aspects of Russian geography at the present time—including many data never before available in America. There is a unique treatment of the growth and development of Russia during past centuries, from a geographical point of view. Special attention is given to its evolution since the 1917 Revolution. The material presented in this volume has been gathered chiefly from works published in Russia—much of it collected at first hand by one of the authors during his extensive travels throughout the U.S.S.R.

\$4.25

At your bookstore or direct

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc.
440 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.

and cleanse again. "Dans la grande maison de vitres encore ruisselante, les enfants en deuil regardèrent les merveilleuses images" does not mean, however, "In the big house with window panes still dripping . . ." since the singular *ruisselante* applies to the house, and anyway means *streaming* not *dripping* as though with rain. Helen Rootham had at least said, "In the great house of glass still streaming with water. . . ." Rimbaud in his most visionary poems fires bursts of images in the chaos of the unconscious; the reasoning mind, even in spite of itself, tries for some association of ideas, rushing at any target offered—here, the words or the implication: *water* or *rain*. But Rimbaud does not tell what the house is streaming with, and no translator has the right to blur Rimbaud's or the reader's vision by decking out the original. Only a very few lines earlier in the poem Rimbaud has written: "Blood flowed, at Bluebeard's house—at the abattoirs, in the circuses, where the seal of God blanched the windows. Blood and milk flowed." It isn't impossible that the glass house containing the children is streaming with something else than water and may have something to do with birth, especially if one considers the poem's closing lines: "And the Queen, the Witch that lights her charcoal in the earthen pot, won't ever want to tell us that which she knows, and which we don't."

In the poem *Enfance* the opening lines set the scene—two revenants moving and watching as though still alive: "C'est elle, la petite morte, derrière les rosiers.—La jeune maman trépassée descend le perron." Translated by Louise Varèse: "It is she, the little girl, dead behind the rosebushes.—The young mama, lifeless, comes down the stoop." But Rimbaud wrote: "It is she, the dead little girl, behind the rosebushes." She may be standing there, watching her dead young mother descending the steps; *trépassée* means only one thing in French, *dead*; Mrs. Varèse's young mama seems only to be suffering from the vapors.

In *Mystique*, if Rimbaud had meant to say, "From the meadows flames leap up," he would not have written, "Des prés de flammes bondissent," which means "Meadows of flames leap up" and presents a different image. On the other hand, we have an exact if lifeless translation of "Des fanums qu'éclairaient la rentrée des théories" (Promontory), where *théorie* means a sacred embassy sent out to consult a Greek

oracle: "Fanes lighted up by the returning embassies," and not, as in Helen Rootham's version, "Shrines illumined by the presence of a revived speculation." Whatever gratitude one feels toward Mrs. Varèse here soon collapses. "Rien ne bougeait encore au front des palais" is turned into "Nothing yet stirred in front of the palaces"; any schoolboy would have correctly translated in the forehead of, allowing one to see the façade of buildings as faces. "And the dream fades," we read for "Et le rêve fraichit."

If they had been the result of an attempt to convey some of Rimbaud's music and rhythms to the American reader, these mistakes would not matter in the least. But Mrs. Varèse is painstakingly uninspired. A single poem of Hart Crane's, for instance, though not at all derivative, can give you more of the essence of Rimbaud than all these translations together. They do, of course, keep one from having to turn too often to the dictionary.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

Hurry Up Please Its Spinach

HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME. By Elizabeth Hawes. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50.

THIS curious little work is perhaps best treated as a unique type of mystery, in which the reader's object is to discover the point of the book. The title seems to present a clue, of course, and after you *Hurry Up* and read the volume you do discover that It's Time to fight for socialism. But there is nothing about socialism in the book except for a few remarks at the end expressing the author's unqualified and unanalyzed indorsement.

The jacket, which I consulted eagerly for a lead, says that in this, "her most important book" (more important even than "Fashion Is Spinach"), Miss Hawes "dares to expose our most carefully hushed-up ills." These appear to be, in rising order of gravity, the patronizing attitude of trade-union men toward trade-union women; marital infidelity in and out of the labor movement, or the "Great Bed Bug"; the congenitally fascist nature of employers; red-baiting in the unions; and, above all, Walter Reuther, who is not as hushed-up an ill, however, as Miss Hawes would like to make him.

The author is a passionate advocate of unity in the labor movement, and to this end she divides its members into four groups: red-baiters, a depraved lot who cannot be damned too heartily; "non-red-baiters," who are the salt of the earth; "catechismic Communists," eccentric but harmless folk who go about saying, "We must reach a broad section of the masses"; and "common Communists," staunch fellows who smile at their catechismic comrades, work faithfully with their non-red-baiting brothers, and bear cheerfully the burden of the day.

The way to achieve unity among these groups obviously is to get rid of the ones you don't like. Out of the depth of her two and a half years of experience in organized labor Miss Hawes is prepared to do the job of sifting. Reuther and his red-baiters must go. The Redhead, as she calls Mr. Reuther in her mellow moods, is "dangerous," and his loyalty to the union open to question. Miss Hawes suggests that he is angling for the Presidency of the United States

JOIN

THE BALLET SOCIETY

GEORGE BALANCHINE, Artistic Director

LEON BAZIN, Musical Director

Second Program:

Monday and Tuesday, January 13 and 14

Hunter College Playhouse, 117 East 68th Street

"RENARD" ("The Fox") (First U.S. Stage Performance)

Igor Strawinsky—George Balanchine—Esteban Frances

"PASTORELA" (Mexican Folk Opera) (First U.S. Performance)

Paul Bowles—Lew Christensen—Alvin Colt

RATNA MOHINI and her Javanese Court Dancers

Musical Arrangements by Colin McPhee

IRIS MABRY (Young American Dancer)

"DIVERTIMENTO" (Classic Ballet) (First Performance)

Alexei Haieff—George Balanchine

Admission by subscription only

THE BALLET SOCIETY

130 West 56th Street

Phone: Circle 6-7831

JOIN THE BALLET SOCIETY AT ANY TIME

and thinks he has the requisite skill in machine politics. His activities turn her "as cold as do those of the N. A. M.," and if we permit him to "mix us up by a red scare or individualistic behavior—then we may expect the U. S. A. to follow in the footsteps of Nazi Germany."

These remarkable bits of libelous passion, fully backed by strained inference and far-fetched anecdote, are in keeping with the vapory nature of the book, which in a disjointed way tells of the frustrations in educating women in the principles of trade unionism.

I do not profess to have discovered the point of the book, but since all mysteries are supposed to have a culprit, I pick Reynal and Hitchcock.

ROBERT BENDINER

The Queen and Columbus

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. By Hermann Kesten.
A. A. Wyn. \$3.

SEVEN years ago I reviewed in these columns Hermann Kesten's novel "The Children of Guernica," the book with which that author introduced himself to the American reading public. "Ferdinand and Isabella" testifies once more to the freshness and originality of his talent.

The events described in this historical novel are known to any college student—Spain's ruthless and tenacious struggle for power started by Queen Isabella toward the end of the fifteenth century, the inhuman persecution and expulsion of the Spanish Jews and Arabs under the Inquisition, the crucial deed and personal drama of Christopher Colum-

bus. ("A world is my monument," muses the unfortunate discoverer. "Spanish chains are my reward.") But the familiar characters and situations assume an entirely new relevance and fascination as a truly creative writer depicts them with poignant wit and profound compassion.

There are heart-breaking scenes dramatizing the martyrdom of Isabella's victims—the Moors whom she was determined to exterminate, the Jews whose tormented outcry, "God, You see and are dumb?" resounds through the pages of the chronicle. In spite of all its moral indignation, however, the chronicle treats the blood-stained heroine with fairness and understanding. The Isabella it portrays is not just a monster of greed and fanaticism; she is a live woman, a human being—complex, contradictory, problematical. At times she is almost lovable; in other moments she has tragic grandeur. And again there are hours when she becomes puny and pitiful. There are hours of doubt. Looking at a "gouty old man," a "sublime, ridiculous old man" by the name of Christopher Columbus, the Queen of both the Spains wonders, shuddering: "Are all great men mad? Have I been mad, too? Is madness greatness? Is greatness madness? Poor, poor old man!"

A skeptic and moralist in the Voltairean tradition, Kesten seems to tell us that madness was ruling the world four hundred and fifty years ago as it is today. Which is not to say that we should acquiesce in madness. Kesten, for one, does not—as he has proved once more by writing the frightening and edifying, bitter and entertaining story of Queen Isabella and her beloved Ferdinand, nicknamed "King Petticoat."

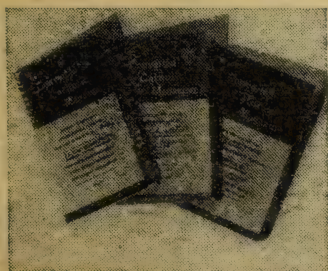
KLAUS MANN

The Catholic Church--Its Nature and Purpose

Factually and Objectively Discussed



Without Offense to Catholic People



You Should Know--

? HOW THE CATHOLIC CHURCH EXISTS IN A DEMOCRACY
WHAT THE STEPINAC CASE MEANS TO US
MUST WE CHOOSE BETWEEN ROME AND RUSSIA
CAN PROTESTANTISM SURVIVE THE POPE'S BID FOR WORLD CONTROL

For First-hand Information on These and Other Questions of Vital Importance to Every American

Read THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

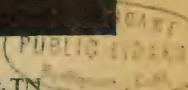
Edited by Former Roman Catholic Priests

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$1.00 A YEAR (10 issues) — Canada and Foreign \$1.25

Order from CHRIST'S MISSION, 229 West 48th Street, New York 19, N. Y., Dept. TN

Name..... Address.....

City (Zone)..... and State.....



MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
51st ST.
56th ST.
58th ST.
59th St.
60th St.
61st St.
62nd St.
63rd St.
64th St.
65th St.
66th St.
67th St.
68th St.
69th St.
70th St.
71st St.
72nd St.
73rd St.
74th St.
75th St.
76th St.
77th St.
78th St.
79th St.
80th St.
81st St.
82nd St.
83rd St.
84th St.
85th St.
86th St.
87th St.
88th St.
89th St.
90th St.
91st St.
92nd St.
93rd St.
94th St.
95th St.
96th St.
97th St.
98th St.
99th St.
100th St.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"COMPELLING THRILLER."—New York Herald Tribune

OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND
LEW AYRES
'THE DARK MIRROR'

—AND—
'GENTLEMAN JOE PALOOKA'
LEON ERROL • JOE KIRKWOOD

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KEMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & E. St.

"HARDBOILED DRAMA OF MURDER AND LOVE"
—N. Y. Sun

GEORGE RAFT
LYNN BARI

'NOCTURNE'

—AND—
JAMES MASON
'THEY WERE SISTERS'

PARAMOUNT Presents

BETTY HUTTON • SONNY TUFTS

'CROSS MY HEART'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE
—IN PERSON—

ANDREWS SISTERS

TONY PASTOR and His Orchestra

PLUS
LES PAUL & HIS TRIO

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present

"SUPERB SPOOFING."—Walter Winchell

HELEN HAYES

'HAPPY BIRTHDAY'

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST Thea., Matinee: Wednesday and Saturday 2:40.

"MERMAN'S A WOW."—Chapman, News

ETHEL MERMAN

IN THE MUSICAL SMASH

'ANNIE GET YOUR GUN'

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

IMPERIAL Theatre 45th St., West of Broadway, Evenings at 8:30.

Matinee: Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30.

STAGE PLAYS

"A smash hit of enormous proportions."—
Ward Morehouse, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by **GARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH 4-4230
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

JOSE FERRER IN
CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • MIRIAM SHERMAN
PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON
ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON
BARRYMORE THEA., 47th Street West of Broadway, CH 4-0390
Eves., incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

"Loaded with laughs! Bert Lahr puts it over with a bang."

—O'CONNOR, Journal American
BERT LAHR with **JEAN PARKER** in
BURLESQUE The FAMOUS COMEDY

By George Manker WATERS and Arthur HOPKINS
BELASCO Thea., 44th St., E. of B'way, BR 9-2067
Evenings: 8:40, \$1.20-\$4.80; Saturday Evenings \$1.80-\$5.40
Matinee: Thursday and Saturday 2:40. \$1.20-\$3.00 tax included

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE *Nation*

Money-Saving Magazine
Combinations

with Harper's Magazine \$8.50
You save \$2.50

with Consumers Union \$9.25
You save \$1.25

with Harper's Magazine and
Consumers Union \$11.75
You save \$3.75

with Free World \$8.50
You save \$1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14

☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

1-11-47

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE Bignou Gallery's announcement of Pierre Bonnard's first one-man show in this country (through January 31) may have struck some of us as presumptuous in its bland statement that Bonnard is the greatest living French painter. One's first impulse is to bring up Matisse, whom many—and I among them—consider perhaps the greatest living painter in the world. The fact is, however, that the Bignou announcement merely echoes an opinion that has spread wider and wider in France during the last fifteen or twenty years and that represents a kind of hostile criticism of Matisse, cubism, and cubism's aftermath—that is, of everything the School of Paris has done since fauvism. This opinion rejects what it holds to be the shock and flash effects of Picasso and Matisse and prefers the "solidity" of French "tradition."

Bonnard is indeed solid painting. He is also late impressionism plus Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin—and Matisse. Originally one of the "Nabi" group founded in the 1890's under the inspiration of Gauguin's flat, decorative painting, Bonnard has devoted himself to gathering up the loose strings left around by the School of Paris's too rapid transition from impressionism to abstraction. Bonnard, for his part, has worked toward the abstract in a slower and, in a sense, more organic way than did the cubists. Before 1910 or so he painted in rather darkish tones, heedless of the fauves, but flattening his canvases more and more as he went along; by 1915 he seems to have felt Matisse's influence—he himself may have influenced Matisse previously—and his palette brightened up radically and his painting blossomed into big, boldly cut-out pictures that resemble screens or panels more than easel-paintings but are too hot in color to stay in place as mere decoration.

It is to this last phase that Bonnard owes his present renown among those who profess to know and like painting for painting's sheer sake—for the poetry of the immediate medium, of cuisine, paint texture, manual sensitivity. And it is precisely this concentration on his stuff, on juice and matter, that seems to have led Bonnard to paint more and more abstractly: the greater the attention to pigment and brushstroke the less becomes the concern with the original data

of the subject in nature. Thus Bonnard's conceptions have become steadily more summary; he simplifies shapes into flat areas of unbroken color modulated by nothing more than the brushstroke, and arranges these areas into patchwork patterns in which all planes merge into one, with no single color or shape receding or advancing too far or too dramatically and the human figure becoming but one more object among others. Warm colors, crimsons, oranges, pinks, yellows, mauves, acid viridians, and emeralds in off shades, all these are crowded close to one another—sometimes at dangerously close intervals that threaten to turn the effect into mud. And yet it is one of the tensions and dramatic virtues of Bonnard's art that such bright, hot colors should come so close to mud.

Here, moreover, is a way of approaching abstract painting that makes a detour around cubism and yet arrives at almost the same place in the end. But Bonnard never abandons the object, and never will—nor does he violate it as Picasso has done, while still retaining it. He holds on to the third dimension more tenaciously. He may simplify nature but he does not reorganize it with respect to anything except color; and so the world he shows us disorients no one familiar with that of Monet or Renoir. This is the main reason why conservative connoisseurs have found Bonnard easier to take than Matisse, despite the fact that the latter has never gone so far toward the abstract. But Matisse is no longer an impressionist, and he imposes his temperament too radically and inflexibly. Besides, abstractness, taken by itself, has never been a measure of the radicalness of art; if it were, Magnasco would have been more of an innovator than Delacroix. The abstractness of the cubists and Matisse's flatness are the symptoms of a new vision of art, whereas Bonnard's is an extension of the same vision by which Monet painted his lily-pads.

But the intimacy and calmness of Bonnard's art, its concentration on gentle pleasures, and the fact that it smells permanently of the fashions of 1900-14, expressing as it does the desire of the French middle classes to make history stop and stand still at 1912, and leave them undisturbed in the enjoyment of the modest but refined amenities that the Third Republic had permitted them to accumulate—all this should not mislead us into thinking that he lacks ambition as a painter. Bonnard has not been content to have his art called

French and to let it rest at that. He can paint "French" easily enough and turn out any number of sure-fire successes; and from time to time he does, indeed, paint little landscapes and still lifes that Manet or the early Corot or even Courbet or Boudin would have been glad to call his own: pictures, precious enough in themselves, that depart from the standard traditional qualities of French painting only by their directness and by the fast, loose, modern execution which achieves their paradoxical delicacy. But these are in the nature of relaxations, and Bonnard also seeks to realize a more monumental art through his instinct for large-scale decoration. What he seems to want is a big flat picture with the massiveness and weight of Tintoretto or Veronese. Here he must gamble; there are no certain successes in this unexplored territory, and he makes many mistakes and paints many failures. But the audacity with which he cuts out his canvases and the no less audacious monotony with which he designs them are an effort to express something profound and entirely new and contemporary, and when success comes, the result is an important masterpiece and a further advance on the part of the total tradition of Western painting.

"Visual imagery caught in a
net of music"



ROYAL MURDOCH'S

New Book

GARGANTUA'S MOUTH

*Provocative and arresting poems in
the modern vein. 112 pp. cloth,
stamped in gold. \$3.00*

THE FINE EDITIONS PRESS
227 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK

Alas, the present exhibition at the Bignou contains little but a selection of Bonnard's failures—and they are not even important failures, except for "The Open Window" of 1924. The two best canvases hung, "Cannes, the Harbor" (1919) and "Still Life with Fruit" (1926), are in Bonnard's relaxed vein; as exquisite as it is, the seascape might have been painted by a latter-day Descamps, and the still life by Renoir himself. One can, provisionally, explain the weakness of this show only by the assumption that the artist's best work has remained in France.

Bonnard is not the only contemporary to show that impressionism still has something left to say, even in the presence of cubism and post-cubism. There is Victor Pasmore in England—and there was Arnold Friedman here in America. Friedman's death last week at the age of seventy-four closed the career of one of the best painters this country has ever produced—one who in a place where people were less illiterate in terms of painting for its own sake would have received far more recognition and understanding than he did. Only illiterates could ever have called a painter so completely in possession of his means as Friedman a "primitive." Forced to earn his living as a post-office clerk and to paint in his spare time until his retirement in 1933, Friedman took a long time to develop. But he did develop, and always in a determined direction, a direction that took him toward an abstract impressionism more radical than Bonnard's. In the last years of his life he painted a series of landscapes that for color and texture are without equal in

our time. But they lack shock effect, they are too solid and complete to be "brilliant," and therefore his art may have to wait a long time before it receives its just recognition in this country. But I have enough confidence to add his name right now to those of Eakins, Ryder, Homer, Blakelock, Cole, Bellows, Eilshemius, and Hartley.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

BALANCHINE, for me, stands out among the best choreographers—even the way Picasso stands out among even the best painters: by the power in manipulation of his medium and the power of his mind and imagination that yield the prodigal abundance of his invention, its constant development and originality. fact Balanchine is, for me, an artist of the same magnitude as Picasso, and the only one I can think of now working in any of the arts. He is, it seems to me, even more disciplined in his exercise of his powers than Picasso: the originality, no matter how astounding, always remains part of the continuous development; a work as singular as "Dances Concertantes" is only a special use of the permanent but developing elements of the idiom and style of other works.

The occasion for these observations is Balanchine's latest ballet, "The Four Temperaments." From the very first movements of the motionless pair of dancers revealed by the rising curtain it has the striking impact of the powers I have mentioned—the powers which begin at once their fascinating transformation of the familiar elements of the Balanchine idiom and style, and which overwhelm one in the end with the richness, the complexity, the originality, the power of the succession of dances they produce with those elements. It is a work that, in the words of Edwin Denby, "holds one spellbound by the constant surprise of its dance development, by the denseness and power of the dance images which the figures on stage create from moment to moment"; and this sustained power makes it grand and imposing.

Except for its conclusion Hindemith's score is excellent for Balanchine's purpose. But Kurt Seligman's costumes are extravagant and undisciplined in their boldness of color and design—some of them obscuring the body that should be clearly outlined. His decor is good.

As presented by the Ballet Society to its subscription audience (for which it will be repeated on January 13) the work was danced with precision and brilliance by graduates and students of the School of American Ballet—the soloists being Mary Ellen Moylan, Beatrice Tompkins, Elise Reiman, Gisella Caccialanza, Tanaquil Le Clercq, Todd Bolender, William Dollar, Fred Danielli, José Martinez, Lew Christensen, and Francisco Moncion. And the dancers benefited by the excellent performance of the music under the direction of Leon Barzin.

The students of the school also danced in a performance of Ravel's "L'Enfant et les sortilèges" that I thought was a waste of everyone's time and talent. I would rather have seen a repetition of the lovely ballet that Balanchine created to a Mozart Sinfonie Concertante for the students' performance with the National Orchestral Association a year ago.

I am grateful to Laszlo Halasz of the City Center's opera division for the opportunity to hear the beautiful and expressive music of Tchaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin," and for his decision to give the work in Russian—though I suppose some of my gratitude should go to the person who drilled the Americans in the cast in the Russian words. Only William Horne's American accent remained noticeable; and I was bothered less by that than by the unsuitable and unchanging middle-aged appearance of Ivan Petroff as Onegin, the sudden introduction of comic stylization in the impersonation of one of the seconds in the duel scene, and the redistribution of scenes among the acts. The faults of the production were in fact mostly dramatic; the musical performance under Mr. Halasz's direction was quite good. And fortunately, if one could not believe in Mr. Petroff as Onegin one could certainly believe in Vera Bryner as Tatiana: she looked and acted the part convincingly in addition to singing it effectively, though with a voice of no great sensuous beauty and a strong vibrato. Mr. Horne also sang well with a voice that was rather dry; but Margery Mayer's voice was fresh and lovely.

Mr. Halasz being a man of enterprise and energy, I call on him to produce Mussorgsky's—not Rimsky-Korsakov's, not Shostakovich's—"Boris Godunov" in Russian.

Szigeti's performance of Bach's Chaconne seemed to be very fine. I say "seemed" because I had difficulty in getting hold of it, so to speak, as the attenuated sound of the unaccompanied

Buy Your Books through The Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside of United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

violin reached me in the vast space of Carnegie Hall (I think it a mistake for a soloist to play there, and especially for Szigeti, whose small tone loses its radiance in a large hall). But in addition there was the difficulty that I had just heard a performance of Mozart's D major Quintet by the Budapest Quartet and Katims that had had me all but exclaiming over its exciting ensemble miracles. Szigeti also played a Stravinsky Divertimento that was an astonishingly effective arrangement of some of the fascinating music of "Le Baiser de la fée."

The list of HMV importations that I mentioned last week was one printed by Victor. I have just seen a mimeographed list issued by the New York Band Instrument Company on which are the great Cortot-Thibaud-Casals recordings of the Schubert and Beethoven trios. And also these outstanding recordings, among others: the John McCormack *Il mio tesoro* from "Don Giovanni" and *Una furtiva lagrima* from "Elisir d'Amore" (DB-324; \$2.50), the Elisabeth Schumann *Deh vieni, non tardar* from "Figaro" and *L'amerò, sarò costante* from "Il Re Pastore" (DB-1011; \$2.50), and the Roswänge Gott! welch' Dunkel hier from "Fidelio" (DB-4522; \$2.50).

Columbia has issued Milhaud's "Bal Martiniquais," performed by Robert and Gaby Casadesus (71831-D; \$1). It is the only work of Milhaud that I have enjoyed listening to; the performance is expert; and the sound of the pianos on the record lacks the rich resonance it should have but is otherwise good. On another single (7479-M; \$1) is the Ebony Concerto that Stravinsky composed for the Woody Herman Orchestra, in which bits of jazz melody and rhythm are subjected—unsuitably and pointlessly, I would say—to the Stravinsky ostinato treatment. It is put together, of course, with all the Stravinsky precision, and performed with equal precision by the Woody Herman Orchestra under Stravinsky's direction.

Victor's remaining December releases offer two works, each of which in its own way is not worth the performers' time and effort, Victor's machinery, materials, and labor, and listeners' attention: Brahms's "Liebeslieder" Waltzes Opus 52, beautifully sung by Robert Shaw's Victor Chorale with Luboshutz and Nemenoff (Set 1076; \$3.85), and Louis Gruenberg's Violin Concerto, written for Heifetz, who plays it with brilliance of tone and technique with the San Francisco Symphony under Monteux (Set 1079; \$4.85). The performances are excellently recorded.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Record of the Arab States

Dear Sirs: It is a pity that Alvarez del Vayo in his excursion into Arab politics in your issue of December 7 should not have acquainted himself better with the facts before drawing his conclusions. As examples of his lack of information in this field, the following errors may be pointed out:

1. When he says that the Arab League was "whole-heartedly on Hitler's side" until Germany began to lose the war, he seems not to know the Arab League was only formed in March, 1945, that is, less than two months before the defeat of Germany.

2. As "proof" of the above statement he says that Syria and Lebanon under the Vichy regime became the chief Middle Eastern base of the German command. He is apparently unaware that under Vichy neither the Syrians nor the Lebanese had independent representative governments and therefore shared no responsibility for what happened in their territory.

These are only minor examples of the author's inaccuracy. I have the feeling that he has swallowed whole the contemporary "liberal" myth about Arab politics, which is based not on a study of the facts but on Zionist propaganda. That propaganda attempts to prove (a) that the Arabs do not really object to Palestine being given to the Jews, and (b) that what appears to be Arab resistance to Zionism is only the artificial creation of the British. The impression is thereby given that Zionism is fighting a heroic battle against British imperialism, and the Arabs scarcely come into the picture at all.

This line of propaganda deliberately glosses over the fact that it is all along Zionism which has been the pampered child of British imperialism; that but for the armed might of Great Britain there would today be no Zionists in Palestine. If there is a temporary estrangement between the British government and the Zionist leaders, that is merely because these leaders are not satisfied with the pace at which their movement is being allowed to grow. In all this it is the Arabs who have been the victims and the attacked; they are therefore unable to understand the attitude of liberals like Mr. del Vayo who appear to think clearly and with a passion for freedom

and justice about other parts of the world but to lose these qualities when it comes to the Palestine question.

CECIL HOURANI,

Secretary, the Arab Office

Washington, December 17

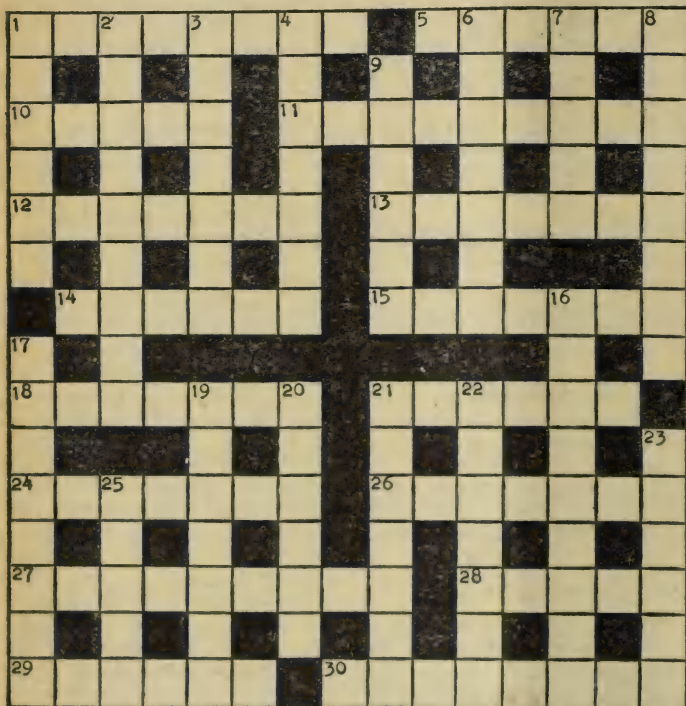
[It is unnecessary to say that Mr. del Vayo did not depend for his facts on "Zionist propaganda"; that those facts were accurate, despite Mr. Hourani's remarks, can easily be shown. Mr. Hourani tells us that "the Arab League was only formed in March, 1945." As secretary of the Arab Office in Washington he should know his dates, but they do not coincide with those accepted by even higher authorities. The Arab League emerged from a series of conferences among Arab leaders called by Mustapha Nahas Pasha, head of the Wafd Party in Egypt, shortly after Mr. Eden, in January, 1943, had repeated an earlier suggestion that Britain would view with sympathy a movement to achieve unity among the Arab states. The conferences led to the conclusion of a protocol formally establishing the Arab League. The protocol was signed on October 7, 1944. Azam Pasha, secretary general of the Arab League, in an interview published a few weeks ago in the Egyptian daily *Al Kutla*, spoke of the beneficial effect of the league's activities "during the twenty-eight months of its existence." That would fix the founding of the League at about August, 1944, or two months before the protocol was signed—and eight months before the date given by Mr. Hourani.

But, dates aside, Mr. del Vayo's assertion that "until Germany began to lose the war it [the Arab League] was whole-heartedly on Hitler's side" referred in fact to the states now composing the Arab League; they were pro-Nazi long before they were formally united.

As for the question of the responsibility of Syria and Lebanon for German activities in the Levant, the facts are as Mr. del Vayo stated. Although the Levantine republics were under Vichy control, both their governments and the dominant political parties were flagrantly pro-Nazi. The "Military Handbook" published by the G. H. Q. of the British Army in the Middle East in June, 1941, gave a table of Syrian and Lebanese parties and characterized their political aims and affiliations. For almost

Crossword Puzzle No. 194

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Pastry is not plentiful here
5 S A A
10 Place where you consign things you want to forget
11 Love may take away the sight, but this restores it!
12 To return on a ship of the desert to King Arthur's court
13 What you need to start in the writing business
14 Avaricious
15 Without them, can becomes can't, you might say
18 She has our sympathy
21 Bread not recommended for pies
24 Lvov
26 Chirped
27 Having rusty locks
28 This balance is not at the bank
29 "Capers ----- in a lady's chamber To the lascivious pleasing of a lute"
30 Treat as an alien

DOWN

- 1 Choice
2 The old school (4 and 5)
3 Inflated
4 Grass much favored for feeding cattle
6 Tipples (anag.)

- 7 Here and there; now hither and then thither
8 Not necessarily what enabled the enemy agent to be far-sighted
9 They plaster it on some houses
16 Neither legal nor tender means of acquiring legal tender
17 Men can't bear them
19 The champagne bucket, perhaps (3-4)
20 Where the eggs are laid
21 Chirpy insects, these
22 He owes most of his illegal position to a moneylender
23 Become attached to
25 A woman of fashion

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 193

ACROSS:—1 BADMINTON; 6 CHEKA; 10 ORGANO; 10 BETHUNE; 11 DRAGNET; 12 TYRANNY; 13 SOS; 15 DISUSE; 17 TRIXIE; 18 ARMOR; 19 PRIEST; 22 YAFFLE; 25 ANT; 27 TIFFANY; 29 UNSWEAR; 30 OARLAPS; 31 FIGHTER; 32 GLOVE; 33 ATTAINDER.

DOWN:—1 BROOD; 2 DOG DAYS; 3 INNINGS; 4 TENETS; 5 NO BUTS; 6 CATERER; 7 EQUINOX; 8 ACETYLENE; 14 OSMAN; 15 DIPHTHONG; 16 EAT; 17 TRY; 20 INFERN; 21 SWANAGE; 23 ASSEGAI; 24 FRETTER; 25 AYESHA; 26 TUFFET; 28 RARER.

every party mentioned the comments run as follows: "German connections, pro-Nazi"; . . . "with strong Nazi-Fascist tendencies"; . . . "under the direction of von Heutig," etc. About the National bloc headed by Shukri Kuwatli, today President of the Syrian Republic, the "Handbook" remarks, "The party is pro-German." Apart from the records of parties, the period referred to by Mr. del Vayo is studded with the pro-Nazi acts of most of the prominent Arab leaders in the Levant; Mr. Hourani has apparently forgotten, for example, the close collaboration of most of these leaders with the German-Italian Armistice Commission in 1940-41, the speeches and direct help given to the Iraqi rebels by Riad al Sulh, now Prime Minister of Lebanon, by Hashim Atasi, ex-President of the Syrian Republic, by the late Emir Shekib Arslan, who headed the Mufti's espionage office in Geneva, and by many others whom lack of space prevents us from citing.

Mr. del Vayo's theme was not the battle of Zionism against British imperialism but rather the reactionary role played in the United Nations by the Arab states. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to comment on Mr. Hourani's last paragraph except to say that the record of the past seven years, since the White Paper was issued, would seem sufficient answer to his contention that Zionism "has been the pampered child of British imperialism."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

ADVERTISEMENTS

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 R C A Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0976. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA, Free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Avenue, Pelham, New York.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 18, 1947

NUMBER 3

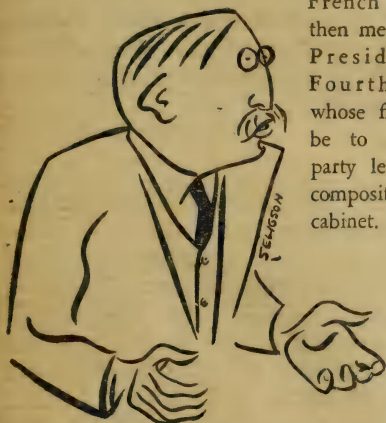
The Shape of Things

WE SALUTE LEON BLUM, PREMIER OF FRANCE, who on the insistent orders of his physicians will retire from public life on January 14. On that day the interim government which he so courageously formed a few weeks ago, when all efforts to create a broad coalition administration failed, must in any case resign. For the

French Parliament then meets to elect a President of the Fourth Republic whose first task will be to consult with party leaders on the composition of a new cabinet. But if Blum's

last spell of office has been brief, it has also been notable. He and his colleagues energetically

tackled the thankless task of stabilizing the budget and checking the rise in prices. They obtained the approval of the National Assembly for increases in taxes and economies in governmental costs. But their most dramatic move to stem the inflationary tide was a decree ordering an immediate 5 per cent cut in *all* prices, to be followed by a similar reduction on March 1. Cynics said this was a futile gesture, but the decree, reinforced by appeals from Blum and other ministers for public cooperation, is beginning to show signs of effectiveness. By providing a "psychological shock" it seems to have countered to some extent the fatalistic idea that inflation could not be ended and that individual security, therefore, could only be achieved by hoarding goods and foreign currencies. A sharp break in the black-market quotation for dollars since the decree came into force may prove significant. But the present effort needs to be sustained, for the hopes which Blum has rekindled could easily collapse in the absence of a determined government. Another prolonged ministerial crisis would be disastrous to France.



Léon Blum

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS FOR LABOR legislation in his "state of the union" message proved far from satisfying to the diehards of Congress and the business world. These men barely disguise their desire for the kind of "vindictive laws" which Mr. Truman rejected. They want, as a minimum, the revived Case bill, if possible with the addition of bans on the closed shop and industry-wide collective bargaining. Mr. Truman, on the other hand, suggested that legislation should be restricted to the remedying of such ills as jurisdictional strikes and to the provision of compulsory arbitration when disputes over the interpretation of existing contracts could not be settled by other methods. In addition, he asked Congress to facilitate an extension of federal mediation machinery, to extend social-security legislation, and to convene a temporary joint commission to inquire into the whole field of labor-management relations. It might prove a wise move by the unions if they all joined together in giving general support to this program; it would be their best hope of staving off much more drastic measures. Unfortunately, even in this hour of crisis, there is no sign of any sort of united labor action. Senator Murray, who arranged a dinner to discuss ways of combating the anti-union drive, was unable to persuade A. F. of L. leaders to join those of the C. I. O. at his table. This is the kind of thing that encourages such rumors as that of a Taft-A. F. of L. deal on a measure designed to cripple C. I. O. industrial unions without seriously hurting craft unions. We can well believe that Taft, a very smart operator, might concoct such a divide-and-conquer scheme. But surely the A. F. of L. leaders are not so blinded by hate of the C. I. O. that they could fall into so palpable a trap.

✱

IN THE PRESENT CONDITION OF EUROPEAN affairs, the State Department's protest against electoral abuses in Poland is likely to have more ill effects than good. The ruling factor in the Polish situation is surely that Moscow will never permit the establishment of a regime that it considers likely to be unfriendly to the Soviet Union. In effect that means that it will not consent to a restoration of the old church-dominated, landlord capitalism. Obviously, and with some reason, the Soviet

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	57
The Secretary of State	59
G. O. P. Budget Problem	60
Mugwumps in Action <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	61

ARTICLES

What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1947? <i>by Simon O. Lesser</i>	63
The Revolt of the Middle <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	65
The Republicans and the First Freedom <i>by Bryant Putney</i>	67
Montgomery in Moscow <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	68
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	70
Crude Oil Politics <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	71
In One Ear <i>by Lou Frankel</i>	73

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

From the Kingdom of Necessity <i>by Randall Jarrell</i>	74
Briefer Comment	78
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	81
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	82

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 83

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 195 84

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon *Literary Editor* Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo
Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting, *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: William B. Brown
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 319 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

government considers that a victory for the Polish Peasant Party might lead to such a restoration. Mr. Mikolajczyk's alleged complicity in the terroristic campaign of the so-called resistance movement is only a facet of the larger issue. Two things appear certain. It was foreign pressure which prevailed upon Mr. Mikolajczyk to withdraw from the Warsaw coalition. And in certain districts the Polish Peasant Party leadership is more or less identical with that of the underground, whose aims are certainly not democratic. We believe it would be wise to recognize that the Western powers can hope to have little influence over Polish affairs until a solution of the social problem of Europe is in sight. At present Moscow is all too likely to interpret our demands upon Poland in the light of our practices elsewhere. In Germany we have failed to carry out the promised denazification, and only now are we beginning to move against the cartels. Events in Italy and Greece and our reluctance to take action against clerical fascism in Spain tend to confirm the impression in Moscow and Warsaw that we are less interested in Polish democracy than in setting up a conservative opposition.

★

WE HAVE OFTEN BEEN SHARPLY CRITICAL of the British government's policy; and we are under no illusion that Britain is already an enchanted isle of Socialist prosperity. But an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* purporting to give an accurate picture of life in Britain seems to us so wilfully dishonest that it is worth while answering its main points. The author, who writes in the style of a soured business man replying to charges of breaches of promise, declares that "under the present government England has become a nation of pilferers and house-breakers." This accusation, which would otherwise be merely grotesque, is coupled with the advice not to send relief packages to Britain, not only because they are stolen but because the British government "diverts them to needier cases . . . few arrive at the addressed destination." Both assertions are deliberate falsehoods. The writer also implies that Mr. Churchill's prophecy that the Labor Party would set up a Gestapo regime has been fulfilled. It is true that every person must possess an identity card. This is not a police requirement, however, but a necessary protection for the rationing system. The statement that no one is allowed to leave England without government permission is also mendacious. So far, the only person who has been refused a passport is Sir Oswald Mosley. The article shows no sympathy with labor; yet the writer states that "many Britishers are still working compulsorily in industries they dislike." True, war-time compulsion still exists in three critical industries—building, coal mining, and agriculture—to the extent that workers engaged in them cannot take jobs in

other industries. This measure, accepted as an unpleasant necessity by the unions, is slated to disappear in the near future. There are many other distortions in this nasty piece, the intention of which is clearly to arouse American antagonism against the Labor Government.

✱

MEMO TO WILLIAM H. HASKELL: SORRY, OLD boy, but it doesn't pay to tweak the nose of the Golden Calf. When you told the judge in the Alvin Paris "football fix" trial in New York that you were unfit for jury duty because you were "in a gambling business" yourself and "might be a little prejudiced one way or the other," you probably were pretty pleased with yourself—you had successfully begged off serving as jurymen. As a customer's man for E. F. Hutton and Company—the E. F. Hutton who runs personally paid full-page ads extolling the virtues of the American Way—you ought to have known better. When you got fired the next day, and when the Stock Exchange, that over-sensitive plant, canceled your registration, it was just what you had coming in the way of "straight-from-the-shoulder education"—one of Mr. Hutton's favorite phrases. Consider yourself educated, Mr. Haskell.

The Secretary of State

GENERAL MARSHALL has qualities we admire in an American officer: he is a big man without arrogance, an efficient organizer with no inclination to run a one-man show, a war leader who understands the basis of global peace, a soldier who appreciates the essentially civilian character of a democratic state. In his one important post-war assignment he brought credit to himself in a mission that failed. Moreover, he displayed political understanding and courage in assessing the complex Chinese situation in language of more than diplomatic frankness. These qualities will serve him and his country well in his new post as Secretary of State.

Having said this, we must express our hearty disapproval of the Administration's action in breaking the tradition of civilian leadership in the conduct of foreign affairs. This tradition is all the more important in a nation which has brought foreign affairs closely under the supervision of the executive branch and removed them from the day-to-day responsibility of the elected Congress. It is a serious criticism of this Administration that no civilian, either in the State Department itself or in some other branch of public life, appeared a logical choice for this position of critical importance.

The Marshall appointment emphasizes both organizational and policy deficiencies in the State Department. President Roosevelt, especially during the war, personally directed the conduct of foreign affairs. After his death there was no unifying force in American foreign policy.

President Truman was ill equipped to give direction; Stettinius was a weak and unhappy stop-gap; Byrnes, who must be given much credit for the ultimate outcome of the Big Five negotiations, was occupied almost solely with immediate European crises. The State Department, left rudderless, developed a disconcerting tendency to sail off in all directions. In such a situation it is perhaps natural that Mr. Truman, having made one brilliant improvisation in picking Patrick Hurley's successor in China, should make the same improvisation in picking Mr. Byrnes's successor in State. One of Marshall's first big jobs will be to reorganize the department and clarify its policy; for the latter, if it has existed at all, has been carried around during the last year or two under Mr. Byrnes's hat.

The new Secretary's first big foreign assignment will of course be the Moscow conference to draft the German settlement. It will be a severe test of his abilities. Lacking first-hand contact with European affairs after the war, General Marshall will be able to draw upon a rich experience gained during the war-time meetings he participated in at Casablanca, Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Not only did he become familiar with the basic issues in the big-power relations, but he was in a position to study the constructive and imaginative approach of President Roosevelt in seeking basic agreement. Marshall is not Roosevelt; but in foreign affairs he is likely to be a Roosevelt man.



George C. Marshall

We must end on a note of warning. The influence of the army and navy on post-war American policy is no myth. Our Pacific policy is built around the necessity of American bases. Our South American policy is immediately threatened by the pressure to reach a military agreement with the fascist Perón. General Leahy is a painful actuality in the White House family. Marshall, as an army man, is going to have his troubles, and it will be difficult for him not to approach many international matters primarily as problems of national security and military strategy. We hope he will be able to resist army pressure and to detect military maneuvers which may cancel out policies of the State Department and its representatives on various United Nations bodies. We suggest he should put up over his desk two sentences from his report on China: "Though I speak as a soldier, I must also deplore the dominating influence of the military. Their dominance accentuates the weakness of civil government in China." And in the United States, Mr. Secretary.

G.O.P. Budget Problem

IN HIS economic report to Congress the President declared that while employment and national income were high, as they are today, it was sound public policy to provide for a budget surplus and reduction of the national debt. Practically all economists will agree, including those who are often charged with cherishing deficit financing for its own sake but who, in fact, view the budget as a mechanism for releasing purchasing power when inflation threatens and absorbing it when the danger is deflation.

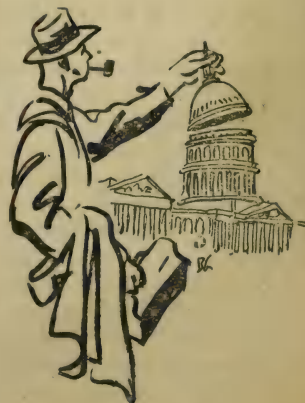
There is, therefore, no controversy about Mr. Truman's attempt to keep expenditures within the limits of expected revenue. What is debatable, from our point of view, is the question whether within these limits he is giving the taxpayers the best value for their money. For every dollar of expenditure, we notice, just eight cents is allotted for social security, welfare, health, education and research, housing and community facilities. This seems a disproportionately small amount to spend on what are the most important and, in the long run, the most remunerative functions of government. In his Economic Report Mr. Truman pointed out that there is a direct connection between health and education on the one hand and labor efficiency and productivity on the other, and suggested that welfare programs should be integrated with proposals for maintaining general prosperity. Yet the fact is that all too many people regard welfare expenditure as a luxury and the first objective in any economy campaign.

This spirit, we are well aware, animates the President's Republican critics who complain that the budget

has been balanced at far too high a level. Expenditure, they say, ought to be reduced by another four or five billion dollars, making possible not only debt repayment but the cut in taxes they have so recklessly promised. They are the men, they have lost no time in announcing, who are going to prune expenditure in really drastic fashion. This operation promises to be a fascinating, if unedifying, spectacle, for there is a good deal of disagreement among the surgeons about how to make their cuts without shedding too much political blood. Representative Taber, who comes from a safe Republican district in upper New York State, wants to use an ax; Senator Taft, whose ambitions necessitate a broader view of the national scene, promises more scientific methods.

Obviously, debt interest cannot be cut, and veterans' benefits will not be. Those two items account for about a third of the total expenditure contemplated by the President. The army and navy together will take almost another third. They are to have about \$3½ billion less than in the current year and will certainly protest to Congress that they are cut to the bone. That, we believe, is not so; the War and Navy departments are the most extravagant of all the government agencies and would be all the better if deprived of superfluous flesh. Nevertheless, we shall be agreeably surprised if the Republicans make any effort to economize in this direction. Presidential hopeful Harold Stassen, we notice, while proposing that the budget be slashed by \$5 billion declines to "substitute the judgment of our party for that of the military authorities." The same "liberal internationalist" wants to cut international expenditure by some 25 per cent. Since the bulk of the \$3½ billion earmarked under this head represents credits already authorized, such as the British loan, occupation costs, and the expenses of the State Department, his proposal would mean practically no further foreign credits or relief grants.

Apart from a few hundred millions which might be



saved on foreign assistance—at the risk of great suffering in many countries and of tremendous damage to our prestige—practically all the Republican cutting will have to be at the expense of the domestic agencies and departments. The following broad classifications together are estimated by the President to require \$8,329,000,000 in fiscal 1948: social welfare, health and security; housing and community facilities; education and general research; agriculture; natural resources; transportation and communication; finance, commerce, and industry; labor; general government. How is nearly \$5 billion to be saved on these activities without wrecking the government and imposing untold damage on the public interest?

The allowance for housing, for example—\$539,000,000—is a few millions less than last year, when, as we know, little enough was done to solve what is perhaps the most immediately pressing of all social problems. How much dare the Republicans save on this

item? Or take agriculture, scheduled to receive \$1,381,000,000, or \$264,000,000 more than last year. This includes \$360,000,000 for support of farm prices under the war-time law pledging a 90 per cent parity price for a number of leading farm products. Many agricultural economists consider that this pledge will become operative in respect of some of our most important crops this year, and if they are right, the sum allotted is likely to prove too little rather than too much. What do the Republicans propose to do about this?

No doubt when they reach expenditures affecting groups less politically powerful than farmers, the Republicans will use their knives ruthlessly. But we do not believe that they can provide the pound of flesh that the N.A.M. has demanded. We suspect that they are going to face an awkward choice between responsibility for unbalancing the budget and reduction of their much-publicized tax cuts to token dimensions.

Mugwumps in Action

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

American progressives are incorrigible mugwumps. They fight shy of party affiliations for the same reasons that the town freethinker shuns the church. Like most of their fellow-countrymen, they join organizations, but they prefer the short-term commitment, the specific issue, the lively fight—and then a quick retreat to everyday "personal" affairs. Politics isn't personal in America, unless you are a politician.

This temper of mind is one of the things that have prevented the growth of solid progressive political movements on a national scale, comparable to the Labor and Socialist movements in Britain and on the Continent. Profound or lasting changes in the party structure in this country have come about only in times of great economic stress, such as before the Civil War or the period when Populism, represented in modified form by William Jennings Bryan, captured the Democratic Party. Other national movements have spent themselves in a single unsuccessful foray.

Franklin D. Roosevelt adopted the Bryan strategy of attempting to dominate and use the Democratic machine. He was elected, however, not through the efforts of an organized progressive movement but by Herbert Hoover. The New Deal was depression's child. And the progressives who flocked to jobs in Washington, from Brain Trusters to clerks, were never really incorporated in the Democratic Party. Most of the prominent New Dealers looked upon themselves as guest artists, serving under the baton of Roosevelt while the show lasted.

Don't Fence Me In! might be the motto of the Ameri-

can progressive, and it defines his virtue as well as his weakness. But the bad results of this will to independence are visible today. The progressives are not only divided, they are heterogenous and without any philosophy or coherent program. Where their European counterparts too often get bogged down in doctrinaire factionalism, they form loose alliances to carry through specific reforms. Such alliances seldom make a lasting impact on the old parties.

These general remarks are intended to carry forward the ideas discussed in two earlier editorials on post-election politics. In the first I described the need for collective thinking on the left in order to create a positive program which does more than recapitulate the largely improvised measures that composed the New Deal. In the second I analyzed the difficulties in the way of new national parties, both under our laws and in the context of our habits. Since then the rise of two progressive or liberal organizations, the Progressive Citizens of America and the Americans for Democratic Action, has made an understanding of the anatomy of political movements in America even more essential, for the prospects of the new organizations will be determined in large measure by these basic biological factors.

It was inevitable, as it is certainly desirable, that the progressives should try to regroup their forces after the defeat of November. The consolidation of right-wing control in Congress and in the country is driving politically conscious liberals to make a defensive stand. What-

ever either of the new groups may adopt by way of a positive program—and one has only to look at the variety of views represented in both to be sure their programs will be magnificently broad—their real job will be to organize resistance to the Taft-Vandenberg reaction. From tariffs and deals with Perón to laws hamstringing labor, the Republican Old Deal must be fought. It is a fight in which American progressives can unite, and should, if the war won in Europe and Asia is not to be lost in Washington. Even separately the new groups can doubtless do a fair job of lobbying and educating the public, and can mobilize some strength behind the efforts of the small bands of progressives still holding the front in Congress. This is their real job. For neither one looks like an embryo third party, and both, at this stage, disclaim the intention to become one. Nor is the time appropriate for such an effort.

They should be taken for what they are: typical progressive-action committees, imbued with generous liberal purposes; lacking any consistent economic policy and incapable, because of their amorphous nature, of formulating one; useful in a time when opposition is the primary need; not very important in terms of long-range left-wing planning. It is unfortunate that they cannot tackle the job under one name—and one overhead. The right is going to handle its internal disagreements more shrewdly, we can be sure. But American progressives are not only incorrigible mugwumps; they are mavericks as well, unbroken and unbranded.

The issue that divides the P. C. A. and the A. D. A. is not primarily one of program. Their central difference is on the issue of the Communists. The P. C. A., composed of the old Citizens' P. A. C. and the Independent Citizens' Committee, accepts as members everyone who supports its program, a category that includes Communists and all their allies. The A. D. A. repudiates this popular-front theory and rejects Communists and fellow-travelers as members. Since Communists usually don't wear buttons or other stigmata, the A. D. A. apparently hopes to make its exclusion act effective by writing specific anti-Communist points into its program. No doubt some party adherents will hop right over these verbal obstacles, but for the most part the A. D. A. will correspond, on a national scale, to the Liberal Party in New York.

The important factor in this division is its relationship to a similar change in the ranks of organized labor. The C. I. O., from its start a focus of Communist activity, is reacting strongly, union by union, against methods which have come to be regarded as diversive—to use a good party word—or at the very least irrelevant. This reaction is bound to affect a political organization like the Progressive Citizens, whose constituent committees, particularly the P. A. C., had cooperated intimately with the C. I. O. Many labor leaders and New Dealers previously close to the P. A. C. or the I. C. C.—and even some poli-

ticians who had gladly accepted support from those committees—were active participants in the Washington meeting which set up the Americans for Democratic Action. This demonstrated, I suspect, not merely the mercurial nature of progressives but also their desire for a political affiliation free from factional control of any sort. If this is what they achieved in Washington, the new organization should grow and flourish. Judging by Mr. Bendiner's enthusiastic report on another page, I fear they did not achieve just this.

But it is a fact that the two new organizations are so similar in purpose and in most of their personnel that their permanent separation seems as unnecessary as it is unfortunate. If the factional elements in both—a small fringe numerically—were eliminated, the committees could certainly work together on a common program of energetic opposition to the gang now in power in the country. The hope of this sort of cooperation is dimmed, unfortunately, by the presence in the P. C. A. of genuine Communist sympathizers who, whether they control the organization or not, would naturally resist a realignment that excluded them; and in the A. D. A. of a group who believe that communism and fascism are indistinguishable and equally to be fought. It was perhaps in deference to this group that the A. D. A. program issued to the press contained such phrases as, "We reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with communism in the United States as completely as we reject any association with fascists or their sympathizers." To many non-Communists, among them myself, a program which equates Communists with Fascists and proposes that this country should direct its help to "democratic and freedom-loving people" distorts the meaning of history and the plain lesson of present-day realities. It is hard to believe that such sweeping implications will be allowed to remain when the full program is worked out by the organizing committee for this body has on it many first-rate and balanced progressives.

It should be possible, if the counsels of leaders like Eleanor Roosevelt prevail, to unite or coordinate the activities of the most effective forces in the two organizations. Before the lines of demarcation become too tightly drawn, while many individuals of like minds are still active in both groups, I urge that informal, private talks be held among the leaders to try to effect a union—or at the very least a method of liaison between the P. C. A. and the A. D. A. which will eliminate only those few, at both ends of the line, who prefer factional infighting in support of their own interests to common action against the new Old Deal.

[Miss Kirchwey will be away for several weeks on a holiday. After her return, she will continue the political discussion with an article on the Premises of a Progressive Program.]

What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1947?

BY SIMON O. LESSER

Washington, January 13

BUSINESS must immediately lower prices if our present prosperity is to be maintained in 1947.

That is the basic thesis of President Truman's surprisingly courageous Economic Report, the first to be made to Congress under the Employment Act of 1946. The report also stresses the need for industrial peace, selective wage adjustments, and various legislative measures designed to increase buying power. But lower prices are singled out as the primary imperative of the present economic situation.

Stripped of mumbo-jumbo, the reason for expecting a business recession in 1947 is that prices are so high, and some prices so out of line with others, as to retard consumption. That was not fatal so long as replenishment of inventories was helping to absorb goods. But sooner or later it will mean falling demand, lower production, fewer jobs—the whole downward cycle which spells recession, or worse.

The need for lower prices has been acknowledged by the United States Chamber of Commerce and other business groups and emphasized by many economists. Even the National Association of Manufacturers, which was huffing and puffing for higher prices only a little while ago, has suddenly recalled the economic advantages of low prices. But such tardy admissions—all too obviously intended to prejudice labor's demands—are hardly a reliable guaranty that price slashes are imminent. The \$64 question is: Will business reduce prices soon enough and sharply enough to stave off a recession, or shall we get more favorable prices only *through* a recession, with all its attendant unemployment and suffering?

Price decreases, because they would be felt by everyone, would be even more effective than wage increases in bolstering purchasing power and maintaining prosperity, as probably most labor leaders would privately agree. They are fighting for higher wages because it is unrealistic to expect price decreases and they think that the only way to get a better balance between prices, profits, and wages is to exert pressure where it will be felt—on the wage front. A one-year moratorium on wage

and price increases, as proposed by Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, would hardly meet the requirements of the situation. What is needed—and soon—is higher wages or lower prices, or a combination of the two.

For some companies this will mean slimmer profit margins. But with sales at the present levels, margins can in most cases be pared considerably and still yield very satisfactory dollar profits. A reduction in the present abnormally large margins does not seem too high a price to ask business to pay to avert a setback from which it would suffer along with everyone else.

Excessive profits are one of the chief causes of business depressions: they reduce the buying power of most consumers and give the few more money than they can either spend or invest productively. It is a matter of record that a very high level of corporate profits generally presages trouble. It did in the 1920's and again in 1936-37. And despite what they say for public consumption, business men are uneasily aware that present high margins cannot be maintained indefinitely. That is one of the reasons current profits are being appraised so conservatively in the stock market.

To be sure, business has not yet become sufficiently uneasy to adopt the pricing policies that would help sustain our present precarious prosperity. Is there any reason for thinking that it will be ready to do so this year? I believe it will, but anyone foolhardy enough to make economic predictions is entitled to a little hedging, and I hasten to add that the balance is so delicate it could easily tilt either way. There are good grounds for expecting business to initiate sounder pricing policies. But it is anyone's guess whether the adjustments will be prompt enough and large enough.

There are always certain pressures which make a business firm seek the highest prices the traffic will bear, whether or not such a policy is in the public interest or in its own long-range interest. These pressures are among the most important influences at work in our economy and are worthy of far more study than they have received. The "profit motive" is compounded not simply of the desire for gain, but of what sometimes seems an almost panicky fear of the future. Such fear is understandable enough in an economy of rapid technological change and sharp cyclical ups and downs, but it often has pernicious effects: the large sums each firm feels it necessary to put in reserve against future contingencies may, in the aggregate, help to precipitate the difficulties feared. Yet we all—the public at large, as well as stock-

SIMON LESSER was in the domestic branch of the OWI during the war, working on information about economic stabilization, and after the war was with the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. He is the coauthor, with Dr. George A. Works, of "Rural America Today—Its Schools and Community Life."

holders and bankers—tend to judge a management not only by how much it makes but by the "conservatism" of its financial practices.

Under normal circumstances the urge to seek the highest possible profits is held in check by competition. Business men know that if they overprice their product they run the risk of losing sales to competitors, freezing out marginal consumers, and making fewer dollars—even though profit margins may be satisfactory—than they might at a lower price level. But in 1946 the competitive pressures which would normally restrain a firm from overpricing its goods were almost entirely absent. By and large, business had an assured market for all the goods it could produce. Demand was so urgent that price became a secondary consideration. Supply, furthermore, was rigidly limited by the shortage of materials, reconversion difficulties, and the necessity of filling the distribution pipe lines.

Other forces were also at work in the immediate post-war period which made business less responsible in its pricing policies than it normally is. During the war patriotism had acted as a brake on selfishness, and the relationship between various groups in the economy—business, workers, and farmers—remained relatively static. Peace disturbed this nice balance and inclined us—in a sense forced us—to think again in terms of our own self-interest. Each group began to maneuver for a favorable position in the post-war economy. In this environment business was in no mood to try to absorb higher wages or to see how closely it could price its goods.

As a matter of fact, it appears that even during the war many firms were getting set for a killing when peace came. Despite the importance of economic stabilization, and despite the fact that net profits would have been little affected by more conservative pricing, business in general set prices on both war supplies and civilian goods which yielded extremely large gross profits. Renegotiation and the excess-profits tax whittled these down, and the question arises why business did not content itself with lower gross margins in the first place. Granting that prices on some war supplies were set high because of the difficulty of estimating costs accurately, a strong presumption remains that the major factor was the desire to perpetuate a price structure which promised huge profits when the excess-profits tax was repealed.

There are, after all, two ways of looking at profits in a period of high production. To persons concerned with the continuing health of the economy, it seems reasonable to expect business to limit its "take"—and imperative that it do so if prosperity is to be sustained. But some business men may look at it differently: "If we can't make good profits in times like these, when can we?" During the war many concerns chafed at their inability to carry high gross profits down to net; they were determined to earn greater net profits once the war was won.

Box Score on Price Prospects

Food

After a sharp rise in the months following the end of control, food prices moved downward between November 15 and December 15. This decline, and the recent weakness in many wholesale markets, may indicate lower food prices in 1947. By the middle of the year, if production continues high, lessened foreign demand combined with static domestic demand should cause farm prices to weaken. If we are to avoid a recession, it is extremely important that these declines find rapid and full reflection in retail food prices. About 40 per cent of the budget of low-income families goes for food; lower food prices mean more money for buying other things.

Clothing and Textiles

In 1947 the consumer will benefit in two important ways. Staple items, such as moderate-price shirts and slips, will be available in larger quantities; so that it won't be necessary to take expensive substitutes. And the quality of clothing and other textile products, particularly "low-end" merchandise, will improve. Actual price reductions will be sharpest at the upper end of the price scale, where they have least significance for the average consumer. In the middle and lower price ranges reductions on some items will be offset until midyear by firm and even rising prices for such things as shoes and men's suits.

Durable Goods

The best that can be hoped for until the middle of the year is that the prices of most products in this class will stay where they are. Demand is strong. Steel, copper, and lead prices have been recently raised. Additional wage increases are in prospect. For some time longer certain materials will remain in short supply. However, production difficulties are gradually being overcome and labor productivity is rising. By summer a number of consumer durables may be cheaper—prices of table radios and electric irons have already been shaded—and consumers will find it easier to buy standard models.

Rents

Despite President Truman's plea for the extension of rent control, a 5 to 15 per cent increase in rents may be authorized at any time. It will be a miracle if rent control is continued much longer, and even if it is, some increase in rents is almost a certainty.

Houses

The scrapping of the Wyatt housing program means that fewer of the homes to be constructed in 1947 will be in the lower and middle price range. But the cost of building a house of a given quality will not be subject to much further increase and by late spring may begin to decline. The prices of expensive existing houses have already reached the top, and prices in all ranges may be expected to begin a slow decline as more new houses are finished.

After the war, too, some elements of the business community were willing to go to any lengths to weaken and discredit labor. This tendency, as much as the desire

for profit, explains the fantastic insistence of various leaders not only that wage increases always necessitate price increases but that prices must be raised *by the same amount*, as if wages were the only element in the cost of production.

These influences will obviously be by no means absent from the 1947 scene. General Motors' Charles E. Wilson is still maintaining that a 25 per cent increase in wages means a 25 per cent increase in the price of cars. But I believe that in 1947 far fewer business men will be disposed to talk this way or to dramatize the nefarious effect of wage increases by hiking up prices again. And I think it improbable that labor will press for pay raises likely to be used to justify higher prices. Another favorable factor is that business is in an even better position to absorb wage increases this year than last, when many firms were experiencing reconversion difficulties. Production is high and profit margins are ample. The main reason, however, for expecting business to follow more conservative pricing policies in 1947 is simply that competition is going to make itself felt again.

At the same time that more goods become available, demand will taper off. For certain kinds of luxury goods

—furs, expensive sport clothes, jewelry, three-dollar men's shorts, and high-priced houses—a weakening of demand is already evident. The lists of persons willing to buy new homes or automobiles regardless of price are growing rapidly shorter. All during 1947 and afterward there will be plenty of people eager for such products, but some will be unable to enter the market at all and the others will be more price-conscious. Under these conditions companies will begin to worry again about selling all they can make—and prices will tend to drop.

Of course, this shift in the supply-demand balance could lead not simply to more rational pricing but to the feared recession. But it looks now as if not all types of goods would experience a weakened demand at the same time; the demand for some products—textiles may be the first—will falter, while that for others continues strong. If things work out in this happy fashion, and if, in addition, each industry affected responds to a decline in demand almost before it is manifested in the market place, we can avoid a "bust" in 1947. Demand for capital goods, export demand, and the high level of construction activity in prospect will be bolstering influences throughout the year.

Revolt of the Middle

BY ROBERT BENDINER

WHEN Franklin D. Roosevelt died, nearly two years ago, the progressive forces of the United States went into a retreat that by last November 6 had reached the proportions of a near-rout. With the creation of Americans for Democratic Action in Washington on January 4, that retreat, I believe, came to a halt. It may be a long while before the lost ground is regained, and we may well have to go through hard times again before the right is unseated, but the counter-attack, I think, will be said to have dated from this occasion. If it is sustained enough and sufficiently supported, we shall not merely return to the New Deal but begin where the New Deal left off.

If this interpretation of the A. D. A.'s organizing conference sounds a bit lyrical, it is because I think we have here something new in the history of American politics—a movement on the left that is free of the orthodoxies of Marxism and yet looks clearly beyond the anarchy of what, by rote rather than by reason, is called "free enterprise"; a movement that is neither the projection of one man's personality nor the organized promotion of an economic cure-all; and, finally, a group that, being genuinely committed to political as well as economic democracy, is neither inspired by the Communists nor open to their manipulation.

This is a combination for which politically mature Americans have long been waiting—a movement that, in Reinhold Niebuhr's telling phrase, drives toward freedom within a framework of security and security within a framework of freedom. We have made countless false starts in this country in conscious or unconscious pursuit of this political Grail. Aside from the Socialists, these movements have been the kind of one-man operation that bound the Bull Moose to Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressives to the elder La Follette, and, in a sense, the New Deal to Franklin Roosevelt. Or they have been organizations for the promotion of an economic nostrum, like the wild money of the Populists. Or, more recently, they have been "popular-front" groups, addressing themselves to particular issues as they arose, and with no more underlying core of belief than one could expect from memberships that ranged all the way from Communist Party officials to Republicans of good-will.

For lack of alternatives, Americans with decent social instincts have been joining these front organizations, on and off, over the past two decades, and always with the same result. Whether or not they achieved this or that immediate purpose, they inevitably found themselves, in a matter of months, in an unenviable position. They

could defend the Communists who invariably run such groups, strictly for their own purposes and with a program subject to change without notice; they could avert their eyes from such stark reality and, having been fooled into joining in the first place, go on deceiving themselves indefinitely; or they could get out, embittered and with no place to go. The Communists, for their part, continued in this way to pick up adherents, or at least defenders; while the liberals, gradually bereft of a principled movement of their own, merely went on dividing on the question of whether or not to cooperate with the Communists. Some abandoned every principle of liberalism to plump for the comrades without accepting the onus of a party card; others developed an obsession on the subject and saw every issue in terms of how to oppose the Communists; and a few went about with a micrometer to measure the obsession of their fellows and a compass and sextant for charting their personal course through the shoals.

The net result of all this fitful fever was that the Communists made appreciable advances toward the realization of what has become the immediate objective of both political extremes everywhere: to destroy the middle, and thereby to impose on the world a choice between communism and fascism.

Too many liberals, tired, discouraged, and with no place to go, have come perilously close to accepting the choice. They point, for example, to the absence of an established social democratic tradition in parts of Europe and Asia as a valid reason for supporting Communist domination in those areas. As though that tradition could ever come into being without the freedom to make its own false starts and tentative gropings; as though it would ever be given a chance to make such starts under the steadily hardening mold of the police state. One may, of course, have legitimate reasons to prefer the Communists and to resent a formula that equates the two extremes, but this seems to me irrelevant and certainly not an issue. The police state, both Communist and fascist, is a slave state. A slave may have his preference of masters, but the question of choice is a strange preoccupation for men determined to keep their freedom.

The A. D. A. unequivocally rejects this choice, and in so doing it brings to an end a shoddy era in the history of American progressivism. It serves notice on both extremes that social democracy is not ready for self-liquidation, that it has, in fact, a dynamism of its own, rooted in conviction and capable of contending for the minds of men.

Aspiring to more than the kind of *ad hoc* activity that concerns itself solely with bills on the Congressional calendar, the A. D. A. deliberately refrained from rushing before the public with a detailed platform. That will be worked out carefully in the weeks ahead, but the basic principles on which it will be based were laid

down by the initiating conference. In essence, these principles, and the attitude that I heard expressed on all sides, point to a vast expansion of the New Deal in all its phases and to political and economic support for social democratic forces throughout the world. Significantly, it was the British Labor Party that came in for informal eulogy at the conference, and even more significant was the new note that was sounded on the subject of social change via the state. Civil liberties, the conference warned, must be protected not only from "concentrated wealth" but also from "overcentralized government." It is not too much, I think, to read in this an appreciation of the narrow gap between socialism and the all-powerful state; an indication that the A. D. A. conscious of the experiences of European socialism, seeks that combination of public ownership and democratic local controls that have been the glory of the TVA.

When the Union for Democratic Action called the January 4 conference, out of which the A. D. A. emerged, it expected nothing like the overwhelming response and attention it received, and nothing like the far-reaching results. What started out to be a small closed meeting on how the defeated progressives might best proceed turned into the spontaneous launching of a movement that must hearten the non-Communist left everywhere. The genuine enthusiasm of top leaders of the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and other mass organizations gives promise of that broad base without which little can be accomplished. The equal enthusiasm of the most militant and far-seeing of Roosevelt's New Deal lieutenants, and of independent progressives of unquestioned stature, relates the movement closely to the powerful political currents of the country.

The newly formed Progressive Citizens of America, by way of contrast, is a traditional popular-front organization, that is, an aggregation of people whose fundamental aims are irreconcilable. It is in the tradition of a fast fading era, and, with or without the support of Henry A. Wallace, I believe it is already anchored in a political backwater. American progressives have rediscovered their own character and purpose. They are ready to put forth a dynamic program of their own and to provide leadership. And they reject utterly the choice of totalitarian extremes.

HOMELESS AMERICA

A number of our readers have asked for additional copies of Charles Abrams's series of articles on housing. An expanded version of the series is available in a pamphlet published by the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

The Republicans and the First Freedom

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

Washington, January 13

BY A quick job of hatchet work, plus a neat double-cross, Republican leaders in the Senate have managed to head off what would have been the first thoroughgoing Congressional inquiry ever conducted into the economic forces limiting a truly free press in America. The day after the new Congress convened Senators Taft and White of the Republican Steering Committee, aided by the ubiquitous Senator Wherry, forced the cancellation of hearings scheduled for this week before the Senate Small Business Committee on "obstacles to free competition" in the newspaper and magazine industries.

Monopoly of the printed word is, of course, the most dangerous monopoly of all. As such it is at any time a proper subject for Congressional attention. Right now an investigation is the more urgent because, to quote Chairman James Murray of the Small Business Committee, "small dailies and weeklies face more serious threats to their existence than ever before."

The hearings were originally scheduled for last December but were postponed by Senator Murray until January 7 at the request of Wherry, a member of the committee. Wherry promised Murray his full support and assured him there would be no Republican interference. On January 4 Wherry conferred with Taft and White on the Senate floor, then walked across the aisle to inform the astonished Murray that the hearings would again be postponed, this time until after the committee's future has been decided by the Senate.

Two circumstances illuminate the motives of the Republicans. One is that the large newspaper and magazine publishers, the national advertisers, the newsprint manufacturers, and other big publishing interests have looked upon the proposed investigation with a jaundiced eye from the start, although they have not openly opposed it. The other is that Senator Murray is known to be a man who does not pull his punches. As a liberal from a state where all the larger dailies except one are either owned outright or controlled by the Anaconda Copper Company, Murray has good reason to know the ominous power of a press dominated by big business. Replies to questionnaires he sent last year to 10,000 newspapers scattered over the country have convinced him that this power is growing rapidly. "Small papers," he says, "are caught right now in a terrible squeeze, which many of them may not survive. Their costs are steadily rising, but they cannot expand their advertising or circulation because they don't have the paper for it."

The newsprint shortage—caused mainly by increased demand resulting from improved economic conditions in

this country and rising literacy here and abroad—is being used to extend monopoly control in the publishing industry. Yet already 200 large users consume 85 per cent of the country's newsprint, and the small supply remaining must be parceled out among the 24,800 small newspapers and magazines registered at the Post Office Department for the second-class mailing privilege. During the war, quota regulations on newsprint gave small publishers some protection against unfair distribution of the limited stocks. But since the abandonment of inventory and price controls last year, newsprint prices have skyrocketed, and the jobbers who supply small consumers are being cut off by the big paper companies so that the increasing wants of large users can be met.

The newspaper and magazine chains and the large independent publishers have an immense advantage over their small competitors in the contest for newsprint. Most of them have long-term contracts with American and Canadian paper companies—over three-fourths of all our newsprint comes from Canada—under which they can buy their entire requirements direct from the producer. At least thirty big independent and chain publishers have their own pulp mills and in some cases their own timber lands. A recent news item in *Editor and Publisher* illustrates the trend. Norman Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, one of the largest papers west of the Mississippi River, is lining up thirty West Coast publishers to raise 5 per cent of the cost of a \$28,000,000 newsprint mill to be built at Thomas Bay, Alaska. Although 95 per cent of the cost is to be financed by "outside capital," the publishers will contract to buy the mill's output for the next fifteen years. Said *Editor and Publisher*: "Although the output is not necessarily limited to these publishers, it is believed their demands will absorb the full production." Small papers please copy.

Even before the war the Federal Trade Commission considered the newsprint situation serious enough to warrant an exhaustive study. Its report, completed in 1939 and then suppressed, details the steady concentration of control in a few big paper companies and the growth of vertical combinations through publishers' purchases of newsprint-producing facilities.

Fear that the newsprint quota system might be revived in this country—it is still in force in Britain—was one of the principal reasons why the big publishers and advertisers heaved a collective sigh of relief when the Republicans scuttled the Murray investigation. But there were other reasons. The publishers don't have to dig into their morgues to recall what happened as a result of Charles Evans Hughes's inquiry into the practices of life-

insurance companies, the Pecora banking probe, and a long list of similar investigations.

The first witness scheduled to appear before the Murray committee was Morris Ernst, one of the country's leading crusaders against monopoly control of our national media of communication. Ernst's book "The First Freedom," published last year, traces the frightening growth of such control over press, radio, and movies, and suggests means for curbing it. The prospect that his views might gain wider currency as a result of the proposed investigation threw a bad scare into the big publishing firms. Among the reforms Ernst proposes is a requirement that all the facts of newspaper and magazine ownership be fully disclosed; it is next to impossible at present to find out who really controls large sections of the

press. Ernst believes also that the second-class mailing privilege should be revised to aid small publishers. Why, he asks, should the biggest subsidies go to the biggest publications, which are best able to pay their own way? He proposes that small publishers be encouraged through enactment of a law under which papers would be carried free up to a certain minimum circulation.

Officially of course the newspaper monopoly has merely been postponed—"until further notice." The Republicans may decide later to go through the motions and conduct some sort of whitewash proceedings. But no one here believes that in this event Senator Wherry can be depended on to carry out the original purpose of the inquiry—"to determine what can be done to preserve the vitality of the smaller newspapers of the nation."

Montgomery in Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, January 10

THIS week's greatest event is of course the Montgomery visit. Nobody thinks of it as epoch-making, but it is hailed as symptomatic of the present drift toward greater good-will among the war-time allies. Monty is doing his stuff proudly. He smiles and bows and seems to be enjoying himself thoroughly in this strange atmosphere, surrounded by Marshals Vasilevsky, Konev, and Govorov, Tank Marshal Rybalko, and other soldiers whose professional qualities and war records he certainly respects and admires. "Nothing but the greatest good can come of such contacts between war-time comrades," he said, and he was most gratified that his invitation to Vasilevsky and the other members of the Soviet High Command to visit England in the spring or early summer was promptly accepted. In a world where there is so much nervous talk, especially in Germany and in those other countries where people are banking on the "inevitable" conflict between East and West, the mutual cordiality displayed is bound to have a salutary effect.

The visit was undoubtedly more successful than it would have been a few months ago owing to the agreement on the peace treaties with the satellites, by which the United Nations session has on balance proved its usefulness, and Bevin's recent conciliatory speech, the friendliest gesture he has made toward Russia in his whole career as Foreign Minister. Montgomery also took a line which pleased the Russians—that his visit was of

exactly the same nature as his visit to the United States and "Ike's" to England. His speech paying tribute to the Red Army and expressing a desire to establish close bonds with it made an excellent impression, especially since, perhaps by coincidence, it came right on top of a *Pravda* article repeating rumors about a secret Anglo-American alliance and arms standardization. The article took issue sharply with a British newspaper which had declared the Anglo-American alliance the best safeguard for world peace; *Pravda's* rejoinder was that the best safeguard was the United Nations.

One cannot help being amused by certain reports published abroad which seem to have tried to give readers what they would expect to hear about "Montgomery in Moscow." Thus it was said that the Bolshoi Theater, where Montgomery, accompanied by Russian marshals, saw Prokofief's "Romeo and Juliet" with Ulanova dancing, was "packed with uniforms." Actually there was the same sprinkling of uniforms in the theater as on any other night, and no more. The overwhelming majority of the audience were civilians who had come first and foremost to see Ulanova dance. In the intermission one diplomat observed, "It is a pretty healthy country where the public doesn't go into a wild frenzy whenever some generals show up."

It was interesting to see that Marshal Sokolovsky, commander of the Soviet forces in Germany, was in Montgomery's box. The meeting of the two men suggests strongly that questions connected with the future co-operation of the Allied forces in Germany may have been discussed in a general way—not in detail, for Montgomery brought no experts with him. Any agreement on purely military matters may be regarded as a small but

ALEXANDER WERTH is special correspondent in Moscow for The Nation, the Manchester Guardian, and the British Broadcasting Corporation.

useful preliminary to the Foreign Ministers' conference here in March.

There is evidence that the Russians do not consider the German problem insoluble, difficult as the going will be for the peace discussions. Russian comments on the merger of the British and American zones are symptomatic and may perhaps be viewed as promising. A recent *Izvestia* article stressed the fact that Russia has always favored the political and economic unity of Germany and said the real objection to the Anglo-American agreement was that Russia had been left out; when that agreement was made, the Soviet Union's position was misunderstood. This indicates the line the Russians are likely to follow. While the article was in places highly critical of the Anglo-American denazification policy and the interest big business has shown in preserving the industrial strength of western Germany, it could not be called truculent. And as a whole, at any rate by implication, it was constructive. It hoped that the Foreign Ministers' conference would not be confronted with too many *faits accomplis* in western Germany; the virtual incorporation of the Saar into France, for example, was not welcomed here.

Meanwhile Russia and the other fifteen Soviet republics are preparing to elect the members of their respective Supreme Soviets on February 9. I do not suppose there is any doubt that the outcome of the elections will be an overwhelming victory for the Communist and non-party bloc. The Russian argument is, of course: Why have competing parties when we are all agreed on the fundamentals? But aside from being a reaffirmation of the practically 100 per cent loyalty of the Soviet people to their regime, the election is important as part of another great ideological and production drive.

The centers of this drive are so-called *agitpunkts*, or agitation points, scattered thickly over the country—in Moscow there is one in almost every street. They are usually a room decorated with banners and with portraits of party leaders and supplied with papers and pamphlets on the latest topical subjects, where anyone can drop in for a few hours of reading or conversation with the person in charge. Here also the part-time "agitators" of the district meet and are given the main lines of their talks with the voters. Then in factories, shops, and even in private houses, the agitators discourse on the Soviet constitution—"the fairest and most democratic of all constitutions"—and teach the candidates how to deal with "housewives' questions" concerning ration cards, housing, damaged plumbing, and other more or less personal matters. Some candidates take a good deal of trouble to show that they are closely concerned with their constituents' immediate problems.

After the nomination of candidates, as the result often of lengthy parleys between the local trade-union, the party,

the Komsomol, and other committees, numerous election meetings are held and the voters are exhorted to work hard to carry out the Five-Year Plan. "Back to 1940" may be said to be the first objective, and "Onward to 1950" the next. In the consciousness of rank-and-file Russians 1940 is something concrete—a year in which, after all the ups and downs of more than twenty years of revolution, the wheels of industry, trade, and distribution were at last turning well. This was a period when there were few bottlenecks, when transport was efficient, and when food and clothes were becoming less and less of a problem for the Soviet citizen.

Although Bevin's speech of December 22 was generally welcomed, it contained one passage which must have sounded strange to even the least optimistic Soviet citizen: "Soviet Russia, which evolved an entirely different system but which has been invaded and suffered terrible destruction that has undone practically the whole of the great economic work she accomplished between the Revolution and Hitler's attack, has now to re-create herself again." This is clearly an enormous exaggeration, for it amounts to saying that Russia is practically back at the 1914 level. There was great destruction, notably in the Ukraine, of much that was built in Soviet times, but immense industrial power had been built up in other parts of the Soviet Union which suffered no destruction. With the intensive training of man-power, the weak point in Russian industry, it is expected that the factories in these regions will soon be running full blast again. No doubt the restoration of transport and of the devastated areas will take longer, but in two or three years everybody is expecting something approaching a return to the 1940 level in most parts of the Soviet Union.

A question asked by some Russians is whether there is not a tendency to go from one extreme to another. Whereas in early 1945 Russia was the colossus casting its shadow over the whole of Europe and Asia, the tendency now is to think of Russia as a terribly weakened country—industrially as well as militarily. Both ideas are baseless. There is hardship, which has been accentuated by the bad harvest; there is a labor shortage. But fundamentally there is nothing seriously wrong, and there are no insuperable obstacles to the country's fairly rapid recovery. The technical cadres are there, and recruits to skilled labor are being rapidly trained. There is nothing even remotely reminiscent of the economic and social chaos of, say, 1918, when Russia had to start almost from zero. What puzzles Russians who see the foreign, and especially the American, press is that the great majority of these publications no longer report facts about Russia but spend their whole time sneering. One Russian comment I heard was: "They are so happy sneering that they have stopped taking any intelligent interest in our country at all."

The People's Front

LAST week I discussed the continuing contest for world leadership between the capitalist nations and those of socialist tendency and the impact on American foreign policy. A few days ago the John Day Company published a book by Fritz Sternberg, "The Coming Crisis," which adds an important new argument to my thesis. Sternberg points out that if the rivalry between the nations which represent the past and those which are striving toward a new society has been intense in a period of prosperity, the capitalist countries will find the going even more difficult in a period of economic crisis. And as the title of his book implies, he believes the United States is approaching just such a period. Clearly his warning cannot be dismissed by any cheerful admonition, such as that of Studebaker's President Hoffman, that talk of a crash in this country is "un-American."

People tend to think of economic crises in terms of the boom-bust cycle that has characterized the last hundred years of capitalist growth in America. There may be a depression in 1948 or 1950, they say, but afterward will come an inevitable period of prosperity. Perhaps the most important contribution of Sternberg's book is to question the validity of this concept. He shows that the 1929 crisis never really ended until a war economy had been established—in Germany considerably before the outbreak of hostilities and in the United States after the war in Europe was under way. And he suggests that when the next crisis comes, the capitalist world will adopt the only solution that proved effective before.

If Sternberg's thesis is correct—and he buttresses it with a good deal of economic data intelligently interpreted—the political implications are terrific. In 1932 the Republican Party paid for its lack of initiative and imagination in 1929; it lost the election to Roosevelt and the New Deal. In the light of this costly experience, the Republicans may very well seek an escape from unemployment and idle factories by shifting to a war economy. This somber possibility explains in part why certain European nations which at the end of hostilities were strongly attracted by the idea of economic ties with the United States have lost their enthusiasm.

THE other evening I went to a private preview of "Man's Hope," a film André Malraux made in Spain in 1938, during the war. As a member of the Spanish Cabinet in charge of propaganda services in those days, I can testify that this movie is the very antithesis of a Hollywood production. It is a simple, direct account, without a trace of melodrama, of a single episode in the war. The actors are the Spanish people themselves—army officers, *milicianos*, *campesinos*—the common men of freedom's battle. "Man's Hope" records not only the injustice perpetrated against them by America's embargo and Britain's non-intervention policy but also the magnificent courage of the Republican fighters. No written page could have reproduced so faithfully, so starkly, the tragedy of Spain.

At the end of the performance a well-known radio com-

mentator remarked to me, "They should have shown this at Lake Success." The episode recounted in "Man's Hope" shows the absurdity of trying to end the Spanish drama with a vaudeville skit in which a caretaker regime approved by international reaction takes power in Madrid. Perhaps after seeing it, Mr. Van Kleffens or Senator Connally might answer, "But that all happened during the war. Now nine years have passed and the Spaniards are hungry. Give them a halfway reasonable government and the possibility of buying food abroad, and the matter will be settled."

True, nine years have passed—and they are another piece of evidence against those who helped establish Franco in power—but it would be easy to bring the film up to date by simply inserting two recent episodes of the Spanish resistance. They took place last month and have been related by an important British business man just arrived in New York from Madrid. He has spent most of his life in Spain and is appalled by the stupidity of Anglo-American diplomacy. Here are the stories:

One of the directors of the Bank of Spain, a friend of the Englishman, returned to Madrid after a visit to his country estate in Andalusia. Through some mix-up his chauffeur failed to meet the train; so the banker took a taxi from the station. "Nice weather we're having," he remarked to the driver by way of conversation. "Here we don't talk about the weather but about hunger," was the reply. "Well, in a few months things will be better; a lot of food is coming in from Argentina," said the banker. The driver gave him a grim look: "Things will be better the day we hang Franco. And if you want to call a policeman, go ahead—I'll tell him the same thing." Somewhat disconcerted, the banker cast around for a safer subject. It was close to Christmas, and the idea occurred to him that he might make at least one Spanish family happy. He handed the driver a five-hundred-peseta note and said, "For your kids." The driver pointed to the meter: "The fare is fourteen pesetas, and the usual tip if you like. We Republicans cannot be bought."

The British business man witnessed the second incident himself while motoring in the Sierra de Guadarrama near Madrid. Suddenly a band of men armed with machine-guns and pistols surged down from the hills and stopped the three cars ahead of him. The motorists were forced to hand over whatever money they were carrying, several thousand pesetas in all. "Now," said the man in command, "your names." The names were taken. Each of the tourists received a small piece of paper on which was written:

Received from Mr. . . . pesetas.

To be returned after the restoration of the Republic.

[Signed] The Army of Liberation

"Only idiots," I am quoting the Englishman, "can possibly believe that the problem will be solved by imposing a wretched little king and a puppet regime on the people of Spain."

DEL VAYO

Crude Oil Politics

By KEITH HUTCHISON

IN 1943 E. L. De Golyer, the distinguished oil geologist, reported to the Department of the Interior that the center of gravity of world oil production was moving from the Gulf of Mexico-Caribbean area to the Persian Gulf. That shift will be rapidly accelerated by two pending deals which will make available to the worldwide marketing organizations of Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum immense quantities of Arabian and Iranian petroleum and so displace a large part of the Venezulean production now sold by these companies in Europe. But even more important than the economic implications of these deals are their political consequences, for they suggest that the United States has become the senior member of the partnership which rules the oily destinies of the Middle East.

For a good many months negotiations have been in progress between Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum on the one hand and Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company, joint owners of a vast, rich, and rapidly developing concession in Saudi Arabia, on the other. While final details have still to be arranged, it appears that an agreement has been reached which will give the New Jersey concern a 30 per cent and Socony a 10 per cent interest in the Arabian-American Company—the subsidiary through which the California and Texas companies are exploiting the concession. The advantage to the sellers in this transaction is perhaps primarily financial; they are believed to have spent some \$150,000,000 on development and will need at least as much more to build the projected pipe line across the Arabian desert to the Mediterranean. The practically unlimited resources of the two top Rockefeller concerns which are now joining them should insure against any financial difficulties in raising the required capital. In addition, the political reinforcement that the alliance provides probably proved an important consideration.

To Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony the agreement offers a stake in what may turn out to be one of the most prolific oil fields of all time. Even more important, it assures them of a large supply of oil to feed to their distributing subsidiaries around the world. It is true that Standard of New Jersey owns a major share of Venezuelan oil, the chief source of supply for Europe at present. But rising demand in the Western Hemisphere, coupled with the possibility of lagging production in the United States, may mean that Caribbean supplies will be absorbed by nearer markets. Meanwhile the New Jersey company cannot draw on its fields in Austria, Hungary, and Rumania, which, for the time being at least, are under Soviet control, and Socony is handicapped by

difficulties in the Netherlands East Indies that are retarding the reconstruction of its properties there. From Iraq, their only assured Middle Eastern supply until the new agreements become effective, the two companies are obtaining 10,000 barrels a day each—a drop in the bucket compared with average consumption outside the United States and Russia of some 2,400,000 barrels daily.

This unassuaged thirst for oil suggests at least a partial explanation for the second deal, which provides for the purchase by the same two American companies of a large but unspecified quantity of the Anglo-Iranian



Courtesy New York Times

Company's production and for their participation in the construction of yet another trans-Arabian pipe line if terms can be arranged with the Arab rulers through whose territory it will pass. I say partial explanation, since it is possible that Anglo-Iranian pressed for a long-term contract of this kind as a quid pro quo for its approval of the Arabian-American deal.

Its bargaining power stemmed from the American desire to abrogate the "Red Line Agreement," which was signed in 1928 by all the participants in the Irak Petroleum Company. These consist of the four following national groups—the Near East Development Company (controlled jointly by New Jersey and Socony), the D'Arcy Exploration Company (controlled by Anglo-Iranian), the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company (controlled by Royal Dutch-Shell), and the Compagnie Française des Pétroles (controlled by the French government). Each of these groups owns 23¾ per cent of Irak Petroleum, the remaining 5 per cent being in the hands of a rather mysterious Armenian gentleman named Gulbenkian, who

obtained the original Mosul concession from the Turks and has hung on to his interest like grim death.

These groups, joined together under political pressure for the exploitation of the northern Irak oil deposits, decided that they had better make a pact to abstain from bidding against each other for new concessions. The upshot was the "Red Line Agreement," a long and detailed document which has never been published. In oil circles, however, it is well known that its central feature was an undertaking by the signatories that they would not enter separately into any crude-oil production arrangements within the territories of the old Turkish Empire. Also included, it is believed, were restrictions on competition in the sale of Middle Eastern oil.

Iran, by definition, was outside the Red Line territory, while Kuwait, the small British protectorate at the head of the Persian Gulf where Anglo-Iranian shares a rich concession with the Mellon family's Gulf Oil Company, was expressly excluded. Hence the prospective deal between Anglo-Iranian and the New Jersey and Socony companies does not violate the Red Line Agreement. But the case of the Saudi Arabian concession is very different. That is definitely within the Red Line area, and, in fact, the Irak Petroleum Company, acting as agent for its shareholders did attempt to secure it from King Ibn Saud. However, while it was cumbrously consulting its members, Standard of California and Texas nipped in and obtained the prize.

It has proved a prize indeed. Annual output from the handful of wells drilled has reached 27,000,000 barrels. Proved reserves total six billion barrels; probable reserves are immensely larger. And now Standard of New Jersey and Socony have cut themselves in on this wealth, leaving their fellow-signatories of the Red Line Agreement out in the cold. It is understood that the American companies take the view that the agreement lapsed when France was occupied by the Germans and became technically an enemy. The French government, on learning of this argument, which seems morally dubious even if it is legally sound, protested through its ambassadors in London and Washington. The *Compagnie des Pétroles* is reported to be starting a lawsuit in London with a view to establishing the currency of the Red Line Agreement. Probably it will be joined in this endeavor by Mr. Gulbenkian. Royal Dutch-Shell has not been heard from, but its interests would also appear to have been damaged by an arrangement which adds enormously to the crude supplies available to its chief rivals in the petroleum-distribution business. Anglo-Iranian, on the other hand, supports the American position; as we have seen, it will be compensated by a twenty-year purchase contract for its own output.

It badly needs such an arrangement, for Anglo-Iranian has never built up a really large sales organization of its own, and having more than doubled production

in Iran during the war, it must now find additional outlets. Moreover, it is beginning to obtain an increasing flow of oil from the Kuwait field.

In the years before the war the effect of the Red Line Agreement was to slow up Middle Eastern oil development. Indeed, that may have been one of its purposes, for the big international oil concerns were all anxious lest too rapid an increase in supply should endanger a profitable price structure. But since the war's end, demand both in the United States and abroad has proved well beyond expert estimates, and barring a worldwide depression, increased Middle Eastern production should find an eager market. In any case a policy of checking development is no longer very feasible. The appetites of the Arab potentates have been whetted by news of the rapidly expanding royalty income of King Ibn Saud. They are urging concessionaires to get on with production and hinting that delay might induce them to deal with other oil-thirsty parties—Soviet Russia, for instance.

One group, alarmed by Middle Eastern developments and resentful of the encouragement given to them by the American government, consists of the independent producers of this country. They do not fear the entry of Arabian or Iranian oil into the United States, but they see it filling European needs and so depriving Venezuela and other lands bordering the Caribbean of one of their chief markets. The result, they suspect, will be to divert increasing amounts of Caribbean oil to American consumers and so intensify domestic competition. Undoubtedly the Navy and Interior departments hope that just this will occur. Although spokesmen for the independents insist that talk of declining American reserves is "propaganda," government experts feel that it is necessary to conserve domestic resources for both economic and strategic reasons. It is this difference which underlies the controversy over the Anglo-American Oil Agreement. The independents, charging that the agreement will facilitate both more government regulation and more foreign competition, have lobbied hard against its ratification by the Senate. The success they have scored appears to have been vain. The private treaties which have been discussed in this article seem likely to achieve many of the objectives of the Anglo-American Oil Agreement, and they do not require the approval of the Senate.

Internationally, the consequences of the new Middle Eastern deals may well prove far-reaching. It is useless for the Foreign Office to assert that the agreement between Anglo-Iranian and the American companies is "purely commercial," or for the State Department to pretend that it has merely been "kept informed" about either this or the Arabian-American contract. It is all too obvious that deals of this nature impinge on high policy and equally obvious that the oil companies would not dare to go ahead with them unless sure of govern-

ment support. And, it must not be forgotten, Anglo-Iranian is controlled by the British government.

The fact is that the United States has now been placed right in the center of the Middle Eastern picture, with the cheerful acquiescence of the British government. This is not likely to alleviate the suspicions of the Soviets, and it will almost certainly spur their efforts to nail down the Azerbaijan concession. The French, as we have noticed, are furious. They see the new deals as part of a sustained effort by the Anglo-Saxon powers to squeeze them out of the Middle East. Moreover, they need more oil that does not have to be paid for in scarce dollars.

There is also the question of Palestine. The enlarged American stake in the Middle East does not necessarily mean greater appeasement of the Arab rulers; they may make threats but they do not want to risk the loss of the wealth which increased oil production promises them. But with three more pipe lines planned to reach the Levantine coast—the existing line from Irak to Haifa and Tripoli is now being duplicated—the strategic and economic importance of Palestine for both Britain and America is greatly enhanced. It would be naive to suppose that the protection of that interest will not prove a major consideration in any program for the solution of the Palestine problem.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

ONE of the strong points of radio has been its ability to bring the listener to the ringside of everything from a political convention to D-Day. But with few exceptions the so-called "actuality" programs produced by radio have been flops. Among the exceptions were the front-line war shows and Norman Corwin's British-produced "People to People" series.

So when CBS late in 1946 announced "Cross-Section—U. S. A." in which teams of reporter-interviewers were to bring individuals from various social and economic levels to the microphone to discuss prices and wages, some of us anticipated a dull program. Instead, on Saturday, January 4, at three o'clock E.S.T., we heard one of the best actualities ever broadcast.

Last year CBS did three similar series called cross-sections of the A. F. of L., N. A. M., and C. I. O. This year's expanded program is made possible through the cooperation



of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the New Council of American Business, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Farmers' Union.

On the table for the first performance was "the cause and cure of runaway prices." Normally this would have given dull opinions mouthed by people with no ability to project them interestingly. The very different type of show that was put on is what makes "Cross-Section—U. S. A." so important. It had the polish of a studio re-creation, it had pace and contrast, and it had a punch finish—all most unusual qualities in out-of-studio productions, especially when the scene is switched from one place to another.

To get what it wanted, CBS decided that five groups—farmers, production-line and white-collar workers, large and small business men—should be represented, and it sent its reporter-interviewer teams out to find the people. On a farm outside Kansas City they talked with a member of the Grange and his wife; in a kitchen in Detroit, with an automobile worker and his wife. A manufacturer spoke from his plant in Los Angeles and was answered by a member of the New Council of American Business from his wholesale and retail shoe-repair shop in Washington. A Chicago teacher belonging to the American Federation of Teachers spoke from a bowling alley where he works nights. Naturally each participant had a different slant on why prices were zooming and what might be done about it. And that diversity of approach and opinion is what "Cross-Section—U. S. A." hopes to get across to the listener.

Everyone worked from a skeleton script, flexible enough to allow for asides and interruptions. The interviewers adeptly limited themselves to keeping the show moving. Each speaker saved his strongest fact for the end, thus giving the next speaker a logical point to enter the program. There was none of the usual, "And now we switch to John Doakes in Chicago for his views on this subject." The Detroit union man tackled the last thing the farmer said, was in turned tackled by the manufacturer, and so on. After the audience had the feel of the new participant—perhaps thirty seconds of talk did it—the interviewer came in and made the identifications.

It took a lot of preparation and cost a potful of money, for full remote equipment was sent out for each job. By this means the background noises were held down to recognition without intruding: in the Detroit kitchen, for example, when a youngster started to cry, the sound came through effectively without fouling up the show.

It was the little individual touches that made this broadcast the whopping success it was. The farmer told how much he had to pay for overalls and a reaper, compared with a few years ago; the autoworker's wife said that they now eat macaroni instead of meat and the kids get three instead of five quarts of milk a week; the shoe-repair man rapped the meat packers for holding back cattle—and keeping him from getting leather—until they killed the OPA, and then boosting prices; the Chicago science teacher complained that the white-collar worker was caught between the big unions and big business.

In addition, the show had Ed Murrow to give it financial and man-power support, Dwight Cooke as narrator and associate producer, and Bill Downs to put good crews in the field.

BOOKS and the ARTS

From the Kingdom of Necessity

LORD WEARY'S CASTLE. By Robert Lowell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

MANY of the reviews of "Lord Weary's Castle" have been conscious that it is an event of the order of Auden's first book; I know no poetry since Auden's that is better than Robert Lowell's. Everybody who reads poetry will read it sooner or later. I hope that I can help readers by pointing out its distinguishing features, by tracing its development, and by analyzing the themes that unify it.

Underneath all these poems "there is one story and one story only": when this essential theme or subject is understood, the unity of attitudes and judgments underlying the variety of the poems becomes startlingly explicit. The poems understand the world as a sort of conflict of opposites. In this struggle one opposite is that cake of custom in which all of us lie imbedded like lungfish—the stasis or inertia of the complacent self, the satisfied persistence in evil that is damnation. In this realm of necessity the poems place everything that is closed, turned inward, incestuous, that blinds or binds: the Old Law, imperialism, militarism, capitalism, Calvinism, Authority, the Father, the rich who will "do everything for the poor except get off their backs." But struggling within this like leaven, falling to it like light, is everything that is free or open, that grows or is willing to change: here is the generosity or willingness or openness that is itself salvation; here is "accessibility to experience"; this is the realm of freedom, of the Grace that has replaced the Law, of the perfect liberator whom the poet calls Christ.

Consequently the poems can have two possible movements or organizations: they can move from what is closed to what is open, or from what is open to what is closed. The second of these organizations—which corresponds to an "unhappy ending"—is less common, though there are many good examples of it: The Exile's Return, with its menacing *Voilà ch'entraine* that transforms the exile's old home into a place where even hope must be abandoned; that extraordinary treatment of the "Oedipus complex," Between the Porch and the Altar, with its four parts each ending in constriction and frustration, its hero who cannot get free of his mother, her punishments, and her world even by dying, but who sees both life and death in terms of her, and thinks at the end that, sword in hand, the Lord "watches me for Mother, and will turn/The bier and baby-carriage where I burn."

But normally the poems move into liberation—even death is seen as liberation, a widening into darkness: that old closed system, Grandfather Arthur Winslow, dying of cancer in his adjusted bed, at the last is the child Arthur whom the swanboats once rode through the Public Garden, whom now "the ghost of risen Jesus walks the waves to run/Upon a trumpeting black swan/Beyond Charles River to the Acheron/Where the wide waters and their voyager are one."

(Compare the endings of The Drunken Fisherman and Dea Roma.) The Death of the Sheriff moves from closure—the "ordered darkness" of the homicidal sheriff, the "loved sightless smother" of the incestuous lovers, the "unsearchable quicksilver heart/Where spiders stare their eyes out at their own/Spitting and knotted likeness"—up into the open sky, to those "light wanderers" the planets, to the "thirsty, Dipper on the arc of night." Just so the cold, blundering, iron confusion of Christmas Eve Under Hooker's Statue ends in flowers, the wild fields, a Christ "once again turned wanderer and child." In Rebellion the son seals "an everlasting pact/With Dives to contract/The world that spreads in pain"; but at last he rebels against his father and his father's New England commercial theocracy, and "the world spread/When the clubbed flintlock broke my father's brain." The italicized words ought to demonstrate how explicitly, at times, these poems formulate the world in the exact terms that I have used.

Where the Rainbow Ends describes in apocalyptic terms the wintry, Calvinist, capitalist—Lowell has Weber's attitude about the connection of capitalism and Calvinism—dead end of God's covenant with man, a frozen Boston where even the cold-blooded serpents "whistle at the cold." (Lowell often uses cold as a plain and physically correct symbol for what is constricted, static, turned in upon itself.) There "the scythers, Time and Death,/Helméd locusts, move upon the tree of breath," of the spirit of man; a bridge curves over Charles River like an ironic parody of the rainbow's covenant; both "the wild ingrafted olive and its root/Are withered" (these are Paul's terms for the Judaism of the Old Law and the Gentile Christianity grafted upon it); "every dove [the Holy Ghost, the bringer of the olive leaf to the Ark] is sold" for a commercialized, legalized sacrifice. The whole system seems an abstract, rationalized "graph of Revelations," of the last accusation and judgment brought against man now that "the Chapel's sharp-shinned eagle shifts its hold/On serpent-Time, the rainbow's epitaph." This last line means exactly what the last line in The Quaker Graveyard—"The Lord survives the rainbow of his will"—means; both are inexpressibly menacing, since they show the covenant as something that binds only us, as something abrogated merely by the passage of time, as a closed system opening not into liberation but into infinite and overwhelming possibility; they have something of the terror, but none of the pity, of Blake's "Time is the mercy of Eternity."

The worshiper climbs to the altar of the terrible I AM like a victim, to breathe the rarefied and intolerable ether of his union with the divinity of the Apocalypse; he despairs even of the wings that beat against his cheek: "What can the dove of Jesus give/You now but wisdom, exile?" When the poem has reached this point of the most extreme closure, when the infinite grace that atones and liberates is seen as no more than the bitter and useless wisdom of the exile, it opens with a rush of acceptant joy into: "Stand and live,/The

From the grass roots of America to the brass tacks of politics!

MINERS AND MILLINERS... farmers and physicians... steelworkers and stenographers... artists and scientists... veterans... Negroes and whites... Protestants, Catholics and Jews... they're in the march! And they want you to join them!

These people came from 21 states of the union... from hundreds of community political action groups... to organize the voice of the common man in our land:

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

PCA is your kind of an organization, formed not by top-level names alone (although some of the outstanding people of the nation are among its founders) but by community leaders from California to Rhode Island who have been fighting for progressive government, not just during election years, but all the time! These people feel—just as you feel—that mere TALK about the rise of reaction is not enough. They feel—just as you must feel—that if we want positive, affirmative government policy to make America the great democratic nation it should be, then it's time for action!

That's why these people have organized PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA... the membership organization that stands for progressive unity. And that's why PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA is not torn by internal squabbles... for its founding members well remember Hitler's "divide and conquer" technique.

As Fiorello La Guardia told the founding conven-

tion of PCA: "We want action now. The country needs the solution of its economic problems now."

This is PCA's program—your program:

1. To combat reaction's most potent weapon—political apathy—by enlisting millions of people in day-to-day, year-round action on national, state and local issues.
2. To expand the existing progressive groups into a nationwide frame-work of community political organizations which can challenge reaction's machines on their home grounds.

It's a realistic, workable program... a desperately needed program... but it can succeed only with your help... because it's your program.

Remember the slick, masterfully-organized machine the reactionaries have built to defeat you and your ideas. Will you sit on the sidelines while that machine crushes everything you believe in? Or will you join your fellow progressives in a toe-to-toe fight against anti-democratic forces? Remember: there's a job for you in PCA, within the limits of your time, interests and inclination. And if you can't fight in person—let your dollars fight! Think for a moment about how much your ideas, your beliefs, your personal liberties are worth. Then send your contribution to the one organization which has the facilities, the experience—and above all the will—to fight your fight for a better America and a better world.

Listen to Henry A. Wallace:

"Your job as a progressive organization is to reach that majority of the population which is potentially progressive but, which due to lack of information, is in the hands of the conservatives at the present time. If you succeed, the pattern of Post-War II will be different from that of Post-War I. In your hands rests the responsibility for leadership."

—from Henry A. Wallace's address at the founding convention of PCA

Let Your Action Fight Reaction

Join Progressive Citizens of America now and watch your contribution—of time, talent, money—turn America back toward its democratic goals. PCA needs every bit of support you can give. If you can't work actively in this new and vital organization, at least get out your check book and let your dollars work for you! Make your check out now and get your dollars into the fight!

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

Join with such Progressive Citizens as these:

Partial List

JO DAVIDSON
DR. FRANK KINGDON
MICHAEL NISSELSON
HERMAN SHULMIN
ELMER A. BENSON
VAN BROOKS
EVANS F. CARLSON
NORMAN CORWIN
BARTLEY C. CRUM

CLARK FOREMAN
ROBERT F. KENNY
JACK KROLL
FREDRIC MARCH
PAUL ROBESON
EDWARD G. ROBINSON
DR. HARLOW SHAFLEY
J. RAYMOND WALEH
A. F. WHITNEY

**ARE
UNITING
FOR
ACTION!**

SIGN UP FOR ACTION!

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA
205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

☐ Enroll me as a member of PCA. Enclosed is \$3.00 annual dues, \$1.00 of which covers a year's subscription to The Progressive Citizen. But dues alone can't carry on the full fight. Enclosed is my additional contribution of ☐ \$5, ☐ \$10, ☐ \$25, ☐ \$50, ☐ \$100, ☐ \$250, ☐ \$500, ☐ \$1000.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____ STATE _____

OCCUPATION _____

dove has brought an olive branch to eat." The dove of Jesus brings to the worshiper the olive branch that shows him that the flood has receded, opening the whole earth for him; the olive branch of peace and reconciliation; the olive branch that he is "to eat" as a symbol of the eaten flesh and blood of Christ, of atonement, identification, and liberation. Both the old covenant and the new still hold, nothing has changed: here as they were and will be, are life and salvation.

Lowell seems a strange opposite of the usual Catholic convert, who distrusts freedom as much as he needs bondage, and who sees the world as a liberal chaos which can be ordered and redeemed only by that rigid and final Authority to which men submit without question. Lowell reminds one more of those heretical enthusiasts, often disciplined and occasionally sanctified or excommunicated, who are more at home in the Church Triumphant than in the church of this world, which is one more state; a phrase like Lowell's "St. Peter, the distorted key" is likely to be appreciated outside the church and overlooked inside it, *ad maiorem gloriam* of Catholic poetry. In Lowell's poems the Son is pure liberation from the incestuous, complacent, inveterate evil of established society, of which the Law is a part—although the Father, Jehovah, has retained both the violence necessary to break up this inertia and a good deal of the menacing sternness of Authority as such. (It is interesting to compare the figure of the Uncle in early Auden, who sanctifies rebellion by his authority; the authority of Lowell's Christ is sanctified by his rebellion or liberation.)

Anyone who compares Lowell's earlier and later poems will see this movement from constriction to liberation as his work's ruling principle of growth. The grim, violent, sordid constriction of his earliest poems—most of them omitted from this book—seems to be temperamental, the Old Adam which the poet grew from and partially transcends; and a good deal of what was excessive in the wonderful rhetorical machine of a poem like *The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket*, which catches and twists to pieces the helplessly enjoying reader, is gone from his latest poems, or else dramatically justified and no longer excessive. *The Quaker Graveyard* is a baroque work, like "Paradise Lost"; but the coiling violence of the rhetoric, the harshly stubborn intensity that accompanies its verbs and verbals, the clustering stresses learned from accentual verse, come from a man contracting every muscle, grinding his teeth together till his shut eyes ache. Lowell's later work has moved in the direction of the poem's quiet contrast-section, *Walsingham*; the denunciatory prophetic tone has disappeared, along with the early satiric effects that were one of the poet's weaknesses. The later poems depend less on rhetorical description than on dramatic speech; their wholes have escaped from the hypnotic bondage of the details. Often the elaborate rhetorical stanzas have changed into a novel sort of dramatic or narrative couplet, run-on but with heavily stressed rhymes. A girl's nightmare, in the late *Katherine's Dream*, is far more open, classical, and speech-like than the poet's own descriptive meditation in an earlier work like *Christmas at Black Rock*. It is important to understand this development; the reviews I have read have not realized that it exists.

Lowell has a completely unscientific, but thoroughly historical mind. (It is literary and traditional as well: he uses

the past so effectively because he thinks so much as it did.) Lowell's present contains the past—especially Rome, the late Middle Ages, and New England—as an operative skeleton just under the skin. This is rare among contemporary poets, who look at the past as Blücher looked at London: "What a city to sack!" (Actually he said, "What a mix-up!" But this fits, too.) War, Trade, and Jehovah march side by side through these centuries: it is the fundamental likeness of the past and present, and not their disparity, which is brought out. "Cold/Snaps the bronze toes and fingers of the Christ/My father fetched from Florence, and the dead/Chatters to nothing in the thankless ground/His father screwed from Charlie Stark and sold/To the selectmen." This is the history of New England's nineteenth century in a sentence. Lowell's period pieces, which range from Propertius to Jonathan Edwards, are notable partly for their details—which are sometimes as magically and professionally illusionary as those of "I, Claudius"—but mainly for the empathy, the historical identification, that underlie the details. These period pieces are intimately related to Lowell's adaptations of poems from other languages; both are valuable as ways of getting a varied, extensive, and alien experience into his work. Dismissing these adaptations as "translations" is like dismissing *To Celia* or *Cathay*, and betrays an odd dislike or ignorance of an important and traditional procedure of poets.

Lowell is an extremely professional poet, and the degree of intensity of his poems is equalled by their degree of organization. Inside its elaborate stanzas the poem is put together like a mosaic: the shifts of movement, the varied pauses, the alternation in the length of sentences, the counterpoint between lines and sentences, are the outer form of a subject matter that has been given a dramatic, dialectical internal organization; and it is hard to exaggerate the strength and life, the constant richness and surprise of metaphor and sound and motion, of the language itself. The organization of Lowell's poems resembles that of traditional English poetry—especially when compared to that type of semi-imagist modern organization in which the things of the poem seem to marshal themselves like Dryden's atoms—but often this is complicated by stream-of-consciousness, dream, or dramatic-monologue types of structure. This makes the poems more difficult, but it is worth the price—a great many of the most valuable dramatic effects cannot be attained inside a more logical or abstract organization. Lowell's poetry is a unique fusion of modernist and traditional poetry, and there exist conjoined in it certain effects that one would hitherto have thought mutually exclusive; however, it is essentially a post- or anti-modernist poetry, and as such is certain to be influential.

Lowell is wonderfully good at discovering powerful, homely, grotesque, but exactly appropriate particulars for his poems. "Actuality is something brute," said Peirce. "There is no reason in it. I instance putting your shoulder against a door and trying to force it open against an unseen, silent, and unknown resistance." The things in Lowell's poems have, necessarily, been wrenched into formal shape, organized under terrific pressure, but they keep to an extraordinary degree their stubborn, unmoved toughness, their senseless originality and contingency: no poet is more notable for

what, I have read, Duns Scotus calls *baeccitas*—the contrary, persisting, and singular thinginess of every being in the world; but this detailed factuality is particularly effective because it sets off, or is set off by, the elevation and rhetorical sweep characteristic of much of the best poetry of the past. Lowell is obviously a haptic rather than a visual type: a poem like *Colloquy in Black Rock* has some of the most extraordinary kinesthetic effects in English, perfect duplications of what is being described. It is impossible not to notice the weight and power of his lines—most others look a little threadbare or transparent beside them. Because of passages like

In the great ash-pit of Jehoshaphat
The bones cry for the blood of the white whale,
The fat flukes arch and whack about its ears,
The death-lance churns into the sanctuary, tears
The gun-blue swingle, heaving like a flail,
And hacks the coiling life out . . .

the smooth, calm, and flowing ease of some passages, the flat ease of the ordinary speech of others, have more than their usual effectiveness: the dead mistress of Propertius, a black nail dangling from a finger, Lethe oozing from her nether lip, in the end can murmur to the "apple-sweetened Anio":

. . . Anio, you will please
Me if you whisper upon sliding knees:
"Propertius, Cynthia is here:
She shakes her blossoms when my waters clear."

The poems' wit is often the wit of things: the "poised relations sipping sherry/And tracking up the carpet," the "postgirl sounding her French horn" over the snows of Maine, the "stern Colonial magistrates and wards/of Charles the Second." The "corn-fed mouse/Reined in his bestial passions"; the "red-flanneled madmen looked through bars." One laughs out in church.

Lowell, at his best and latest, is a dramatic poet: he presents people, actions, speeches, things as they feel and look to people; the poet's generalizations are usually implied, and the poem's explicit generalizations are there primarily because they are dramatically necessary—it is not usually the poet who means them. He does not present themes or generalizations but a world—and the differences and similarities between it and the ordinary one bring home to us themes, generalizations, and the poet himself. There is never any exploitation of the "personality" of the poet; the *I* who stands meditating by Hooker's statue or the Quaker graveyard is closer to the different *I*'s of the dramatic monologues than to the man who wrote them. It is partly because of this that atheists are vexed by his Catholic views, and Catholics by his heretical ones, so much less than they normally would be.

But there are other reasons. The poet's rather odd and imaginative Catholicism is thoroughly suitable to his mind, which is so traditional and dramatic that no images from the sciences, next to none from philosophy, occur in his poems. Such a Catholicism is thoroughly suited to literature, since it is essentially literary, anthropomorphic, emotional. It is an advantage to the poet to have a frame of reference, terms of generalization, which are themselves human, emotional, and effective as literature. "Bodily Changes in Fear,

Rage, and Hunger" may let the poet know more about the anger of Achilles, but it is hard for him to have to talk about adrenalin and the thalamus; and when the arrows of Apollo are transformed into "a lack of adequate sanitary facilities," everything is lost but understanding. (This helps explain the dependence of contemporary poetry on particulars, emotions, things—its generalizations, where they are most effective, are fantastic, though often traditionally so.) Naturally the terms of scientific explanation cannot have these poetic and emotional effects, since it is precisely by the exclusion of such effects that science has developed. Lowell's Catholicism represents effective realities of human behavior and desire, regardless of whether it is true, false, or absurd; and, as everyone must realize, it is possible to tell part of the truth about the world in terms that are false, limited, and fantastic—else how should we have told it? There is admittedly no "correct" or "scientific" view of a great many things that a poet writes about—values, emotions, and so forth—and he has to deal with them in dramatic and particular terms, if he has foregone the advantage of pre-scientific ideologies like Christianity or Marxism. (Of course it seems to me an advantage that he almost necessarily foregoes; I remember writing about contemporary religious poems, "It is hard to enjoy the ambergris for thinking of all those suffering whales," and most people will feel this when they encounter a passage in Lowell telling them how Bernadette's miraculous vision of Our Lady "puts out reason's eyes." It does indeed.)

It is unusually difficult to say which are the best poems in "Lord Weary's Castle": at least a dozen are realized past changing, triumphs that vary only in scope and intensity—a number of others are poems that almost any living poet would be pleased to have written. But certainly some of the most wonderful things in the book are *Where the Rainbow Ends*, *Between the Porch and the Altar*, *The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket*, *Colloquy in Black Rock*, *The Death of the Sheriff* (especially the first of the two poems that compose it), and *At the Indian-Killer's Grave*. Close to these are *The Exile's Return*, *The Ghost*, *Charles the Fifth and the Peasant*, *Death from Cancer*, *Mr. Edwards and the Spider*, *Christmas Eve under Hooker's Statue*, *Mary Winslow*—and I cannot leave unmentioned poems like *After the Surprising Conversions*, *The Drunken Fisherman*, *The Blind Leading the Blind*, *The Shako*, *France*, and *New Year's Day*. I do not list a number of small or partial successes that will delight anyone who loves poetry.

When I reviewed Lowell's first book I finished by saying, "Some of the best poems of the next years ought to be written by him." The appearance of "Lord Weary's Castle" makes me feel less like Adams or Leverrier than like a rain-maker who predicts rain, and gets a flood which drowns everyone in the county. A few of these poems, I believe, will be read as long as men remember English.

The Hindemith-Balanchine-Seligman ballet, "The Four Temperaments," will be repeated by the Ballet Society on May 14, not—as was announced by The Nation last week—on January 14.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Growing Up in Salonika

IN MARCH, 1936, upon a morning of crystalline sunlight, as I was walking down a main street in Salonika toward the waterfront, I heard behind me a group of men talking in Spanish. It was not a contemporary Castilian, yet it was a cultured and precise language they were speaking; having read Menéndez Pidal's marvelous work on the Spanish romances preserved by the Jews of the Spanish diaspora, I turned and boldly addressed the group in the language of the country from which I had just arrived. As a result of that somewhat brash confrontation my memory of the four days I spent in Salonika is among the pleasantest memories of my life. "Farewell to Salonika" by Leon Sciaky (A. A. Wyn, \$2.75), might almost have been written for my pleasure. As I read it I was often tempted to write to the author and tell him some unimportant fact about his city as it was in 1936; that the White Tower erected by a Venetian architect for a seventeenth-century despot was then in use as Boy Scout headquarters, that the removal of the great triumphal arch was in debate, and so on.

Yet my pleasure cannot have been a purely personal one, for "Farewell to Salonika" is an altogether charming book, so simply and truthfully written that it demands no intimate knowledge of the place and persons presented. It is a record of growing up, a family portrait in which the history of a Jewish family, of Spanish Sephardim, is given its proper social context. The Salonika that one reads about is not only a fascinating and complex city in which many national and cultural strains run side by side, but it is the critical city of Aegean politics. The breakdown of the Turkish Empire and its consequences for Balkan affairs are better understood when one has read this book.

But it is not the political value of the book that should be emphasized so much as its quiet charm, its unpretentious and easy portrayal of a cultural pattern through an account of an engaging family. "Farewell to Salonika" is a warm and softly luminous book. I am grateful for the chance that brought it my way.

RALPH BATES

A Summary of the Recent Past

IN "THE FUTURE IN PERSPECTIVE" (Putnam's, \$4), Sigmund Neumann provides a concise recapitulation of how we traveled to the present moment in history from the beginning of World War I. Describing the era as the Second Thirty Years' War, Mr. Neumann writes in the sober manner of a Dutch uncle explaining things "To a Friend in Need of an Answer." Those who have made it their business to keep informed on current affairs and their background will probably find nothing newly enlightening in the book, and its scope is too modest to make it useful as a reference, but as an introduction to the study of our times and the peace it must devise "The Future in Perspective" is sound and solid, altogether commendable.

Most of the text is concerned with the interplay of the national forces of Germany, France, Great Britain, Russia,

and the United States; the affairs of other European states are sketched in more briefly, while the Far East does not come into the picture until 1931. Mr. Neumann gives social and economic matters adequate attention. The book abounds in lively characterizations of the leading statesmen and politicians of the time.

Mr. Neumann interprets the Second Thirty Years' War in terms of "three aspects—international, national, and personal." Now, at the war's end, if it is the end, nationalism "is on trial as the organizing principle of world order." Admitting at the close of the volume the difficulties of Big Three collaboration in making peace, Mr. Neumann, who began on a higher note of optimism in this connection, admits that "the list of missed opportunities is appalling and the agenda of unsolved matters still growing. We have come dangerously close to losing the fruits of victory altogether." But he assures his friend that "an international development beyond the existing competition of the powers seems to be assured." Democracy, he points out, must "succeed in re-integrating the amorphous millions." The book is written in the faith that "neither anarchic nor totalitarian existence is the design of our age."

W. J. GOLD

A Lower-Case Santa Claus

THIS MORALITY in five scenes—"Santa Claus," by E. E. Cummings (Holt, \$1.50)—contains some moving passages but seems on the whole one of the author's less happy efforts. Perhaps the tradition of the morality play requires a certain grimness: the devil in red, or death in black or a skeleton rig, making with antics, and the sermon coming down like a club on the heads of the audience; perhaps this particular morality would play better than it reads. The gospel of love, the good Lord knows, is a fine thing to preach, but here Mr. Cummings, it seems to me, is at once too simple and too ecclesiastical, lacking the lyrical lift and lilt which made his "1x1," for instance, a much more joyous invitation to become converted.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Modern Migrations

DURING THE TIME of the religious wars in feudal Europe the prevailing rule was, *Cuius regio, eius religio*—in whose region I live, his religion I profess. After the birth of the nation-states such ideological adjustments became less frequent. When in World War I the three multi-national states of Europe—the Russian, the Ottoman, and the Austrian empire—collapsed, quite a number of new national states with national minorities rose from their ashes. Special minority treaties attempted to protect the rights of these minority groups with more or less success. The victors of World War II, realizing the failure of these treaties, agreed to get rid of the troublesome minority groups by voluntary or compulsory resettlement. The Convention of Lausanne of 1923, exchanging Graeco-Turkish minorities, had set a precedent for the German-Italian agreement of 1939, and thus inaugurated the vast transfer program of the Third Reich. In "European Population Transfers, 1939-1945" (Oxford, \$5) Joseph Schechtman proves that two transfers "to which no blitz tempo was applied," namely, the Tyrolean and the Graeco-

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
51st ST.
86th ST.
86th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th St.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
ROYAL

RKO NOW

"Exciting . . . dialogue is terse, intelligent and amusing."
—New York World-Telegram

JOHN GARFIELD • GERALDINE FITZGERALD

'Nobody Lives Forever'

with WALTER BRENNAN • FAYE EMERSON

— AND —

"PLAINSMAN AND THE LADY"

WILLIAM ELLIOTT • VERA HENNA RALSTON

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
WYNERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

Queens
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"COMPELLING THRILLER."—New York Herald Tribune

OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND
LEW AYRES

'THE DARK MIRROR'

with THOMAS MITCHELL

— AND —

'GENTLEMAN JOE PALOOKA'

LEON ERROL • JOE KIRKWOOD Jr. • ELYSE KNOX

20th CENTURY-FOX Presents

James CAGNEY

13 RUE

MADELEINE

with RICHARD ANNABELLA • CONTE • FRANK LATIMORE

Directed by Henry Hathaway • Produced by Louis de Rochemont

— On Stage —

GRACIE FIELDS

THE DEBONAIRS

BEATRICE SECKLER JEAN GRAMAS

Extra Added Attraction

ARTHUR BLAKE

Now Playing ROXY 7th Ave. at 50th Street

PARAMOUNT Presents

Loretta YOUNG • David HIVEN

In HAL WALLIS' Production

'The Perfect Marriage'

Directed by LEWIS ALLEN

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— IN PERSON —

THE MILLS BROTHERS

OLGA SAN JUAN • TIM HERBERT

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

ELLIOT LAWRENCE

AND HIS ORCHESTRA

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present

"A NEW HIT"—Morehouse, Sun

HELEN HAYES

— in —

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY"

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

44th St. West of Broadway. Evenings 8:30.
BROADHURST Thea., Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday 2:40.

"BULL'S EYE"—Barnes, Herald Tribune

ETHEL MERMAN

IN THE MUSICAL SMASH

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

IMPERIAL Theatre 45th St., West of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30.
Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30.

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." —
Ward Morehouse, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN

LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4255

Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"Must be seen. . . . Warming, charming chuckling."
—Morehouse, Sun

MAX GORDON Presents

FREDRIC MARCH • FLORENCE ELDRIDGE in
YEARS AGO

The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON

Directed by Garson Kanin

MANFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9056

Evgs. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HEERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York—NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Boston—SHUBERT Thea.—with Betty KEAN

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

JOSE FERRER IN
CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAM SHERMAN

PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON

ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON

BARRYMORE THEA. 47th Street West of Broadway. CI 4-0390
Eves., incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

Buy Your Books through The Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside of United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Bulgarian exchanges, "failed to achieve their objective of eliminating the minority groups." After a conscientious examination of the German resettlement program and of the transfer of German and non-German minorities, the author concludes that populations should not be transferred until all other agencies have been explored. If the transfer becomes an inescapable last resort, then it should be an all-inclusive measure, since its objective is not to remove a minority group but to remove a minority problem. It is a pity that this well-documented, scholarly study was not available at the time of the Potsdam declaration. Perhaps the framers of the peace treaties will read it and do their best to eliminate the clash of national emotions in order to avoid the cruelties of population transfers.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Ave Atque Vale

TO AVOID THE SNARES of metaphysics in the face of approaching death is the supreme test for the atheist, the hedonist, the scientific philosopher, or the writer whose search for truth has led him into the jungle of empirical fact. At some crucial point in his existence, when death quite suddenly becomes an inevitable and personal event, there is apt to be a retreat, more or less dignified, from the defiant frontier reached by the bold and more youthful mind: Aldous Huxley abandons his brave new world for the timeless truths of the neo-Buddhists; Somerset Maugham in his premature valedictory pays graceful lip-service to the Great Unknown; and only a courageous few, like Lord Chesterfield, bow themselves out to the same tune to which they danced in youth.

It is to the eternal credit of H. G. Wells, who spent most of his highly profitable seventy-nine years in a ceaseless pursuit of truth and a relentless attack on human stupidity, bigotry, and bogus morality, that his final conclusions on the nature of life as expressed in "Mind at the End of Its Tether" (Didier, \$2.50) yield not an inch to the terrors of the grave. Though he wrote the book after his doctor had informed him of his imminent death, he died with the full courage of his conviction that there is no particular reason for life, that the general prognosis for the future history of man is discouraging, and that the reign of Homo sapiens on this planet is probably nearly over unless he pulls himself up sharply by his own boot-straps.

How much more stimulating to be told to face the facts

and to be given to understand that the ultimate responsibility is a personal one than to listen to Mr. O'Neill's lengthy sermon to the effect that to retire into an ivory tower and lock the door is one solution, or to read Gerald Heard's "Pain, Sex, and Time," based on the same initial premises of the breakdown of evolution and the atrophy of Homo sapiens, and then be offered the sop of westernized Yoga. Mr. Wells extends no comfort and quibbles not at all; he simply states that he has lived cheerfully and abundantly and enjoyed it, and that, despite all the evidence to the contrary, it is in his nature to believe that man will struggle on to accompany the planet to its end. Such conclusions demand real courage, and it enhances Mr. Wells's reputation and the value of his previous work that his final testament is so uncompromising.

The book also contains a short fantasy, *The Happy Turning*, described by the author as "a dream of life." It is a sharp little satire in which Wells attacks the divines, the politicians, the B. B. C., and everything else he can lay his hands on. It is extremely witty and leaves one with an acute sense of loss that H. G. Wells will write no more.

ANTHONY BOWER

Dos Passos and the War

WHETHER HE IS WRITING about the adventures of Roger Williams in Winthrop's Boston and Cromwell's England, as in his strangely neglected "The Ground We Stand On," or about his own adventures in World War I and the fantastic between-wars world, John Dos Passos has a way of getting at the roots of the matter which makes his reporting, historical or contemporary, a creative art. Myopic as an owl, Dos can nevertheless spot those flying fragments, overlooked by the run of his fellows, which will build up into a memorable whole under his sensitive artistry.

He had come back from covering the domestic war scene in "The State of the Nation" and was digging around in the library doing research for a book on Jefferson when he took an assignment from *Life* as a correspondent, starting for the Pacific islands in December, 1944. What he saw and heard and felt in the last days of the war and the start of the international crack-up called the peace he has put down stirring in "Tour of Duty" (Houghton Mifflin, \$3).

It may be that, like this reviewer, you don't want to learn about war any more. Just the same you should go along with Dos Passos, hearing big guns and little fired in anger, talking to G. I.'s and officers, "strangers and afraid in a world they never made," getting down the authentic speech of admirals and ensigns and gobs and seabees and the type-writing men of the "chair-borne divisions," and you will like the going, rough as it often is.

There will be many, though, who won't like this book. Some of the stuffed shirts in the AMG, for example, and all the Communists who have long had Dos on the *index expurgatorius* and will put him further into the Thirteenth Street doghouse after reading what he has to say about the Russians in the occupied areas. Now I hope Dos Passos can get back to Jefferson. Jefferson is a pretty good man to get back to these days, and John Dos Passos is the man to bring the Virginian, with his "passion for peace," alive in our times.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

GIFT PARCEL

FOR OVERSEAS (All 4 Zones in Germany)

No. 35A \$7.68

including postage, packing, insurance, etc.

1 lb. butter	1/2 lb. milk powder
1 lb. honey	1/2 lb. sweet cocoa milk
2 oz. instant coffee	1 lb. cream of rice
1 lb. beef roast	1 lb. dried fruits
1/4 lb. chocolate bar	2 packs cigarettes

We specialize in making up parcels to order

Ask for further information

J. KOHLS, Personal Parcel Service
315 W. 102 St., New York 25, N. Y. AC 2-3844

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

GEORGE KELLY'S "The Fatal Weakness" has now been running at the Royale Theater for some time. It is not, I believe, one of the outstanding hits, but Mr. Kelly is too interesting and too original a playwright not to deserve notice even at this late date. Moreover, the play gives Miss Ina Claire an opportunity to demonstrate that she is still quite the most accomplished comedienne on our stage.

Mr. Kelly had his great and apparently easy success a generation ago. Then, by what seemed like deliberate intention, he changed his whole manner, and after a series of failures stopped writing entirely until "The Deep Mrs. Sykes" had a success of esteem some eighteen months ago. The new play is lighter in tone than the last-mentioned piece, but it is obviously the product of the same unusual kind of interest in the same unusual kind of character problem, and in both cases too large a part of every audience seemed to find itself in a state of minor bafflement. Either, it seemed to feel, it did not quite know what Mr. Kelly was driving at or, if it did, it failed to share his interest in the subject under examination.

Any attempt to state even the main features of the story is bound to create a false impression. If I say, for instance, that it is about a middle-aged woman who rather sadly agrees to divorce her husband when she learns that he is in love with someone else—that will sound like a very commonplace domestic drama. If, on the other hand, I should choose to explain that the story deals with an attractive but infantile sentimentalist so devoted to weddings that she insists upon dressing very much like a bride to attend the marriage of her former husband—that will certainly suggest a rather eccentric farce. In actual fact, however, "The Fatal Weakness" is neither commonplace domestic drama nor eccentric farce, but a character comedy whose charm as well as whose somewhat baffling quality depends upon the fact that it is a shrewd, cool analysis of a rather unusual woman looked at from an even more unusual point of view. All the incidentals of the play, including the whole background of upper middle-class manners, are sharply sketched in, and the ready laughter of the audience is evidence enough that these incidentals are rec-

ognized and appreciated. In their case the method and the style are familiar. The spectator knows where he is and thinks that he knows what to expect. But neither the action nor the author's commentary ever falls into any of the familiar grooves one is perpetually expecting it to find. Mr. Kelly rejects all the ready-made patterns which would immediately render his play comfortably classifiable and thus defeats all the easy expectations.

"I don't even know," so I heard one spectator complain, "whether this woman is supposed to be intelligent or a fool, sympathetic or unsympathetic. I don't even know whether the author likes her or not." And the doubt, so it seems to me, was not because Mr. Kelly did not answer all those questions as clearly as they need be or could be answered, but because he was observing his queer specimen as freshly as he could and refusing to attribute to her any of the traits which have come, by tradition, to serve as labels easily translated to mean "I approve" or "I disapprove." Here, he says, is a woman well meaning and, in many ways, charming. But her emotions are not very real, certainly not very grown up. To her husband she has never been able to give anything except the romantic emotionalism of an adolescent. She thinks that she loves him, and she can prove it by weeping over his loss. But she weeps almost as much at the weddings of people she doesn't even know, and her emotion goes hardly deeper in the one case than in the other. Some women make bad wives, not because they are wicked or hateful, but simply because they never get beyond sentiment, and though that is something for which moral condemnation is too severe, it is also something from which there is no redemption, however freely forgiveness may be granted. This particular woman will lose her husband, and it will make her genuinely sad to know that she has lost him. But the weight of none of her emotions will ever be more than she can easily bear.

Is this a subject too slight or too elusive for a play? Many would say so. It is, they would argue, rather a subject for a novel or a novelette, for a kind of tenuous analysis somewhat in the manner of Henry James, or at least in that of one of his less weighty followers. But I know of no solid reason why this should be so, for Mr. Kelly, it seems to me, actually makes his point as clearly and as interestingly as it could be made, and he disappoints only the conventional expectation that a play shall have a

somewhat sharper impact and depend upon bolder strokes. What he has given us is not precisely what I usually expect in the theater, but I was, nevertheless, very well satisfied to find it there. And if Mr. Kelly scorns to sacrifice everything else to the theatrically effective scene, it is certainly not because he cannot write such scenes when he wants to do so, as he beautifully demonstrates in his second act, when he works out the most ingenious variation of the standard "dinner is served" curtain which it has been my pleasure as a professional to see in a long, long time.

In general Mr. Kelly's women tend to be far better than his men; the two male characters who appear in this play are mere sticks, but Jennifer Howard, the young daughter of Clare Eames and Sidney Howard, gives a beautiful performance in the role of the heroine's daughter, and Miss Claire actually interprets and enriches her part as few actresses ever succeed in doing. Time and time again a gesture, an intonation, or merely a fleeting expression points up or explains a line which might otherwise fail of its intention; her intelligence as well as her competence must have been a joy to Mr. Kelly, who acted as his own director.

CONTRIBUTORS

RALPH BATES is the author of "The Fields of Paradise," "The Olive Field," and other novels.

W. J. GOLD was formerly managing editor of the *Virginia Quarterly*.

ANTHONY BOWER was formerly film critic for *The Nation*.

MCALISTER COLEMAN, a left-wing journalist, is the author of "Men and Coal."

WHERE HENRY WALLACE WENT WRONG

FEBRUARY ISSUE OF *by Louis Fischer*
THIS MONTH MAGAZINE
Newsstands or 247 Park Ave. N. Y. 17

The last book—His Testament!
**H. G. WELLS' Mind at the
End of its Tether**
or bookstores \$2.50
660 Madison Ave., New York 17

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

UNTIL NOW foreign recordings have been discussed in this column only when they have been issued in American pressings. The foreign pressings imported by a few shops have not been discussed because I would either have had to listen to them on the inadequate phonographs in the shops or—if I had been allowed to borrow them to play on my own phonograph—spend an impossible amount of time and energy carrying them back and forth, and this for the benefit of the small number of readers who were interested in them and willing to pay for them at the rate of \$2.50 a 12-inch record.

But now Decca is giving imported pressings of the new London Decca recordings—which cost \$20 a record—the same distribution as its own records and is sending out copies for review.

Among the first releases are Stravinsky's "Petrushka"—the entire work, not just the usual suite of excerpts—performed by Ansermet with the London Philharmonic (Set ED 2—EDA 2 for automatic machines; \$11), Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony, performed by Un-

ger with the National Symphony (Set ED 1; \$9), and Beethoven's Overture "Leonore" No. 2, performed by van Beinum with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra (Set ED 4; \$5). Ansermet conducted the first performances of "Petrushka" here for the Diaghilev company in 1916, and the performance on the records is superb, with much of the power of Stravinsky's recorded performance of the suite, and none of the nervous tension and excitement of Stokowski's recorded performance of the entire work. On the other hand, those who know Mendelssohn's lovely symphony through Koussevitsky's and Toscanini's winged performances will not enjoy Unger's slow and ponderous progress through it; nor will anyone who has heard the "Leonore" No. 2 played by Toscanini be content with what van Beinum makes of it.

The "full frequency range recordings" of these performances and the expensive London Gramophone machines you may have seen advertised are designed for each other; and the combination of recording and machine produces a sound that is not only beautifully rich and spacious but remarkable in its depth and roundness in space (since so much is made of the extended frequency range—to 14,000 cycles—of

both recording and machine, let me add that the sound has the beauty I have described not when the range is out to maximum but when it is considerably reduced by the first step down of the machine's treble control; and that microphone placement is largely responsible for the remarkable depth in space). With the American machines on which I have played them—machines which produce the beautiful sound from the Beecham recording of Mozart's "Linz" Symphony, from the recent Victor recordings of the Chicago Symphony, and from all other good recordings—the sound of the English Deccas is unsatisfactory. It retains the depth in space; but when it is sufficiently bright it is rough or edged, and when not rough or edged it is poorly balanced, dull, and heavy; and the "Petrushka" is hazy with the reverberation of the empty hall.

I should mention that these English Decca records fit on the spindles of American record-changers so loosely as to be not perfectly centered on the turntable, and therefore to produce a wavering in pitch.

The imported Italian C.E.T.R.A. records are available only in small quantity at present, and at the staggering price of \$3.25 a record (excise tax included); but I was interested in them because they offered the first complete recordings of Haydn's "Seasons" and Verdi's "Forza del Destino" and a new recording of Mozart's Requiem; and the importer was willing to take the trouble involved in making it possible for me to hear them on a good machine. So I can report that Gui conducts a routine performance of "The Seasons" (10 records), with good singing by Gabriella Gatti, Francesco Albanese, and Luciano Neroni. Also that the first measures of the Overture to "La Forza del Destino" shocked me with the slackness of Marinuzzi's conducting—the slackness of a typical performance of Italian opera that leaves the singers free to indulge in their mannerisms and excesses—the singers in this case being the soprano Maria Caniglia, an excellent baritone whose name I am not sure of, and an inferior tenor named Galiano Massini (18 records). But as against this slackness there was in De Sabata's superb modeling of the sound of Mozart's Requiem a sustained impetus and continuous control that were reminiscent of Toscanini's; and the performance (8 records)—with beautiful singing by Pia Tassinari, Ebe Stignani, Ferruccio Tagliavini, and Italo Tajo, and marvelously recorded—is one of the greatest things ever put on records.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

- ☐ with Harper's Magazine . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50
☐ with Consumers Union . \$9.25 You Save \$1.25
☐ with Harper's Magazine

and Consumers Union . \$11.75 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself:

- ☐ One Year \$6 ☐ Two Years \$10 ☐ Three Years \$14
☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
 NAME _____
 STREET _____
 CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

1-18-47

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

TRIBUTE TO LENIN

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
50th Street and 8th Avenue
WED., JAN. 22, 7:30 P.M.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Chairman, Communist Party, USA

J. B. S. HALDANE
Internationally Famous British Scientist

Guest Speaker: ALBERT E. KAHN
Co-Author "Great Conspiracy Against Russia"
President, Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order

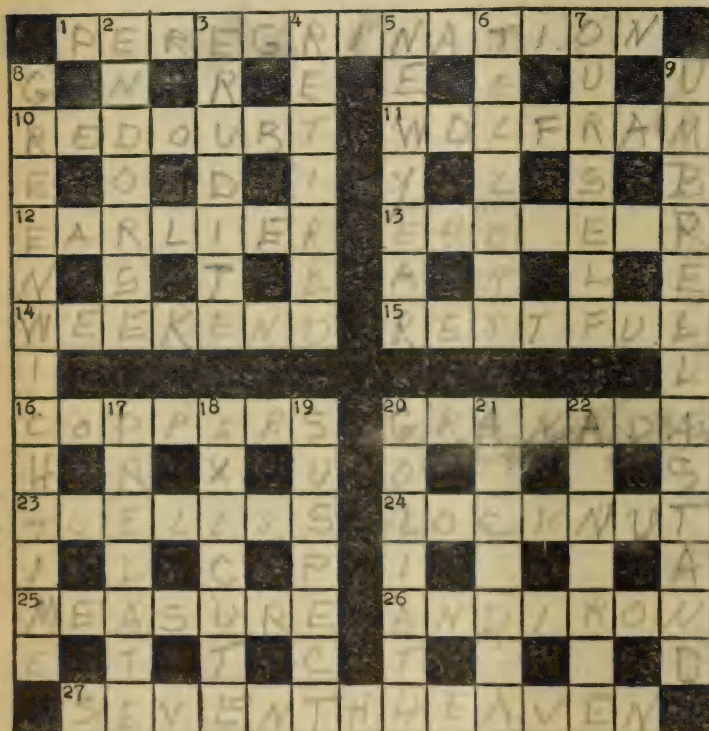
RESERVED SEATS
60¢, \$1.00, \$1.20, \$1.50, \$2.40 (tax incl.)
At Webster Bookshop, 18th St. West 44th Street
Bookfair, 13th West 44th Street
Jefferson Bookshop, 575 Ave. of the Amer.
Asuspices:

New York State Communist Party

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Crossword Puzzle No. 195

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 What would my French papa smile at as I get on?
- 10 Far from a sure defense, from the look of it
- 11 Pair of animals exported by Spain
- 12 A noble lord starts well ahead of time
- 13 What the pedant calls his spectacles, perhaps
- 14 The end we all look forward to
- 15 Tranquil, isn't it?
- 16 Welcome to British beggars in one sense, but not in another
- 20 Capital of the Spanish province of the same name
- 23 Only one to each foot, not five
- 24 One nut that can't slip
- 25 A resume provides a means to an end
- 26 I darn on (anag.)
- 27 Heavens above! This is the limit! (7 and 6)

DOWN

- 2 You wouldn't think having to this a check would make Ned sore
- 3 Some of these answers are, aren't they?
- 4 Withdraw

- 5 1. 1947 (3 and 4)

- 6 Those who relieve us of our spare cash turn out to be respectable bank clerks
- 7 Rolf? Sue? It's I!
- 8 It's mean—and quite right, too (9 and 4)
- 9 If ever you need something for a rainy day, try this (8 and 5)
- 17 This churchman is a real pet
- 18 An expunction in rare use
- 19 Under suspicion
- 20 He might have complained of the slings, if not the arrows, of outrageous fortune
- 21 Low fellow in an operatic song in a rural scene
- 22 Where the English run their Grand National

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 194

ACROSS:—1 SPARSITY; 5 ESSAYS; 10 LIMBO; 11 MATRIMONY; 12 CAMELOT; 13 CAPITAL; 14 STINGY; 15 OPENERS; 16 HEROINE; 21 CRUSTS; 24 LEMBERG; 26 CHURCH; 27 REDHAIRC; 28 POISE; 29 NIMBLY; 30 ESTRANGE.

DOWN:—1 SELECT; 2 ALMA MATER; 3 SWOLLEN; 4 TIMOTHY; 6 STIPPLE; 7 ABOUT; 8 SPYGLASS; 9 STUCCO; 16 EXTORTION; 17 CHILDREN; 19 ICE-PAID; 20 EGGERY; 21 CIDADAS; 22 USURPER; 23 AMIERE; 25 MADAM.

gressman, I was not reappointed, although I again entered the competition and was highest eligible on the list.

It is a well-known fact throughout our nation that there is no civil-service standard used in these appointments. Anyone politically sponsored, even though a "numskull," can through favoritism or fraud become an eligible and win a postmaster's appointment over highly competent contenders.

This is indeed a "spoils system," putting to shame the "spoils system" of the Jacksonian era.

MAUDE O'NEAL,
Ex-Postmistress

Hatteras, N. C., December 20

Alive and Kicking

Dear Sirs: A copy of *The Nation* (September 28) carrying Alden Stevens's report on Dinuba, California, has belatedly come into my hands. This report was in large measure based upon a study I made in 1944, and I am anxious to correct certain misrepresentations.

Many of my former colleagues in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics would be dismayed to learn that their agency was destroyed. It was, to be sure, heavily curtailed in its activities by the Seventy-ninth Congress, but it continues to function as an important research agency of the government. Mr. Stevens states that the fall from grace which the bureau suffered was the result of my investigations into the effect of large farms on community life. There is no evidence in the hearings on the Agricultural Department appropriation bill for 1947 that the study of Dinuba and Arvin had anything to do with the curtailed budget. Failure to mention this study cannot be attributed to Congressional reticence, since there was none evidenced when the study was being prosecuted in the field and attacked on the radio and in Congress.

Finally, I question Mr. Stevens's rather whimsical treatment of Congressional action and doubt that *Nation* readers will be convinced by the element of mystery he implied. Important social legislation in Congress is fought for or killed by persons who know quite clearly the implications of such legislation.

In raising these objections to Mr. Stevens's article I do not wish to imply any criticism of his analysis of the town itself. The social results of large-scale farming have proved quite apparent.

WALTER R. GOLDSCHMIDT

Los Angeles, December 16

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1863

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 25, 1947

NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

TRY TO IMAGINE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov were to deliver a tirade against the American Secretary of State and then call on Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith to bear witness for the Russians against his own government. Regardless of how Smith might react to so unique a performance, we suggest that he would be yanked out of Moscow before he had time to gather up his protocol. Yet a completely parallel set of circumstances is reported from Buenos Aires, and hardly an eyebrow has been raised. Accusing Secretary Byrnes of being "intolerant and unjust," Argentine Foreign Minister Bramuglia announces that "Mr. Messersmith, who is a gentleman [in contrast to Mr. Byrnes?] and whom the Argentine people admire as a fine expression of the spirit of a grand people, is the witness of our efforts." Gentleman though he may be, Ambassador Messersmith has uttered not a syllable in defense of the retiring Secretary of State, while in private he has been bearing witness all too glibly for the Perón regime. Mr. Byrnes leaves office convinced that no all-inclusive hemisphere-defense treaty is possible until the Buenos Aires government displays "reasonable and substantial compliance . . . with its obligations" to shake off Nazi influence. If that is to be General Marshall's policy, he would do well to start off by recalling Mr. Messersmith. If he does, he will antagonize powerful Senators, particularly Vandenberg, who is now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and who believes that we can "restore the warmth of New-World unity" by ignoring unpleasant facts in the Argentine. Perhaps even more significant, he will antagonize the army, which naturally views our Latin American policy wholly in military terms. This will be the first indication of whether or not Marshall carries over to his own government the detached attitude toward the military whose "dominating influence" he so deplored in China.

✱

BOTH NORWEGIAN AND SOVIET OFFICIALS have been rather grudging in providing detailed information about Russian proposals for a revision of the 1920 treaty which settled a fifty-year dispute over the ownership of Spitzbergen. This treaty assigned full sovereign rights to the bleak but strategically important Arctic

archipelago to Norway on condition that it was never to be used "for warlike purposes." Russia, excluded from the family of nations at the time, did not participate in the negotiations but later ratified the treaty. Now, however, Moscow claims that the pact is invalid because (a) it was concluded in Russia's absence, (b) the signatories included Italy and Japan, and (c) it disregarded Russian strategic and economic interests. It appears that views on the subject were exchanged between Russia and Norway at the end of 1944, and according to Soviet sources an understanding about joint defense of the islands was reached. The Norwegians have not admitted as much as that and are believed to have told Moscow that the situation has changed owing to the subsequent organization of the United Nations. It has also been changed, though this point has not been stressed officially, by American abandonment of efforts to obtain permanent aviation bases in Iceland—a project which naturally alarmed Russia and provided it with some grounds for seeking a military foothold in Spitzbergen. There seems, by the same reasoning, to be less excuse now for a revival of the Russian claim, and American and British objections to any bilateral revision of the multilateral Spitzbergen treaty are reasonable. But if the Russian proposals are ever put forward formally, it might be well for the United Nations to undertake a review of the whole Arctic region, which has become an aerial link between continents, with the idea of promoting an agreement for its military neutralization.

✱

PROVIDED ITALY REMAINS "STABLE," THE American government will grant that country a loan of \$100,000,000, to be expended, not in relief, for which President Truman will later ask Congress to provide, but in the purchase of raw materials. The significance of the loan clearly lies in the attached conditions and in the reconstructive pattern it defines, for the amount cannot be judged large enough to modify the present crisis to any great extent. It will not bring badly trailing wages within reach of prices, which have risen about 4,000 per cent since the end of the war. Nor can so small a sum provide work for many of the two million unemployed. Italy, for all that Washington's promised aid will do, will remain "a country seething with misery and unrest."

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	85
The Voice of Europe	88
Banner Year for Co-Ops	89
Herman the Pretender	89

ARTICLES

The Crisis of Zionism <i>by Joel Carmichael</i>	90
Bad News for British Tories <i>by Aylmer Vallance</i>	92
We Need More Steel Mills! <i>by Bryant Putney</i>	94
The People's Front <i>by Del Vayo</i>	96
Sweden: Still the Middle Way <i>by Robert Harvey</i>	97
"The Conference of the Excluded" <i>by Wilbur H. Baldinger</i>	99
In the Wind	100
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	101
In One Ear <i>by Lou Frankel</i>	102

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

When There Is a Tolstoy <i>by R. P. Blackmur</i>	103
Escape from Europe <i>by Bartley C. Crum</i>	104
Briefer Comment	105
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	108
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	109
Drama Note <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	110
The Dance <i>by Virginia Mishnyn</i>	110

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 196 <i>by Jack Barrett</i>	112
--	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Shorn of its inadequate coal supplies by the peace treaty and lacking essential raw materials, Italy is not even guaranteed the means of repaying loans and so obtaining a continuance of credit. It would seem, therefore, that the loan is principally a political gesture, for it clearly invites the Italian people to put their trust in the Christian Democrats and those parties which prove able to adjust their ideas to the demands of that incompetent group. If that is the intention, two things must be said. The program of the Christian Democrats holds out no hope of a socially resurgent Italy, whatever the party may accomplish for civil liberties and the church. And second, Signor Gasperi's success has probably been too small to win any great number of fresh adherents to his party. The results of his visit therefore are unlikely to lessen the political tension in Italy—a tension now increased by the split in the Socialist Party.

✱

HENRY FORD II MADE HIS PRICE-CUTTING announcement before last week's issue of *The Nation* could have reached him. So we cannot claim that his action was influenced by Simon O. Lesser's able demonstration of the necessity of lower prices if business is to prosper. We can, however, hail it as a constructive move and express the hope that it will prove the beginning of an orderly downward readjustment of prices generally. Mr. Ford himself explained that he was prescribing "shock treatment" for "the insane spiral of mounting costs and rising prices." The immediate effect has been to shock his fellow automobile makers into official silence. Off the record they complain that young Ford has pulled a fast one and assert that his cuts look better than they really are. They point out that Ford prices are still well above what they were before the company obtained OPA permission last September for a 6 per cent increase. Moreover, Ford models, except for the cheapest one, are still more expensive than comparable Chevrolet cars. Consequently there is no reason to anticipate a general outburst of price-cutting as the result of Ford's initiative, though it may well discourage any more price increases in the automobile field. It can also be viewed as a smart move to outflank union demands for higher wages. However, as Richard Leonard of the United Automobile Workers has pointed out, an average 1 per cent cut in the price of Fords does nothing, by itself, to bring down the cost of living for automobile workers.

✱

THOSE PAUL BUNYANS OF THE TAX FOREST, the Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee, have opened the cutting season by agreeing to increase taxes. At least they have decided to continue indefinitely at present levels those excise levies which would otherwise be automatically reduced on July 1.

This move follows a Presidential recommendation, but it does not mean necessarily that Congress will also accept Mr. Truman's proposal to earmark the additional revenue produced for debt reduction. On the contrary, it appears that Representative Knutson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, is looking to these excise taxes to provide part of the funds required to carry out his campaign pledge to cut income taxes by 20 per cent. In other words, a reduction in taxes, which will be vastly more significant to the upper brackets than to the lower, will be financed in part by imposts which fall most heavily on the lower brackets. In order to make this scheme more palatable, these imposts are referred to as "luxury taxes." We agree that jewelry, furs, cabarets, and possibly liquor may be so described, but we suggest that cosmetics can hardly be described as luxuries especially when toilet soap is included in this category. And telephone, telegraph, and transportation services, as well as luggage and electric light bulbs, are surely necessities in America today. We would therefore suggest to Congress a review of all excise-tax schedules as a step toward the reduction or elimination of those that burden the consumption of articles of common, daily use. Supposing that the country can afford tax cuts at present, there is no good reason why the income-tax payer should have precedence.

✱

MAJORITY LEADER HALLECK, ANNOUNCING the committee assignments of the new House of Representatives, reports that the selection was "an awful job." In a slightly different sense, we think so, too—but it is hardly worse than was to be expected. The seniority rule, less officially known as the senility rule, dictated, for example, that the Appropriations Committee be presided over by John Taber of New York, who genuinely believes that no Democrat can safely be trusted to spend a dollar of public funds. It decreed, too, that the all-powerful Rules Committee should come under the sway of Leo E. Allen of Illinois, who just happens to be a Martin-Halleck man and therefore a Dewey man. But it curiously failed to operate in the case of the Committee on Education and Labor. Richard J. Welch, a California Republican with a remarkably liberal voting record who was in line for the chairmanship, was shunted aside in favor of Fred A. Hartley, an orthodox party hack with an almost unblemished record of anti-labor votes. Unfortunately, Mary T. Norton, who headed the Labor Committee in the days of Democratic control, decided against staying on as ranking minority member. She will be sorely missed. By a law of mutual attraction, the newly elected John McDowell gravitates to the Un-American Affairs Committee, where presumably he will judge un-Americanism by the same standards applied in the racially prejudiced little paper he publishes in a suburb of Pittsburgh.

WE WISH TO URGE OUR READERS TO GIVE their most determined support to the campaign just launched by the United Jewish Appeal, under the chairmanship of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., which has set itself the task of raising \$170,000,000. This fund is to be administered by three organizations. The United Service for New Americans undertakes to assist in the adjustment of newcomers to the United States; the United Palestine Appeal provides for the training and care of immigrants into Palestine; and the Joint Distribution Committee will give relief to distressed Jews in all parts of the world. All are worthy services. There are a million refugees and displaced persons, a quarter of them Jews, living in the European camp set up by UNRRA. In its wisdom the United States has taken the lead in bringing about the abolition of UNRRA, as a result of which all relief to stateless persons will come to an end in June of this year. At present there is the utmost uncertainty as to whether future aid will be granted to stateless European refugees, for so far the International Relief Organization, set up on paper by the United Nations, remains without effective sponsorship. Private effort, even of the most generous dimensions, cannot provide a final solution of the problem, which must be tackled by the victorious powers. Yet the United Jewish Appeal, if successful in its campaign, will be able to do more than relieve physical distress. Its services will be a sign to the politically abandoned people living in the camps of Europe that they are not forgotten by men of good-will.

✱

THE SERIOUS EFFECTS OF THE NEWSPRINT shortage, discussed in relation to the smaller American papers by Bryant Putney in last week's *Nation*, are by no means confined to this country. With American publishers getting the lion's share of the world supply, it is not too much to say that unequal distribution constitutes a real threat to democratic government in other lands. Interviewed in New York last month, Sir Robert Webber, director of the British Kemsley newspapers, said: "Free enterprise and real democracy depend on the people's free access to knowledge. Today the United States is consuming two-thirds of the world's newsprint. . . . If this amount is necessary to maintain the American way of life, then there can be only enough newsprint in the world for 200,000,000 democrats. The rest will have to go totalitarian." This is much more than a business matter to be settled by the longest purse in an open market. Carlos P. Romulo's proposal that the United Nations consider a world newsprint allocation system seems to us one on which early action should be taken.

✱

ONE OF THOSE GOBLINS THAT THRIVE ON printers' ink went on a spree in *The Nation's* office last week. He blinded the eyes of editors and proofreaders

to a slip of the typewriter that turned Admiral Leahy into a general. He somehow brought about a transposition between the words "deflation" and "inflation" making nonsense of the first paragraph of the editorial, "G. O. P. Budget Problem." Finally he snatched Randall Jarrell's name from its place at the end of his review of Robert Lowell's new book of poetry. We apologize to our readers for all this mischief and promise to watch out more carefully for such impish saboteurs.

The Voice of Europe

THE thirty days of Léon Blum may prove to have been a turning point in French post-war history. Heading a ministry doomed in advance to a brief span of life, the veteran Socialist did not hesitate to grapple with the thorniest problems of domestic and foreign policy. Since we wrote last week of Blum's dramatic effort to turn the tide of inflation, he has found still another urgent job to be done. In the last few hours of his premiership he flew to London, ironed out a number of outstanding Anglo-French differences, and returned with a preliminary agreement for a treaty of mutual assistance.

Thanks to this bold initiative, there is now hope of banishing the coolness which has characterized Anglo-French relations for the past two years, a coolness which has caused great distress to the most progressive elements in both countries. If this hope is fulfilled, something new will be added to the international picture, for these two countries, which in their different ways represent the best elements of European civilization, between them hold the key to the moral and physical regeneration of Europe. When Britain and France stand firmly together, the voice of Europe will once again be heard above the uproar of the two great non-European powers who now dominate world councils.

Britain and France have so many common problems and common interests that their failure to cooperate more closely seems unnatural. Allies in two wars against the same enemy, they both emerged from the last conflict battered and nearly exhausted. Both are engaged in a tremendous struggle to restore trade and industry and to establish a socialist economy within the framework of the civil liberties that they cherish. And both face the appallingly difficult task of liquidating empires which they can no longer rule without overstraining their diminished resources. This fact alone must turn the eyes of both Britain and France more and more toward Europe and toward the problem of integrating and expanding its economy.

The largest visible obstacle to understanding between the two countries has been the question of Germany. The French, who have so often known the bitterness of inva-

sion, insist that security demands a decentralized Reich shorn of its western industrial district. The more intuitive British dread the consequences for Europe as a whole of a total German collapse. They fear the creation in Central Europe of a political and economic vacuum which would inevitably be filled by a rushing wind from the east. The object of M. Blum's London conversations was a reconciliation of these two points of view. That is urgently needed, for unless Britain and France can agree on a common German policy, the influence of both will be diminished at the forthcoming Moscow meeting and they may find themselves forced to accept whatever compromise is finally ground out by the clash of American and Russian interests.

As a result of M. Blum's visit to Britain, negotiations for an Anglo-French treaty are to be started shortly. Both countries agree that they have equal interest in protecting themselves against a fresh German menace and, therefore, in making sure that the necessary economic reconstruction of Germany will not lay the basis for future aggression. The best possible safeguard would of course be a firm and permanent alliance between Britain and France that extended beyond military cooperation to a large degree of economic integration. The aggregate population of the two countries exceeds that of Germany, and their joint industrial strength is greater.

Britain and France have reached the point of consulting on their economic plans with a view to preventing conflict, and it is manifest that a much closer relationship, even a customs union, would prove mutually advantageous. But such a development would bring us within sight of a Western bloc. And that has been pronounced anathema by the Soviet government, which, through its influence on the powerful Communist Party of France, is in a position to make good its veto.

Russian antagonism to any kind of close relationship between the states of Western Europe has been fanned by the kind of support that idea has received. It is therefore most unfortunate that M. Blum's visit to London coincided with a new manifesto sponsored by Winston Churchill calling for a European Federation. Even worse was the speech made on January 17 by John Foster Dulles, a Republican who is close to the State Department. Like Mr. Churchill, Mr. Dulles advocates European federation frankly as a bulwark against Russia and thus injects political poison into a plan which has no chance of success when built on so negative a basis. Even European countries in which Communist influence is negligible are likely to be repelled by an invitation to organize themselves as America's front line against Russia.

We ourselves wish to see a union at least of Western Europe because without that we believe Europe's economy will eventually collapse and the unhappy continent become a bone of contention between the United States

and Russia. But we do not believe that union can be created either through fear of Russia, which has only a disintegrating effect, or by American pressure and patronage. It will come if and when Europe shakes itself free of subservience to both America and Russia and finds its own voice. M. Blum's flight to London, the act of a great Frenchman who is a great European, was a first step in that direction.

Banner Year for Co-Ops

CITIZENS who are caught in the big squeeze between their pay checks and the cost of living might well look to consumers' cooperatives as one aid to survival; in this country, in fact, members of nearly 2,500,000 families are now helping to make ends meet through co-op participation. A 1946 round-up newsletter of the Cooperative League of the United States enthusiastically reports this statistic and the even more impressive one that 85,000,000 families from twenty-two nations are now associated with the International Cooperative Alliance, an organization with the status of permanent consultant to the United Nations' Economic and Social Council.

The most dramatic co-op development of 1946, a year which saw both national and international co-op business surpass all former volume, was the organization of the International Cooperative Petroleum Association, a lusty young project that intends to "match strength with the world's monopolies." Within the United States and Canada alone, National Cooperatives, Inc., and its affiliates owned and operated by the end of 1946 more than 500 oil wells, 1,600 miles of pipe line, a number of refineries, and a cracking plant.

But oil development is just the frosting, at this stage, as are the radio station in Ohio being built under co-op sponsorship and the projected utility operations in the Pacific Northwest, where private companies are stalling on a \$34,440,000 co-op bid for the property of Pacific Power and Light. The main strength of the consumers' cooperative movement lies in its vast food-store enterprises and its production of a varied list of goods for its members. It is now doing a billion dollars' yearly business in food sales and such other fields as housing, hospital facilities, insurance, credit unions, coal mining, and machinery production. Over 1,000 food stores are now run by affiliates of National Cooperatives, Inc., of which almost 10 per cent are—or will soon be—super-markets in the largest American cities. The super-market in the Riverdale section of New York has been called "the best-looking food store of any kind" in that city. Labor groups, notably the C. I. O., have thrown their weight in support of the establishment of cooperative food stores, particularly in Detroit, where co-ops are facing high-pressure, private-enterprise opposition.

Opposition to cooperatives is not a new thing, but it is now waxing day by day, almost in proportion to the startling expansion of cooperatives themselves. Business-with-profits must automatically dread the successes of business-without-profits; this is borne out by the cold shoulder tendered every new co-op venture by rival free-enterprise merchants and producers, and it is emphasized by the avidity with which the press ignores co-op achievements. Consumers' cooperatives are only a small segment of the entire cooperative movement, but they are of course blanketed by the present campaign of big-business interests to get co-op tax exemptions repealed. This sort of news does, indeed, receive press attention, and it is a question which will be discussed in a later issue of this magazine. For the record, however, it is important to stress that *consumers'* cooperatives are *not* tax exempt, Hearst headlines and propaganda leaflets of the National Tax Equality Association notwithstanding.

What consumer cooperatives have accomplished to date is impressive; yet they play a small role in our economy. It is their still greater potentialities that arouse the fears of Hearst editorialists and N. T. E. A. pamphleteers. But those to whom a truly sound economy means goods and services within the reach of the entire population will take heart from the cooperative record for 1946 and from the same potentialities that prey on the minds of "free-enterprisers."

Herman the Pretender

LAST July, in an unconsciously prophetic phrase, we offered "condolences to the state of Georgia on the untimely resurrection of Eugene Talmadge." With the ominous turn that events have taken, we can only deepen those condolences. On the earlier occasion, Talmadge père, thanks to Georgia's rotten-borough electoral system, had just been nominated for the governorship, although outvoted by more than 70,000. As a result of last week's fantastic developments his son Herman sits in the Governor's chair on the basis of 697 votes out of 1,000,000.

Talmadge's claim to the governorship, for which, incidentally, he has had not the faintest training or experience, rests on a far-fetched technicality. Under Georgia's constitution the Legislature may choose a governor from among those with the highest vote in cases where no candidate has a majority. Talmadge contends that death eliminated his father's majority and that the Legislature was therefore within its rights in choosing him on the basis of the 697 write-in vote provided by the Talmadge machine to meet just this contingency. Having received the vote of the Legislature, which is elected by the same preposterous county-unit system as the gover-

nor, he has seized both the Capitol and the Executive Mansion, backed by segments of the State's National Guard.

With the federal government traditionally loath to interfere in affairs of this kind, Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson, the logical successor now that Ellis Arnall has stepped down, has no recourse other than the courts of his state. In this connection it is encouraging to have the word of the former Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court that Talmadge's claim is utterly without merit. To avoid a complete breakdown of government it should be possible to force an immediate decision. Should the Talmadge forces then refuse to recognize a verdict against them, federal intervention could be invoked under the Constitutional provision that guarantees "to every state in this Union a republican form of government," as well as protection against domestic violence when such aid is legally invoked.

A great deal more is at stake here than the ambitions of an unscrupulous little politician. As governor, Arnall brought Georgia to a historic turning-point, fateful for the entire South. The state will either continue to follow the path of industrial and social emancipation that he has laid out for it or slump back into four more years of corrupt cracker government, dominated socially by the Klan and exploited financially by Northern corporations. Thompson himself gives little promise of being another Arnall, but neither would he be the official errand boy of the Klan. The majority vote against Talmadge last July shows the way Georgians want to go. And it underscores the fatuousness of the New York *Times's* contention that the Arnall-Thompson forces should yield because "the people . . . voted for a return to Talmadgeism, 'white supremacy', general reaction, and Negro disfranchisement."

The Crisis of Zionism

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, January 6

WHEN I arrived at Basel some days before the end of the World Zionist Congress, the delegates were suffering from a particularly nasty cold spell and the baffling depression of a meeting in which the normal contentiousness had not succeeded in clarifying even the basic issues. Things were so mixed up that the delegates found it impossible to explain the situation to an outsider. I quickly gave up any attempt to keep track of the molecular shifts in the intra-party and inter-faction maneuverings and contented myself with a strenuous effort to grasp the points of contention.

It was apparent that two, or possibly two-and-a-half, fundamental matters had occupied the Congress: one was the terrorism in Palestine; the other, the question of participation in the negotiations with the British government scheduled for London in January. Closely connected with the second was the question of Weizmann.

Formally a clear decision on both was reached. Terrorism was condemned with a fair degree of unanimity—an attempt by the Revisionists, the Zionist party closest in spirit to the Palestinian terrorists, to water down the resolution was badly defeated. And by a vote of 171 to 154, with 25 abstaining, it was decided not to go to London under "the present circumstances."

But though the division on these issues certainly constituted the public aspect of the Congress, and though all the tortuous proceedings and all the tensions and horse-trading connected with the wrangle over whether or not to "deal" with the British were crystallized in the resolutions, it would be naive to take their passage as an objective reflection of the real situation in the Zionist movement.

This question of participating in the London negotiations was naturally the hub of many speeches. In the course of the general debate—an exhausting performance in which the representatives of all Congress groups spoke as long as they could on a maximum of topics—the two attitudes on this subject were squarely opposed to each other in the speeches by Dr. N. Goldmann, who defended the affirmative position of the outgoing executive, and M. Sneh, the reputed chief of the Haganah, the main defense organization of Jewish Palestine. To my mind this clear-cut confrontation of what appeared to be two diametrically opposed principles revealed, not their philosophical irreconcilability, but the exclusively tactical nature of the entire question.

For the negative position on going to the London negotiations did not by any means imply a desire to sever all relations with Great Britain, as it would have done if it had been a matter of principle; no serious proposal was made to transfer the Palestine mandate to the United Nations or some other power. This reluctance

JOEL CARMICHAEL, one of The Nation's European correspondents, recently contributed two articles on Russian policy in Germany. A third will appear next week.

to push the argument to its logical conclusion, which could only have been a suggestion for the elimination of Great Britain, surely demonstrated that all the positions taken up were supported for tactical reasons. Considering the unfriendliness of the British government to the Zionist position ever since 1939—to say nothing of the whole past history of the mandate—these tactics seemed to have an almost compelling plausibility. What baffled me, however, was the extraordinary blowing up of a choice of tactics into a conflict of principle; it struck me as a bizarre and hysterical waste of time.

And when talking with various "informed sources," I found it extremely difficult to keep my eye on the line of demarcation between the two factions, even when I considered only those who, I could not but assume, were genuinely actuated by principle. It is true that the Revisionists seemed sincerely to desire a complete break with Britain; but Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, the leader of the largest section of American Zionists, is known to have told Bevin himself that he would like nothing better than to come to London, provided he were offered a "good" partition of Palestine. Here again was a tactical attitude I found impossible to reconcile with the unbending quality of Dr. Silver's public statements.

What was most distressing from a polemical point of view was the perplexing vacuum one came up against in seeking an alternative to some form of "dealing" with Great Britain. For even the rupture of relations—whatever that might mean—when coupled with the unanimous demand for maximum immigration, to say nothing of a Jewish state, could only lead, logically and politically, to a state of war. And it is evident that the clear formulation of such a suggestion would be enough to insure its collapse.

Then there was the striking way in which the discussion of this basic issue cut across practically all party lines, with the possible exception of the Revisionists and the Hashomir Hatzair, a Socialist Zionist party with a Communist tinge and a special position on Palestinian statehood, which they would like to see take a bi-national Arab-Jewish form. The largest parties, the General Zionists and the Socialist Labor Party, or Ichud, were split asunder. David Ben-Gurion, the head of the Ichud, carried on a fanatical campaign against the so-called moderate position on this question of negotiating with Great Britain. But after keeping the Congress on tenterhooks for the better part of a week while the grueling inter-party struggle went on, he was beaten in his own party by a vote of ninety-one to thirty, and was consequently compelled by its rules to cast a public vote, in conformity with the wishes of the majority, in favor of the negotiations.

In this so-called conflict of principle I found it

impossible not to see a clash of personalities. Throughout his career in the Zionist movement Dr. Weizmann has been identified as a moderate, a man whom all shades of British opinion united in respecting and who served as a sort of liaison with the British government. As such he would inevitably be against any form of terrorism and would favor, in principle, almost any kind of pacific negotiation. It may be that those Zionist groups which were genuinely intransigent on the question of "concessions" to Great Britain, such as the Revisionists and more especially Mr. Ben-Gurion's faction of the Socialist Labor Party, allowed the question to be formulated as one of principle chiefly as a method of shelving Weizmann.

Dr. Weizmann's candidacy for the presidency of the organization was intimately tied up with the question of going to London: a pro-London resolution would have allowed him to stand for president and would doubtless have insured his victory. The anti-London resolution that was actually passed by a coalition of Dr. Silver's American Zionist followers, the Revisionists, and the Mizrahi, the party of religious orthodoxy, meant, if it was adhered to, Dr. Weizmann's elimination, probably of his own volition. Contrariwise, had Dr. Weizmann been elected president before the other matter was settled—at a crucial point the Socialist Labor Party, the largest at the Congress, attempted to have the issue of the presidency and the executive dealt with before that of going to London—the passage of a resolution favorable to carrying on negotiations would have followed almost automatically. I could discover no other explanation for the insistence of most of the delegates, at any rate for public purposes, on treating this question of London as the primary one, or for the intransigence shown first by Mr. Ben-Gurion and then by Dr. Silver's American group and the Mizrahi.

But although the clash of personalities may have been a main source of the opinionated bitterness that characterized the Congress, there was another deeper reason—namely, the dilemma in which the political leadership of the Zionist movement now finds itself. If the British government has in fact decided to cut Palestine immigration to the bone, rigidly control land purchases, and exclude all discussion of statehood as a matter of principle, it is evident that the Zionist movement, which since the First World War has developed on the assumption of a continuing collaboration with the mandatory power regardless of any strains and disappointments, must cast about for some radical alternative. However single-minded may be the yearning for Palestine throughout European Jewry, and however strong the support for Zionism throughout world Jewry, the Near East cannot be freed from the pressures of world politics; and if the Zionist leadership regards Palestine as simply one element in the relations of Great Britain,

America, and the Soviet Union, it may have reached a genuine impasse. I think this sense of a really basic frustration in the upper political levels of the Zionist movement caused, first, the crumbling of party lines at the Congress and secondly its angry and impotent bogging down in purely tactical considerations.

If it is a fact that the crisis in Zionism, or at least the crisis in the political direction, is due to external causes, that is, to deteriorating relations with Great Britain, then British behavior during the past few months is especially significant. British spokesmen need only have raised their little finger in the weeks before the Congress to have fortified enormously the position of Dr. Weizmann and the "moderates." The slightest gesture of reconciliation or even of vague good-will would have enabled Weizmann to go before the Congress with some props for his position; as it was, the case his opponents made out for the futility of any further negotiations with the British government was extremely persuasive. As a statement of the "moderate" case, even the extremely lucid and cogent speech of Dr. Goldmann for the executive gave rise to some malaise. What, after all, were they offering? What had they got to show? Dr. Weizmann and his followers were unable to point to any concession made by the Labor government on even the most trivial principle as evidence for the eventual fruitfulness of purely diplomatic bargaining. This was an extraordinarily difficult position to be in, and in the end the battle was lost.

But perhaps it was lost only nominally. For the Con-

gress broke up by transferring the power to elect an executive, and by implication a president, to the Actions Committee, a reduced image of the Congress itself; and as the delegates and visitors, exhausted by an all-night session which dragged on to five o'clock the following afternoon, prepared to leave, it was generally understood that the resolution not to go to London under the "present circumstances," on which so much time, energy, and temper had been expended, was nothing more than a shrewd "twist" to be got round as soon as possible by the Actions Committee. By some ingenious interpretation of the facts, it was expected that this committee would announce a change in the "present circumstances" which would enable the victors at the Congress to go to London after all. The Socialist Labor Party, whose resolution in favor of London was overthrown at the Congress, has nevertheless since then, in the Actions Committee, entered the executive, and it evidently would have done so only with the intention of accomplishing its declared desire for continued negotiation. An executive minus the Labor Party would be paralyzed; and the Labor Party, a vested interest in firm control of all key positions in the Palestinian Jewish economy and administration, cannot afford to fling itself into the abyss of meaningless defiance. In spite of all the hurly-burly at the Congress, Zionist leadership, bludgeoned into submissiveness by the grandiose forces of the epoch, may yet find that Weizmannism, if not Weizmann himself, is the most effective weapon in its arsenal.

Bad News for British Tories

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, January 10

MINISTERS have a prospect of stormy debates and long sittings when Parliament reassembles after the Christmas recess. They are probably not troubled unduly by Mr. Churchill's notice, given in a moment of hot-tempered impetuosity just before Christmas, that he would move a vote of censure on the government for "tyranny, conceit, and incompetence," but they have to face the task of piloting through Parliament several bills which will evoke strenuous attack, of coping with the still unsolved problem of how to bridge the gap in Britain's balance of foreign payments, and of placating the still smoldering "rebellion" against Mr. Bevin's foreign policy.

Parliament now has before it two voluminous and intricate bills—one nationalizing inland transport, the other giving effect to Labor's election pledge that the power of the state to acquire land for public purposes would be broadened as a step toward the ultimate nationalization of all land. In addition, there will be a bill, probably simpler in its structure, to nationalize the distribution of electricity. In the case of the Transport bill the opposition's line of attack has already been made clear. The Tories have fastened on the clauses which provide that the railways are to be taken over at stock-market valuation and the stockholders given an equivalent nominal sum in government stock. The rate of interest which the government stock will bear has not yet been disclosed, but it is likely to be not more than 2½ per cent. The stockholders will thus suffer a loss not of capital but of income, since current Stock Exchange quotations allow for a large element of risk, including that of nationaliza-

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's regular London correspondent.

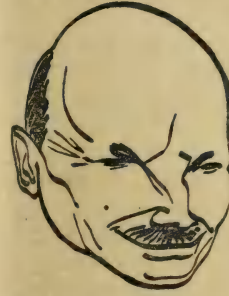
tion, and current yields are much higher than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Here, say the Tories, is sheer confiscation and robbery; and they invoke in support of their case the hardship which will be suffered by charitable trusts, trade unions, and of course the inevitable "widows and pensioners" who hold railway stocks. They will probably succeed in creating in the country a fairly strong impression that the railway stockholders are getting a raw deal, but the government is bound to stand its ground. To base compensation on future "net maintainable income" would require incredibly difficult calculations and the making of arbitrary and in many ways quite unreal assumptions, while stock-market values are a simple and workable basis. Moreover, to buy the stockholders out at prices which would yield current income in perpetuity and without future risk would mean paying for the railways much more than they are worth—having regard, particularly, to the obsolescence of much existing equipment and the need for large new capital investment.

One of the really debatable questions to which the bill gives rise, but which may be overlooked in the hubbub about compensation, is whether nationalization will draw the railway labor unions and the actual railway personnel into sharing some of the functions of management. If nationalization merely substitutes a top deck of bureaucrats for the present boards of directors and gives railwaymen no encouragement to think of the lines as "theirs," the country will hardly get on its railways the contented labor force it needs. There is another possible weakness in the bill. It sets up two executive boards—one to manage the unified railways, and the other for road haulage. The task of planning and coordinating economically rail and road transport—and this is the real case for nationalization—is assigned to a small Transport Commission. Not a few Labor M. P.'s are concerned lest the two executive boards, if they are composed respectively of rail- and road-transport managers only, will become such powerful "vested" departments that the Transport Commission will find it a tough job to "coordinate" them and make them think in terms of transport as a whole rather than of their own particular section of it. During the discussions of the bill in committee attempts will probably be made to amend it by strengthening the Transport Commission and including representatives of outside interests in the two executive boards.

The Town and Country Planning bill will infuriate the Tories even more, not merely because they will consider its compensation provisions inadequate, but because they regard it, with some reason, as a deadly blow to the rights of private property in land. Besides giving local authorities much wider powers, backed with ample financial facilities from the state, to acquire land for development plans—which they are now *compelled* instead of, as hitherto, *permitted* to make—the bill abolishes com-

pletely the right of the landlord to develop his land, or even redevelop it, by building on it or leasing it for building. No land in the future may be developed or redeveloped without the state's permission, and if permission is refused on grounds of public interest or amenity, no compensation will be paid. If permission to develop is granted, the state will then levy a "development charge," which is likely to range—according to the need to stimulate the entrepreneur—from 75 to 100 per cent of the difference between the land's "existing use" value and the value it will have when it is built or rebuilt on.



Prime Minister Attlee

From the Socialist point of view this is by no means as satisfactory as nationalization of the land would be. The bill makes an illogical concession to landlordism: it leaves the owner of a piece of land which is not "developed"—in the sense of having new buildings of a different type built on it—but which acquires greater rental value from the construction of a new railway or road to the enjoyment of this unearned increment, a principle which the Uthwatt Report declared to be unjust. Moreover, even the "existing use" value of land is in many cities so high that it is apt to obstruct the planning of a good future lay-out. Still, the sanctity of private property in land is sufficiently undermined to rouse the Land Union and the Federation of Property Owners to fury, and their wrath is unlikely to be appeased by the proposal in the bill that a lump sum, arbitrarily fixed at £300,000,000, is to be distributed among landowners who make good a claim that their land in 1947 had potential development value.

With this controversial legislation on its hands, the government will have to devote more and more of its attention to the general question of the economic situation of Britain in its present halfway stage between private enterprise and a fully planned economy. Exports, after regaining a little more than their 1938 volume, show no signs of reaching soon the target of a 75 per cent quantitative rise above the pre-war level. Shortages of raw materials seem likely to be a serious handicap through 1947; and when these have been overcome, will the present "sellers' market" be over? The dollar loan is being drawn on at a disquieting rate, both for our own needs and those of Germany. In two years' time, especially if 1949 finds the United States in a depression, this country may have real difficulty in meeting its foreign obligations, including those to its large sterling creditors, and at the same time keeping up an acceptably high standard of life. Higher output per man is clearly the

solution, but this is dependent not merely on the will to work but on the mechanical reequipment of British industry. Moreover, it is generally agreed that there is at present a shortage of at least 500,000 men in civilian industries. This means that demobilization of the armed forces must be speeded up; we cannot afford to keep more than 1,500,000 men unproductively employed in the services and another 500,000 making munitions for them.

But how can this reduction in the strength of the armed forces be effected without lightening our military commitments abroad, particularly in the Middle East? From this question the transition is swift to criticism of foreign policy. The real strength of the "rebels'" case is economic rather than political, and if, as most observers expect, the "rebellion" breaks out again during the coming parliamentary session, it will be inspired by the conviction not so much that the Foreign Secretary is "anti-Communist" or is courting the risk of a third world war as that his "tough" policy has to be supported, if it is to make sense, by a draft on Britain's man-power which the country cannot afford.

The rebels themselves are by no means a homogeneous body. There is a left wing, of which the most important figure is Zilliacus, which attacks Bevin for prejudic-

ing European reconstruction and forfeiting friendships which Britain needs by refusing to collaborate on close terms with the U. S. S. R. and the Communist parties on the Continent. And there is a larger, more influential right wing, which includes Crossman and Michael Foot among the intellectuals and a considerable number of trade-union M. P.'s who have no fondness for Communist parties and are dyed-in-the-wool Social Democrats. Their case against Bevin is that Britain is failing to occupy the position of mediator between unbridled American enterprise and totalitarian planning *à la Russe*. They argued during the debate before the recess that Britain was becoming dangerously tied to American imperialism and forfeiting its independence in foreign policy. News published during the recess of the link-up between the R. A. F. and the United States Air Force and the Anglo-American oil agreement in the Middle East will give them fresh ammunition. But whatever the parliamentary rebels do or say, the really important factor in the situation which the government will face is the growing feeling throughout the country that unless Britain's military coat is cut according to the very limited cloth of its man-power, the whole of our planned program of post-war reconstruction on semi-Socialist lines may be endangered.

We Need More Steel Mills!

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

Washington, January 17

DESPITE its war-time expansion America's industrial plant is too small to meet the immense demands of a full-employment economy. More blast furnaces and power-houses must be built, more steel mills; new mines must be opened. Unless we enlarge our plant capacity, we cannot keep a growing labor force at work or raise the national output high enough to combat inflation and insure real prosperity.

The enormous demand for consumer goods today is the result partly of short-term factors such as the sudden impact of war-deferred demands but chiefly of full employment. With many more millions now at work than at any other time in our history, all previous yardsticks of consumption are obsolete. We need more steel than the record tonnages turned out during the war. We need more oil and gasoline, more electric power, more copper and zinc and coal than we have ever produced before.

How much of each of these things we must have is

indicated in a study just completed by the United States Department of Labor. The facts assembled, together with evidence from other sources, effectively explode the myth that war-time expansion created a vast amount of excess plant capacity. They show, on the contrary, that expenditures for new plant and equipment must be stepped up far beyond anything now contemplated by industry.

In calculating the volume of materials, goods, and services required to support full employment in 1950, the Labor Department analysts have assumed a labor force of 62,500,000 people (59,000,000 in civilian jobs, 1,500,000 in the armed forces, and 2,000,000 in transitional unemployment), with production geared to a forty-hour work week and a rate of output 25 to 30 per cent higher than in 1939 (because of the 3 per cent average yearly rise in the productivity of labor and machinery). We shall then need 98 to 120 million tons of ingot steel, as compared to the previous peak output of 89.2 million in 1944; 2.6 billion barrels of crude petroleum, as compared to the 1944 output—the peak since 1919—of 1.7 billion; 237 to 250 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, as compared to the peak output of 228 billion in 1944; 47 to 64 billion board feet of lumber, as com-

BRYANT PUTNEY is a free-lance writer in Washington. Before the war he worked for Editorial Research Reports.

pared to the peak production of 41 billion in 1925; 24 million tons of paper and paperboard products, as compared to the peak output of 17 million in 1941; 81 to 95 million tons of coke, as compared to the peak output of 74 million in 1944; 1,182 to 1,236 million barrels of gasoline, as compared to the peak production of 723 million in 1944.

The figures cited here are samples. The requirements estimated for many other industries, including retail and service trades, are also well above present plant capacity. Forecasts of the needed agricultural output are equally startling. By 1950 between 20 and 30 per cent more farm products, in addition to the war-time increase of 25 per cent, will be required. The only important exception is railroads, where a reduction from war-time peak volumes of revenue ton miles and passenger miles is predicted—mainly because of the elimination of the abnormal hauls demanded by the war in the Pacific.

The Labor Department's figures are matched or exceeded by the forecasts of other analysts. The Westinghouse Company estimates the demand for electric power three years hence at between 230 and 270 billion kilowatt-hours—a considerably higher maximum figure than that of the Labor Department. Last November John D. Small, then Civilian Production Administrator, told a group of industrialists that "by 1950 we will need steel-ingot production of from 90 to 100 million tons a year." He pointed out that "currently we are producing steel at a rate of about 80 million tons a year, and are operating the mills at practical capacity—a little over 90 per cent of theoretical capacity." Although the CPA estimates were lower than those of the Labor Department, they were high enough to make a conservative business man like Small wonder "whether we will have the steel capacity we will probably need to support a full-employment and full-production economy in 1950." Similarly, *Business Week* analysts, although eschewing precise totals, say that "if full employment continues, the steel shortage is likely to get worse rather than better after the middle of 1947"—though nearly all planned additions to plant capacity will have been completed by that time.

The steel outlook is, in fact, one of the gravest in the economic picture. For many months the shortage has been acting as a brake on general industrial activity. Henry Kaiser had to buy an Ohio rolling mill to get sheet steel for automobiles, thus preventing someone else from making vacuum cleaners or washing machines.

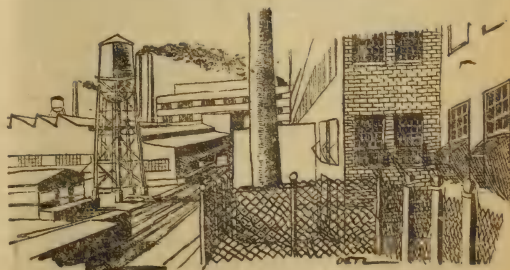
What is not generally realized is that more steel goes into a dollar's worth of peace-time goods than into armament. And the same thing is true of many other materials. Anti-aircraft guns, airplane engines, and other munitions require more labor for each ton of steel than rails, tin cans, and refrigerators. That is why steel consumption in the automotive plants declined during the war while employment rose more than 50 per cent.

Steelmaking capacity today is considerably smaller than it was on V-J Day. Between 1940 and 1945 our capacity for steel-ingot production rose from 81.6 to 95.5 million tons a year—an increase of 17 per cent. Since the end of the war it has dropped to 91.9 million tons—only 11 per cent above the pre-war level—as a result of the retirement of obsolescent plants and the shutdown of government-built plants producing specialized items like armor plate. Plant expansion will add 2.5 million tons in 1947, but this new construction is largely limited to finishing mills, which will turn out such specific products as sheet and strip. Practically no new ingot capacity is scheduled. Yet the failure to expand raw-steel production will deeply affect the whole economy by holding down plant expansion in other industries.

Despite protests from the automobile industry and producers of other consumer goods, the steelmakers are drafting no plans for plant expansion in the years ahead. Instead, their apologists are assiduously propagating the notion that the present demand is "abnormal," that shortages are due exclusively to strikes and various short-term influences. Their refusal, and that of the little group of men who control most of our other basic industries, to invest money in new plant stems from the traditional belief of big business in scarcity economics, from fear that expansion might jeopardize the dominance of the big companies, and above all from a lack of confidence in the dynamic qualities of capitalism. But whatever the causes of industry's sitdown strike against plant expansion, its results can clearly be foreseen.

Continuing shortages will lead to price rises which by reducing the ability of people to buy will cut demand and thus bring it into balance with supply—at the expense of those whose need is greatest. (This will give dubious justification to the contention that present demand is "abnormal.") Unemployment will ultimately rise to a level—perhaps eight or ten million—which corresponds roughly to the shortage of basic materials.

Although the full development of this cycle may be many months away, its beginnings are already discernible in the upward price trends of the last few months. As one Washington economist puts it: "It is as if we were witnessing the slow self-strangulation of the private-enterprise system."



The People's Front

AS I leave for Europe on another reporting assignment for *The Nation*, the thing that stands most sharply in my mind is the importance of making Americans realize that they can no longer interpret world events exclusively in terms of their own country's traditions. Since the liberation, Europe's intellectuals and political leaders and journalists have been engaged in a continuing provocative discussion of whether the old political conception of democracy still makes sense in view of the lessons of World War II. But the press reported no similar discussion of this question at the meetings held recently by two groups of American progressives. Perhaps that explains in part the misunderstandings that somehow constantly arise between the United States and the old Continent. In a corridor at Lake Success I heard a European delegate to the General Assembly exclaim with some irritation: "But it is amazing! These Americans don't seem to understand what is happening outside their country."

In Europe today the new revolutionary criteria of a regime's democracy are, first of all, economic and social justice—an ability to break the hold of feudalism and monopoly capital and to solve the problems of hunger and industrial collapse. This marks the coming of age of the European masses and in a certain sense the triumph of the Marxist doctrine that true democracy can only be achieved by a radical change in the economic structure.

Proponents of these ideas do not question the good faith of old-school liberals who resist any infringement of individual prerogatives and democratic safeguards, but rather the validity of their whole approach. The impact of fascism and war, they argue, revealed the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy; now Europe must pass to a stage of "mass democracy," *démocratie massive*.

Thus for many left Europeans—Socialists, some Radicals, and even progressive Catholics—the test of a democracy is not so much a multi-party electoral system or a pillared Hall of Justice with the words "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" cut into the portico; rather it is nationalization of the banks, agrarian reform, participation of the workers in the direction of the nation's economic and political life.

Even the classic concept of good sportsmanship between political opponents has undergone a transformation. The days of calling adversaries by their first names and shaking hands with the leaders of the anti-democratic cabal are over. For the left has learned that those on whom reaction smiles one day, it is apt to send to a concentration camp the next.

The left in Europe no longer believes that *le droit de dialoguer* is the supreme expression of democracy. The right of debate played a historic role as a counterpoise to the sectarian fanaticism that followed the abortive revolutions of 1848. Now dialectics shares a place with debate in the thinking of the young radicals who are determined to overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of economic democracy.

Nor do they have their fathers' unquestioning faith in the old parliamentary system. In France universal suffrage, long considered one of the glories of the Third Republic, has been criticized since the liberation as inadequate by itself. The reforms adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1945 represented a step forward, but many Frenchmen still feel that the new system, which provides for elections at four-year intervals, does not allow sufficient popular control of the elected representatives. In France, as elsewhere in Europe, the masses are pushing toward more direct participation in the conduct of public affairs. They want to have a more effective continuing voice in government. They want to "be present." That is why the trade unions, such as the C. G. T. in France, have become a more decisive factor in the political life of Europe and constitute a kind of unofficial parliament.

The differences between the American and European interpretations of democracy become more striking as one moves eastward. The people of Eastern Europe and the Balkan states are not impressed by the Anglo-American brand of democracy. For in almost all these countries pre-war experience with Western democracy ended in failure; they succeeded neither in raising the living standards of the very poor nor in limiting the economic and political power of the rich. Elections, even if based on universal suffrage, made no difference in the all but universal poverty. As one British writer, C. G. Logio, recently observed: "If bolshevism cannot improve their situation, neither can it make it worse." To Eastern Europeans the economic reforms instituted by their new regimes have far more meaning than the eloquent pleas of Western diplomats for free elections.

Of course, there are aspects of the revolution in Eastern Europe that must appall a person imbued with the ideals—whatever their limitations in practice—of Western democracy. It would distort the facts to present the situation there as a model of the kind of world in which one would want to live. To me the most repulsive thing is to see people whom I have long known as fascists playing important roles in all the popular fronts while some of the best anti-fascists are banned from public life. But you cannot judge accurately the total effect of a historical development of such magnitude by concentrating on specific aspects, no matter how much they are to be condemned. The real question is whether or not Balkan Europe, under the new conception of democracy that is emerging from the revolution now in progress, becomes a better place for the masses of men and women than under the pseudo-parliamentary democracy of previous days. The facts on which to base such a judgment may not be available for some years.

DEL VAYO

[The People's Front will be omitted from the next issue and for the rest of the time that Mr. del Vayo is in Europe. But he will soon begin to send in reports on current social and political developments in France and other European countries.]

Sweden: Still the Middle Way

BY ROBERT HARVEY

Stockholm, January 2

WINTER came early to Stockholm this year. It arrived during the next-to-last week in October, when the bright, crisp autumn weather that had followed September rains suddenly dissolved into two days of snow. Afterward great stacks of cordwood multiplied like mushrooms in streets and areas all over the city. One woke in the morning and went to sleep at night to the whine of machine saws at work.

People probably were right to prepare early for the winter of 1946-47. It may prove to be one of the most critical winters the country has faced in more than a century.

But whatever period of travail Sweden may be entering, it is not threatened with cold and hunger and want as are other parts of Europe. Food is strictly rationed, but the people have plenty to eat. Fuel is perilously short, but no one will freeze. There are no unemployed—on the contrary, an average of only 82 statistical job-hunters apply for every 100 jobs offered. The Swedish people have apparently an infinite store of common sense, patience, and strength. The impression one gets everywhere, from the farmers' market in Göteborg to the government buildings in Stockholm and across all the tidy little farms and industrial towns in between, is one of people tending to their business. The restaurants and theaters and night clubs are gay without being hysterical; the shop windows are full for Christmas; nothing but the American coal strike and a mysterious Saturday-night dynamiter received a better press than the Norrköping soccer team's victorious tour in England. Swedish life has the same placid surface that it has had for many years.

But beneath the surface Sweden's economy is stretched as taut as a bowstring. Its industries are committed to a staggering program of production and export despite critical shortages of materials and man-power. Its chief weapon in foreign trade, the produce of its vast forest lands, is being fed into fuel-hungry furnaces at home. The nine million tons of coal and coke from abroad which are the straw for Swedish industrial bricks are not to be had. The state treasury, carrying a record national debt from the war years and planning record ex-

penditures during the next decade, is lending a good sixth of the national income to foreign countries to finance a post-war trade and aid Europe's reconstruction. The price index, despite rigid price control, is nudging the point where automatic wage increases will go into effect. Swedish employers and labor representatives have begun negotiating their annual contracts, and the 1946 negotiations promise to be bitterly contested; further additions to wages that are at the highest money level—though not real-income level—of all time are almost inevitable. Finance Minister Ernest Wigforss is beset with overwhelming demands for tax relief which would knock a half-billion kronor off urgently needed state revenues. There is an acute housing shortage, there is a plethora of money, there is a shortage of many consumer goods. There is, in short, every necessary ingredient for a first-rate inflationary explosion.

What gives a special significance to such a situation is, first, the fact that upon this load of dynamite is riding one of the most comprehensive programs of social planning that has ever been coupled with a basically private-enterprise economy and a thoroughly democratic—by any definition you choose to give the word—political system. The success, whole or partial, of the present Social Democratic government in coping with present difficulties will mean a great deal to the future social health of Sweden, and, by example, to the rest of the world. And second, though any comparison between such a small and tightly knit country and a giant, sprawling one cannot be very accurate, there is an intriguing parallel between Sweden and the United States today. Faced with very similar problems, Sweden has chosen, though not without dissenting voices, to stick by government control and planning to tide it through its time of crisis.

Sweden's plans and Sweden's troubles are thus worth a close examination during the next years. In a world divided into a free-for-all contest between left and right, this isolated little corner of Europe has chosen a course that puts almost all the components of modern liberalism at stake. Internally and externally its "middle way" is subjected to terrific pressures and pulls from both sides. The burning question in Sweden today is whether those forces can be resisted, forces that operate to drive it toward a more rigid, more arbitrarily class-conscious and perhaps less democratic society on the one hand and on the other toward an alignment with a free-swinging Western capitalism. Its fate can almost be con-

ROBERT HARVEY left his job as assistant managing editor of *The Nation* to spend a year in Sweden. He is now *The Nation's* correspondent in the Scandinavian countries.

sidered a test of whether or not chaos and collectivism will be the only alternatives in the last half of the twentieth century.

The position in which World War II placed Sweden was the beginning of its post-war crisis. The immediate injury was the disruption of foreign trade. More than half of Sweden's normal coal supply lay in England on the other side of a shipping blockade. Its pre-war sources of worked iron were scattered all over the globe and like coal and coke and other materials were being diverted to the military needs of the belligerents. Its access to petroleum, rubber, many minerals, fertilizers, fodder, textiles, and food imports became precarious. It needed such goods for two purposes—to maintain minimum levels of consumer goods and industrial production, and to arm itself against the threat of military attack. The result was a heavy increase in trade with Germany to the point where during one period of the war the Third Reich was supplying 54 per cent of Swedish imports.

Food rationing came with the drop in imports of fats, fodder, and fertilizer, and with successive poor harvests in 1940 and 1941. During most of the period between June, 1942, and August, 1945, twenty-two items were on the ration list, if you include a few inedible ones like soap, candles, and tobacco.

Price control was clamped on most goods, but not effectively until after steep living-cost rises had already taken place. Thus although the official index has been held fairly stable since 1943—food and rent in particular have been kept in close check throughout the war—it now stands at about 243, with July, 1914, levels as 100. This represents a rise of about 50 per cent from October, 1939, but a climb of only 4 points from the level of 239 reached at the end of 1942. The apparent stability is to some extent theoretical; living costs actually have risen more than the index reveals, largely because of the disappearance of cheaper goods from the market and reduced consumption; and the labor unions are now

asking compensation for further cost-of-living increases which actually do not show up on the index.

In the broad view, then, Sweden built up during the war to an economic situation in many ways similar to that of the United States. There exists now a heavy backlog of purchasing power and consumer demand, an unprecedented investment activity, particularly in the building industry, and marked shortages. Unlike the United States, however, Sweden's return to any semblance of stability is primarily dependent on its capacity to import as it did before the war. Unlike the United States, its labor shortage is due as much to a long-range population trend, which must be countered in terms of increased industrial productivity, as to a war-time distortion. And unlike the United States, Sweden has chosen not to abandon its war-time—and pre-war—controls.

There is little hint of tension or developing crisis among the streets and plentiful parks of Stockholm. The life of the city, like life all over Sweden, is made up of comfortable, everyday details—not of trends and statistical tables. The trolleys are a little more crowded, perhaps, than before, but both they and the trim little electric trains still run punctually on the dot. You can have your choice of American, English, French, Russian, and Swedish movies. Opera is given daily, as well as concerts, plays, and a score of art shows. For the first time since 1939 candles were not rationed for Lucia Day festivities, and cities and towns and offices all over the country chose their "Lucias" to wear the white robe and crown of candles in ceremonies celebrating this national holiday that betokens the coming of more light. Restaurants are still limited in the size of their smörgasbord, but the meals they serve are big and good, and for the most part inexpensive. Food-rationing holds in the restaurants as well as in the market—eating places issue restaurant cards against household ration coupons—a system which has been a big factor in the success of Sweden's rationing system and in minimizing the threat of a black market. There is a black market here, by the way, but not a considerable one. The heaviest illegal traffic is probably in meat and is estimated to amount, in value, to about 10 per cent of the legal market; the literal-minded Swedes keep careful statistics even on the black market—chiefly, a rationing official delightedly explained to me, by a close comparison of figures on the sale of hides and on the sale of carcasses through legal channels.

Stockholm workmen are earning an average of between 125 and 150 kronor a week—about \$34 to \$41. Milk costs about 9 cents a quart, butter about 55 cents a pound, white bread about 12 cents a loaf, prime beef about 45 cents a pound. Fifty to seventy-five cents will buy a good meal in any of the smaller restaurants. Clothing prices run relatively higher on the whole, and are much on a par with American ones, though I have seen



plenty of ready-made suits of seemingly good quality selling for the equivalent of \$30 or \$40. Rents are harder to picture accurately, because the housing shortage is such that one has to take what one can get, and the lower-priced apartments are practically impossible to find. The figures, however, show that the average rental for an unfurnished three-room-and-kitchen apartment is about \$65 a month. The co-ops are much cheaper, but centrally located furnished flats command much more. All these figures are for Stockholm only: wages are lower in all other sections of the country, but the relationship of wages to local prices is about the same everywhere.

Heat and warm water still have to be doled out carefully, but there is no longer heat rationing. The use of fuel oil for heating has increased steeply—plans are in the works for a pipe line from the port of Göteborg through central Sweden to Stockholm. The coal supply, after dropping to almost nothing in the months just before and after the armistice, has gradually come back

to its war-time average and is showing signs of improvement. Home fuel prices, unlike the cost of industrial fuel, have been kept fairly stable.

Books, native and translations, come off the presses in a steady stream, and magazine kiosks are jammed with scores of excellent Swedish periodicals. *Expressen*, one of the city's ten or a dozen major dailies, is adding Li'l Abner to its stable of comic strips. The technical and scientific schools are full to overflowing. The ski inns are booked solid through April.

Stockholm is a deceptive city. There is a surface polish of "Americanism" that makes a United States visitor feel at home, but roots deep in the Scandinavian past give the city its character. There is a strong sense of continuity in Sweden, an inherent calm, a distrust of rapid change. The Swedes' devotion to their "middle way"—to the rational and practical and just approach—is real and lasting. But the "middle way" is coming in for a time of severe trial.

"The Conference of the Excluded"

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, January 18

THE powerful Negro share-cropper, a delegate from the cotton country of Crittenden County, Arkansas, couldn't read or write, but he did think and talk. Six feet four, 240 pounds, he got the floor at the convention of the National Farm Labor Union, A. F. of L., and made a speech.

"I caught aolt of the union thirteen years ago," he said in a voice that rumbled up from his shoes, "and I ain't gonna let it go. It looks to me like this convention is a shattering of a new day."

The Reverend W. H. Wilburn, local president at Lake Village, Arkansas, said with prayerful fervor, "I hope the Lord will bless my tongue so that when I get back I will be able to tell the people just a little bit about what I've seen and heard."

All the intensity and consecration but little of the sham of a revival meeting appeared at this unique union's convention in the A. B. Pugh Bible Class room in the low-ceilinged basement of Washington's pillared Mt. Vernon Place Methodist Church, which was borrowed for the three-day "Conference of the Excluded." Representing more than 30,000 dues-paying members on a family basis (\$4 a year), but lacking any legal bargaining privileges, the union resolved that some 4,000,000 American share-croppers and field workers were entitled to their dignity and their rights and to hope for some measure of security, such as federal old-age and health

insurance and federal-state unemployment compensation.

Wearing faded store clothes, clinging to jalopies, riding buses, the 102 delegates came in from Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Alabama, New Mexico, Arkansas, Tennessee, even New Jersey. Church box suppers had helped raise money for expenses. The women in Local 13 at Oak Grove, Arkansas, had peddled catfish sandwiches for a dime apiece in order to send a representative. J. F. Hynds, seventy-five, was in from Spruce Pine, Alabama, where he runs the union's co-op store. He filed a proud report that the store was started in 1943 with a capital-stock investment of \$334, and that it now had \$412.63 in the bank and \$173.49 in the cash drawer, in addition to goods on the shelves worth \$2,531.02. A Negro delegate, praising the work of his white union brother, said the co-op store was an example of how when everybody co-opped together, they could get somewhere.

The applauding convention voted Delegate Hynds a life membership in the National Farm Labor Union, an honor which was almost more than he could bear. "You have thrown the harness over me for the rest of my life," he said. "I've been sick in my bed, but as long as my tongue doesn't get paralyzed, wheel me down to the courthouse and I'll cry out against injustice."

This was the first convention of the organization—formerly the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union—under an A. F. of L. charter, which was issued last August, but the thirteenth since a group of share-croppers met at

Tyronza, Arkansas, in 1934 and elected big, slow-talking H. L. Mitchell president of a union of farm workers.

A. F. of L. President William Green promised that 7,000,000 other union members would back the N. F. L. U. in its struggle upward from peonage. Senator George D. Aiken, Republican liberal from Vermont, was a statesman to look at and listen to. The delegates responded with church-like "That's right!" and "Amen!" when Gardner Jackson, former New Deal administrator in the Department of Agriculture, warned that mechanization of United States farms was bringing on a displaced-persons problem in the South for which the nation was not prepared. "Unless the organization drive you are undertaking, backed by the A. F. of L., succeeds, hundreds of thousands of you people and your families are likely to be forced out of your homes into a wandering army seeking livelihoods in an industrial labor market without a chance for proper training for the change," Jackson said.

It was an encouraging and gratifying thing for the delegates to be assured that important people were worrying about the woes the union members had been talking about and working against in the meeting halls—usually crossroads Baptist and Methodist churches—and fields back home. But it was even more important to know that the union itself, offering no more than bare hope to its dues-payers, was growing and developing. This was something that the share-croppers and field hands were doing themselves. Last year nineteen new locals were set up, and 5,000 new members went on the N. F. L. U. rolls at Memphis headquarters. The submerged and silent poor whites and blacks in the South were becoming articulate on their own account, through their own union. The ambitious union goal last year was for an annual wage of \$625 for farm workers.

Another important thing was that Southern Negro and white soil-tillers were sitting down together in the conference with easy and unself-conscious equality—more than half of the delegates were Negro. This atmosphere was in itself a tremendous testament to the union's influence in the South, where a feeling of superiority over Negroes often has been the only thing sustaining white share-croppers' self-respect. The Ku Klux Klan was loathed by all present; N. F. L. U. members at the same time were sufficiently sophisticated politically to recognize and reject Communist Party infiltration, which had plagued the union in its formative years.

President Mitchell continues to be the share-croppers' Moses in their tortuous trek toward the half-promised land of the Wagner, Wage-Hour, and Social Security acts. Equally venerated by members is the union's vice-president, F. R. Betton, a sixty-year-old, white-thatched Negro who settled at Cotton Plant, Arkansas, after the KKK chased him out of Georgia. He owns his farm, has put eight of his eleven children through school, and for

twenty-three years was the only Negro justice of the peace in Arkansas.

The director of organization, who has been at work for the past year, is Captain Barney Taylor, who lost an eye in Normandy and won the Distinguished Service Cross. Before he joined the army Terry was international representative of the American Newspaper Guild, for Southern organization. He is paid \$200 a month by the N. F. L. U. The president gets \$3,600 a year.

The National Farm Labor Union has been and will be something to watch. Nothing gives more hope for the regeneration of the South. Its potential membership is more than 4,000,000. If that potential is ever reached, one of its songs will be sung triumphantly instead of defiantly:

We won't budge until we conquer
We will stand until we conquer
We will fight until we conquer,
Workers in the field.

In the Wind

RIFFLING THROUGH wire desk-baskets, the Wind has been culling the morning mail recently. A great many people, it finds, take a lot for granted when they address words to *The Nation*. There is Milton M. Enzer for one, a public-relations assistant to W. Gibson Carey, Jr., of Yale and Towne. In speaking of his boss Mr. Enzer is prone to generalities like this: "Mr. Carey, as you probably recall, is a former president of the Chamber of Commerce. . . ." Mr. Enzer, you should live that long. . .

THEN THERE'S the C. of C. itself, blithely sending along one of its pamphlets in which the following nugget is buried: "Periodicals such as *The Nation* . . . enjoyed almost a sacrosanct status among many government officials. These publications . . . were pro-Soviet. . ."

NOT TO BE OUTDONE, *The Nation's* own regular clipping service weighs in with a tear-sheet of the December *Manufacturer's Record*, quoting Victor Kravchenko on the subject of "pro-Soviet weeklies like *The Nation*."

NOW A BOOKLET from the Foundation for Economic education: "Briefly—So You Believe in Rent Control?" It comprises, briefly, fifteen pages informing the world that rent control is a form of stealing.

ON ANOTHER desk top the Wind uncovers a statement by Charles T. Stewart, public-relations director of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. While deploring public housing, Mr. Stewart has discovered that "there are families who need help to get decent housing." "The satisfying of that need," he adds, "is the practice of charity . . . which many of us have always believed to be a virtue." Sure, 'tis a fine brave thing of you to say so, Mr. Stewart.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Famine and Surplus

THIS year we in America can look forward to a more varied and abundant diet than ever. Supplies of most foods are ample, the chief exception being sugar, and there are signs of a downward trend in prices. During the current food year, which ends in June, our consumption per head will be well above the pre-war level—a reflection, of course, not only of enlarged supplies but of full employment and increased purchasing power. We share this good fortune with a number of other food-exporting countries, but a recently published report of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U. N. tells me: "A major food crisis still confronts the world. Over wide areas of China famine conditions have prevailed for many months. Many people in Europe are living on a diet of 1,500 calories or less, and the European situation will deteriorate sharply in the spring, since in several countries domestic food supplies will become exhausted."

These facts are confirmed by the Department of Agriculture's Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, which reported in a recent statement that for a large part of continental Europe the food outlook for the first six months of this year was just as serious as a year ago. In nine countries rations for the non-farm population amount to 2,000 calories or less daily. "Such consumption levels," the statement declares, "are insufficient to maintain a population year after year, to say nothing of rehabilitating lost body weight and capacity to work."

The F. A. O. report provides some particulars of the consequences of widespread malnutrition—lowered resistance to disease in general, the spread of scourges such as tuberculosis, the increase of infant mortality, which in Yugoslavia, for instance, is said to be 370 per 1,000 live births. In North China, according to a survey made last year, calory intake in some districts was under 500 per head, with people eating grass and weeds. In one area 32 per cent of the population was suffering from famine oedema, a condition in which the limbs and body become horribly bloated. "Malaria is endemic both in Kwangsi and Honan," this survey declared, "and relapsing fever, dysentery, some cholera, and many other diseases are present. Weakened by hunger, these malnourished people are subject to any infection."

But while the specter of starvation haunts large parts of Europe and Asia, in America, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "the specter of a wheat surplus in 1947 worries Washington officials." Favorable weather conditions promise another bumper crop of winter wheat, with the result that July (new crop) wheat has recently been quoted in the futures market at \$1.80 a bushel, nearly 40 cents below the current cash price. A fall in value of this magnitude will force the government to support the market on a large scale to keep the price of wheat at 90 per cent of parity in

conformity with the Steagall amendment of the Price Control Act of 1942. Nor is wheat the only farm product likely to qualify for similar support. Last year the government spent something like \$80,000,000 to shore up the collapsed potato market. Eggs and sorghums are now at or below the 90 per cent of parity level; barley, corn, and peanuts are getting within hailing distance, and before the end of the year they could be joined by cotton and burley tobacco. "Uncle Sam," said the *Wall Street Journal* of December 27, 1946, "faces billion-dollar losses as growers step up output despite falling prices. . . . Wheat alone could run to \$500,000,000 next year. Agricultural officials see production limits as the only safeguard."

Is this really the only way of coping with the problem of American overabundance? Cannot this corpulent ghost that haunts Washington be confronted with the lean ghost of hunger which roams the world, with a view to mutual exorcism? That idea was the essence of the plan presented to the F. A. O. by its director, Sir John Orr, who wanted to build an ever-normal granary for the world so that the fear of plenty and the fear of want might both be banished. But the United States government objected; the scheme threatened to interfere with the freedom of private trading. It was Washington also that played a major part in the decision to discontinue UNRRA and that squelched LaGuardia's alternative proposal of an Emergency Food Fund. Henceforth international relief is to be on a bilateral basis, with those nations in a position to afford aid to others to decide for themselves to whom it shall be given and on what terms.

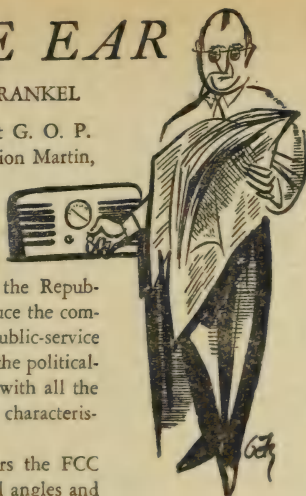
The role of the United Nations is now reduced to sponsorship of a special technical committee on relief needs, which will report to member governments. This committee has already heard pleas from twelve nations, and an unofficial check indicates that five of these together—Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and China—estimate emergency food requirements in the coming year at \$500,000,000. Specific figures from the other seven—Italy, Hungary, Austria, Finland, Ethiopia, Korea, and the Philippines—are not yet forthcoming, but they are expected to bring the grand total to at least \$1,000,000,000.

In his budget message last week President Truman asked Congress to appropriate \$305,000,000 for international relief, and in addition some Export-Import credits may be made available for food loans. But there is no means of telling what American assistance those hungry countries deemed to be deserving may count on until the dominant Republicans have finished their budget-shaving operations. It is to be hoped that while engaged on this task they will consider international relief in relation to the coming farm-surplus problem. Otherwise they may find themselves in the fatuous position of saving on one section of the budget only to insure the necessity of later additions to another. The stringent limitation of gifts and loans for food purchases by foreign countries may well mean greatly increased expenditures for the support of farm prices. The government in effect will continue to buy food, but instead of shipping it to hungry people will pile it up in warehouses, where it is likely to stay until it rots. Will the American people indorse this kind of "economy," or will they insist that the proper way to appease the specter of surplus food is to banish the specter of want?

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

BEHIND the current G. O. P. drive to name Marion Martin, former executive of the Republican National Committee, to the Federal Communications Commission is the Republican Party's yen to induce the commission to abandon its public-service standards and return to the political-fix mode of operation, with all the plunderbund overtones characteristic of the technique.



For the last ten years the FCC has ignored the political angles and made its decisions on social, economic, and technical grounds. But the Republicans want an FCC that will bow to political exigencies. Of course the Democrats wanted much the same thing, but they couldn't get it during the life of F. D. R. because the late President recognized the social and propaganda importance of broadcasting and gave the commission strong chairmen.

Today with both big business, in the guise of the advertisers, and the broadcasters looking for ways and means of clipping the FCC for the attitude it took toward radio in its "Blue Book," the G. O. P. scents an opportunity to strike a blow for "less government regulation and more free enterprise." The dollar politicians of both parties would like to see radio run by the business men of the nation and "to hell with this public-service drive!" And the old wheelhorses would like to make certain that elections are not won on the air, as they were by F. D. R., but in the press.

To accomplish its ends the G. O. P. realizes it will need a complaisant commission. For this reason both Rosel Hyde and Ray C. Wakefield, the Republican incumbents, are under fire as "not real Republicans," meaning, of course, that they do not respond to the efforts of political fixers. The G. O. P. wants to put a stooge on the commission who will do nothing but consider the political qualifications of applicants.

With the Republicans exerting pressure in favor of Miss Martin, the few persons in radio who realize the implications of what the G. O. P. wants and the adverse effect this will have on radio are plugging for James M. Mead, the ex-Senator from New York. But they are worried lest Mead take the Postmaster-Generalship.

The FCC consists of six commissioners and a chairman, appointed by the President for seven-year terms with tenure so staggered that a new appointment is due each year. No political party is to have more than four members. Currently the commission is staffed with three Democrats, two Republicans, and one independent; the vacancy caused by Paul Porter's resignation is still unfilled. Though Porter was a Democrat, the G. O. P. claims the appointment with the argument of "we are now the majority party and entitled to equal representation." The present line-up is as follows:

Ray C. Wakefield, Republican, lawyer, expert on utilities, in bad with the G. O. P. machine for not recognizing political pressures, votes like a right-wing liberal; term expires in 1947.

Clifford J. Durr, Democrat, lawyer with knowledge of utilities, the one true progressive on the commission; term expires in 1948.

The appointment to Paul Porter's place will run until 1949.

E. K. Jett, independent, engineer, votes ultra-conservative; term expires in 1950.

Charles R. Denny, Democrat, came up from the legal ranks of the commission to become its chairman, votes down the middle; term expires in 1951.

Rosel Hyde, Republican, started with the commission as a messenger, became a lawyer on its staff, votes like a liberal and is in disfavor with the G. O. P.; term expires in 1952.

Paul A. Walker, Democrat, lawyer, knowledge of utilities, especially telephone, votes liberal; term expires in 1953.

Thus on their voting records the commissioners break down into one arch-conservative, one genuine progressive, one middle-of-the-roader, and three right-wing liberals. This make-up gives the commission a liberal flavor and inclines it to stress the public good rather than political advantage.

The most imminent danger is that Truman will allow the G. O. P. to fill the Porter vacancy. But the situation will again be critical when Wakefield comes up for reappointment in 1947 and Durr in 1948. Though Wakefield is a Republican, the G. O. P. will not want him on the FCC unless he sees the light. Durr, a Democrat, has come a long way since he was an attorney for the Commonwealth and Southern, and has the entire industry gunning for him; the Democrats therefore will put up no fight to keep him.

That the present FCC does not think along political lines is shown by several recent incidents. There was the G. O. P. rap at Wakefield and Hyde. Then Senator MacKellar blasted the commission for this very non-political thinking. There was also the famous fracas between the FCC and Congressman Eugene Cox, and more recently the denial of a license to Bob Kerr, former Governor of Oklahoma and keynoter of the 1944 Democratic convention. If ever politics was going to get someone a license, it was when Kerr applied for a station in Peoria, Illinois. But it didn't work.

The big stick in the Republicans' hands is the threat of a Congressional investigation of the FCC. Some trade prophets say the G. O. P. will agree to call off the investigation in return for the appointment of Marion Martin. Others think the G. O. P. will get the appointment and the investigation also. Still others think the G. O. P. will do without the investigation simply to please the big radio-equipment manufacturers—Westinghouse, Philco, G. E., R. C. A.—who want the FCC in session to settle the future of television and other disputed questions so that they can do business. If the commission is being put over the hurdles on the Hill, they will have to mark time.

The FCC is probed each year at budget time by both House and Senate, and all anyone has been able to say is that it does a splendid job of serving the listener. Yet unless President Truman fights to keep greedy political hands off it, the commercial radio interests are going to have a walk-over and the "good radio" people will be nowhere.

BOOKS and the ARTS

When There Is a Tolstoy

LEO TOLSTOY. By Ernest Simmons. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

MR. SIMMONS'S new biography of Tolstoy puts a great deal of material in good order; perhaps as much material as any American will ever need—except a full edition of the letters—in supplement to Tolstoy's own works. The book is written with reserve, care, and out of an almost anonymous sensibility; it assumes greatness in Tolstoy's works and it displays a good deal of the complexity and stress in Tolstoy's life; it makes few interpretations and forces no conclusions. The shape of the book is chronological and factual; it tells what happened when. It is also a warm book. To those who read biography for amorphous pleasure and to mull the habits of men, the book should be interesting enough to reread. But much more than that, the rich material Mr. Simmons presents—much of it new—should be permanently useful to critical students of Tolstoy from several points of view. This is exactly what books of this kind ought to be, and we should be very grateful for the skill, industry, and patience with which Mr. Simmons has done his chosen job. It is the kind of secondary work which makes the primary work of interpretation and judgment possible; it lays open chances and predicts choices of thought.

For example, it gives a chance—and I do not think Maude's biography, because it was a disciple's job, did this—to see Tolstoy as the great exemplar of the man who in life or thought could never reach a tolerable relation with any existing form of society, but who through his imaginative work, through the free institution of the novel, again and again reached relations either satisfactory or fatal, not with a utopian society, but with the actual society at hand.

That was Tolstoy's case. In what is called thought he could only destroy, reject, or deny; in what is called art he was compelled to create, accept, and affirm. His intellectual distrust of society was not that of skepticism but of incapacity, waywardness, and the fractionalism of ignorance; the skepticism that haunts his novels was that of creation, momentum, and deep knowledge. The type is not uncommon, it varies from Plato to Stendhal to Yeats; but Tolstoy was the extreme of the type because he raised to passionate intensity every aspect of the split which is its characteristic. This he could do because he had never been educated not to; he had never been educated in the compensatory, destructive costs of his series of individual ideals—though if he had looked back on it from the perspective of the Leo Tolstoy railroad station, where he died, he might have seen the wreck of his own life as a token of the general cost.

He knew that his ideals—of anarchism, pacifism, chastity, freedom from possessions, and the gospel of the Sermon on the Mount—were unrealizable, but he did not, in his thought and action, know at what level of the effort to realize them they destroyed themselves and became their own monsters. That is, he had in life no means of playing

out fruitfully the roles his ideals required of him. Therefore all his heroisms were heroic fallacies. He could not create the truth of them either in his own life or in the lives of his disciples. Naturally his disciples were what his wife called the "dark, dark people! Morally sick and wretched!" and he himself remained the Pharisee in his own temple.

How did this happen to the author of "War and Peace," "Anna Karenina," "The Death of Ivan Ilyich," "Resurrection," and all the rest? Why did the deep and plastic order of his art become the rancorous and intransigent anarchy of his mind? Why did what was lovable and lovely in life and art become in life and thought the source of a spreading and frantic grudge? Why did every instinct that required harmony take to expressing itself in conflict?

The questions are lyric, and in their asking is their answer. But beside the question we can set one or two series of suggestive statements, doubtless not true at all in themselves, but true enough when taken with the questions. So far as we know, Tolstoy lived and saw directly; he made up his own mind. That is, he ignored the barriers to vision and made no allowance for most of the elements that lead to decision; he believed his conscious mind alone was equal to both its traditional and its unconscious roles. Thus it was natural for him to distrust medicine and science, politics and church. He who believes that he has made up his own mind will always find himself in a heretical position with regard to his own orthodoxy—let alone in regard to the undisclosed general orthodoxy; but he will be unable to know this, and will on the contrary regard his own mind as omniscient. Except for its disciples, such a mind will always find itself dispossessed, and in society even its sincerity—the virtue it really has—will be impugned. Society will say of him: Yes, that is what he thinks; but he really knows better.

Such is the fate of a mind which depends in its intellectual work upon undigested common sense. Undigested common sense will cut through and dissolve the folly in one's own mind but will not replace it; its only effect on the minds of others is to harden the folly it touches. For example, in Tolstoy's life, his letter to the new Czar asking him to free his father's assassins, and again the authority which he assigned to his own uninstructed examination and citation of the Gospels. As these labors of common sense are increasingly frustrated, the self-remedy of omniscience is the hardening of intransigence and the resort to prophecy. The results are right in the tragic sense that the mind that made them comes to depend entirely upon a society in which it cannot participate because it has not created it, and is therefore lost, lonely, and utterly deprived, as was Tolstoy at his death.

Such is one set of statements to put beside the Tolstoy questions. Another set is equally necessary. These same themes and procedures, these obsessive convictions, this addiction to the direct vision and to common sense, when submitted to the drive, the control, the form—if you like, to the institutional inertia—of the novel, became, as expressions of dramatic

possibilities, powerful participating forces in the actual society to which as argued arbitrary ideals they were mere intransigent affronts. No incapacity of Tolstoy's mind was so great as that which led him to condemn both his own and Shakespeare's greatest work because they showed no ideas. The truth was that the works showed ideas alive and actual; the truth was, as Augustine almost said, they added to God's creation in the life of art, where in the life of intellect, without the drive of society, they merely broke it down.

These two sets of statements have no necessary connection aside from the tragic questions which Tolstoy's life raises; but there they make the difference between frustration and achievement. They suggest also by what means one great function of art—the transformation of inadequate but passionate thought into overwhelming actuality—may be brought about. "When there is a Tolstoy in literature," Mr. Simmons cites Chekov, "then it is easy and pleasant to be a writer; even to recognize that one has not done or will not do anything is not so terrible, for Tolstoy does it for all."

R. P. BLACKMUR

Escape from Europe

UNDERGROUND TO PALESTINE. By I. F. Stone. Boni and Gaer. \$2.50

IZZY STONE, with his usual modesty, says that he can only record what he "saw and heard, traveling with the less fortunate but bravest of my people." But "Underground to Palestine" is far more than a factual report on the great

movement out of Europe by the Jewish people. It is in reality a case history which buttresses and supports the historic letter of Earl Harrison to President Truman in 1945 on the same subject; which breathes life and gives reality to the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee.

When Stone traveled the Jewish underground in Europe and arrived ultimately in Palestine on a so-called illegal boat, he did something which no official could possibly do. He got first-hand testimony from the displaced Jews, as a friend. He became one of them. The leaky boats on which they got to Palestine were described to us on the Anglo-American Committee by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, when he testified before us in Jerusalem. But no testimony, even from such a high source, could possibly take the place of the moving eyewitness account which Stone gives in "Underground to Palestine." We knew, of course, of the great exodus from Europe of the Jewish people, an exodus unparalleled in their history. We dismissed as impracticable the repeated suggestions, some from good and others from questionable sources, that the fragment of the Jewish people should be persuaded to stay in Europe. What Stone does is to make the reader see and understand why we reached that decision, why the surviving Jews of Europe must leave that hate-infested continent, and why in overwhelming majority they want, indeed, are compelled by circumstances, to go to Palestine.

Stone makes it clear, as it was clear to us, that nothing will stop these persecuted people from rebuilding a great Jewish community in Palestine. That is a cardinal fact. It is a fact which I am afraid is not grasped either by Mr. Bevin or Mr. Byrnes. The record of the past two years shows that the British Foreign Office and the United States State Department can hinder these people in their desire to go home, can delay them, but cannot stop them. Yet the delaying tactics continue, and the need for a decisive solution becomes more and more acute.

All who are familiar with the subject of the displaced Jews and Palestine are obliged to come to Stone's conclusions. It is folly for the Jewish people to expect anything from the present British government except disappointment, betrayal, and attack, in spite of the strong opposition within the Labor Party, led by Dick Crossman. This is so because those in control of British policy feel the need of developing a strong Arab bloc of states to offset any possible excursion by the Soviet Union into the Middle East. There is also the belief, held by some members of the Foreign Office, that the returning Jews bring to Palestine the modern ideas of the West, and consequently jeopardize the colonial structure of the whole Middle East. Thus the further development of the National Home is regarded in certain British quarters not only as a threat to the colonial and feudal pattern of the Palestinian Arabs but as a potential threat to the entire British position in that region.

Izzy Stone has pointed out the ceaseless struggle of the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution against the British determination to maintain post-war control of all the Middle East. He correctly evaluates British policy, but I believe he has overlooked the fact that Britain could not possibly pursue that policy without the tacit and in some instances the active

Pablo Neruda

RESIDENCE ON EARTH
AND OTHER POEMS

Neruda—the Communist Senator of Chile—greatest poet writing in the Spanish language today. A representative selection of his poetry—translated by Angel Flores—Spanish originals included.

. . . . A New Directions Book. \$3.50

support of the American State Department. Our American policy of expediency and delay is followed despite the earnest, well-intentioned efforts of President Truman to clean out the camps of Europe.

I hope that every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will read "Underground to Palestine." The publisher should see that Ernest Bevin and Clement Attlee have copies. They need particularly to read it. Britain is making a ghastly mistake in Palestine. So are we.

We desperately need, together with the British, to recapture the moral prestige which the Western democracies have forfeited. In the long run, helping the Jews in the creation and development of the National Home in Palestine is helping ourselves. For it is not possible for the Middle East to remain an area of backwardness, a territory of natives and native rulers to be handled in the traditional, imperialistic way. The fact is plain for all to see: colonial peoples everywhere in the world are on the march toward freedom. In the vanguard of that march are the Jewish pioneers. It is of them that Stone has written so simply and so nobly.

BARTLEY C. CRUM

BRIEFER COMMENT

Roosevelt's Doctor

VICE-ADMIRAL MCINTIRE'S book, "White House Physician" (Putnam, \$3), written "in collaboration with" George Creel, presents indispensable detail concerning Roosevelt's health during the twelve years of his Presidency. Its tone in these matters is inevitably somewhat defensive, but Dr. McIntire's cheery confidence about Roosevelt's physical condition in 1944 appears in retrospect to be justified by the available medical evidence, and cerebral hemorrhage is in any case swift and unforeseeable in its action.

Apart from the medical data, "White House Physician" contains a miscellany of reminiscence drawn from McIntire's tour of duty with Roosevelt. The doctor is typical of several people who were close to F. D. R. through his Presidency but managed to avoid much interest in or understanding of the New Deal. His political hero is evidently Cordell Hull; he regards Ed Stettinius as a much underrated Secretary of State, as if that were possible; and he can remark of Admiral Leahy, "No man had more intimate knowledge of French politics and politicians." One misses only a eulogy of Leo Crowley.

The political perceptions are thus not acute, but a wealth of revealing incident slips in none the less. McIntire supplies a pathetic and unforgettable addition to the picture of Roosevelt's acceptance address at Philadelphia in 1936. A bolt in the President's braces snapped open as he advanced toward the platform, throwing him off balance and scattering the pages of his speech; but he recovered to deliver that stirring oration—"This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny"—reshuffling the misplaced pages with complete aplomb. There is a curious passage about Roosevelt's impulse to refuse the 1940 nomination because of the convention's resistance to Henry Wallace; and McIntire makes it quite clear that Bill Douglas was Roosevelt's first choice

for the Vice-Presidency in 1944. Connoisseurs of the post-humous squabble over Roosevelt's foreign policy will note that the President apparently talked more skeptically about communism and the U. S. S. R. to his physician than to his son.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Alexander H. Stephens

THE STATUE OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS in the Capitol in Washington is dwarfed between the over-size figures of Zebulon Vance of North Carolina and Ethan

COMMENTARY

Featured in the Current Issue

"THE INTELLECTUALS AND EUROPE'S FUTURE,"

by Stephen Spender

What hope is there for a reopening of the international lines of communication in the world of thought?

"FROM MARXISM TO JUDAISM," by Will Herberg

A labor leader and radical tells why he now thinks Jewish religious belief superior to Marxism as a dynamic for social reconstruction.

"PALESTINE: A POSSIBLE SOLUTION," by Alvin Johnson

An outstanding social thinker offers the non-territorial federal state as his answer to the dilemma of conflicting interests in Palestine.

"DEMOCRACY NEEDS THE OPEN DOOR," by Oscar Handlin

Why we need new immigrants if we are to overcome the social and political hardening that has resulted from our quota restrictions.

"TALES OF THE HASIDIM," by Martin Buber

Legends and sayings of the giants of eastern European Judaism, collected and retold by a great German-Jewish scholar.

"WHY THE DP'S CAN'T WAIT," by Leo Srole

A distinguished sociologist describes at first hand the life of the Landsberg DP camp, and outlines an international plan of rescue for the thousands who still await re-settlement.

"THE PARLOR TERRORISTS," by Nathan Glazer

The political implications of Arthur Koestler's *Thieves in the Night*.

"THE AMERICANISM OF ADOLPH S. OCHS," by Louis Berg

An analysis of the man who made the *New York Times*, and of his pattern of Jewish adjustment to America.

"ADJUSTING MEN TO MACHINES," by Daniel Bell

How the sociologists of factory life seek to make the worker happy—and increase "efficiency." An appraisal of recent studies.

PLUS: "The Month in History," by Sidney Hertzberg; "Yivo Comes to Morningside," by Milton R. Konvitz. Fiction, poetry, reviews.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

This Issue and 3 Others
for \$1. Mail with a dollar bill.

COMMENTARY, 425 4th Ave., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Please send me COMMENTARY for four months, starting with this issue, at the special introductory offer. I enclose \$1.00.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

One Year—\$4.00

N 3

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW

"ON THE BEAM . . . DELIGHTFUL."—PM.

JEANNE CRAIN

LYNN BARI • ALAN YOUNG

'Margie'

IN TECHNICOLOR

Based on Stories by Ruth McKenny & Richard Branston

—AND—

"DICK TRACY vs. CUEBALL"
MORGAN CONWAY • ANNE JEFFREYS

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MABLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

Queens
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
ALDEN
Jamaica
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

PARAMOUNT Presents

Loretta YOUNG • David NIVEN

In HAL WALLIS' Production

'The Perfect Marriage'

Directed by LEWIS ALLEN

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

THE MILLS BROTHERS

OLGA SAN JUAN • TIM HERBERT

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

ELLIOT LAWRENCE

AND HIS ORCHESTRA

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present

"SUPERB SPOOFING"—Walter Winchell

HELEN HAYES

—in—

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY"

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST Theat., 44th St. West of Broadway. Evenings 8:46, Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday 2:46.

"A SMASH HIT"—Life Magazine

ETHEL MERMAN

IN THE MUSICAL SMASH

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

IMPERIAL Theatre 45th St. West of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30, Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30.

STAGE PLAYS

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." —
Ward Morehouse, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEAT., 46th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:46.

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

JOSE FERRER IN CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAM SHERMAN
PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON
ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON

BARRYMORE THEAT., 47th Street West of Broadway. CI 6-0390
Eves., incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

"WOWS THE HOUSE DOWN."—Newsweek.

BERT LAHR

with JEAN PARKER in

BURLESQUE

BELASCO THEAT., 44th STREET EAST OF BROADWAY
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE *Nation*

Money-Saving Magazine
Combinations

with Harper's Magazine \$8.50
You save \$2.50

with Consumers Union \$9.25
You save \$1.25

with Harper's Magazine and
Consumers Union \$11.75
You save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14

☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

1-25-47

Allen. Even in marble Stephens seems frail and insubstantial. This is the Southern political leader who opposed secession but became the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who resisted the concentration of power in the hands of Jefferson Davis and was more concerned with the preservation of constitutional government in the Southern states than with the effective waging of war, who flirted with the idea of the secession of his native state from the Confederacy. On the base of his statue is carved the quotation, "I am afraid of nothing on the earth, above the earth, beneath the earth, except to do wrong," and it is more accurate than many a political epitaph; his concept of right may have been at times quixotic, but he served it with all the amazing energy and determination of his fragile body.

Stephens was a public figure for more than forty years, but it is his present biographer's attention to him "as a man, a problem in the psychology of personality, motivation, and behavior," which gives Rudolph von Abele's "Alexander H. Stephens: A Biography" (Knopf, \$4) its particular appeal. Von Abele explores Stephens's prolonged periods of gloom and depression, his curious dependence upon his brother Linton, his "adoration of the twin concepts of justice and law." Stephens was elected to Congress from Georgia in his thirty-first year in 1843; his first speech was an attack upon his right to hold the seat to which he had been elected from the state at large, in violation of the act of Congress requiring election by districts. During his next sixteen years in Congress—he resigned on the eve of the Civil War—his pursuit of justice took him through all the political battles of that turbulent period; he led, for example, the Whig opposi-

tion to the war with Mexico as an illegal war of conquest.

As Vice-President of the Confederacy Stephens opposed conscription, opposed martial law, opposed the suspension of habeas corpus as attacks within the Confederacy upon the freedoms which he felt the Confederacy was fighting to preserve. It must have been with some restraint that Jefferson Davis wrote to him that he wished Stephens, instead of creating "distrust in me among the people," would devote his "great and admitted ability exclusively to upholding the confidence and animating the spirit of the people to unconquerable resistance against their foes."

After the war Stephens was imprisoned at Fort Warren in Boston harbor. He was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1866 but was not admitted to that body. In 1873 he was elected to the House of Representatives, and there he remained until 1882, "in his roller-chair, in the open space just under the Speaker's desk . . . the strangest figure in the Capitol since John Randolph." Already dying, he was elected Governor of Georgia in 1882 and clung to life until March of the next year.

Von Abele tells the story of Stephens's life and examines its significance in a highly readable volume—and one which is remarkably mature for a biographer in his twenty-third year. If, as one suspects, this is a reworking of the author's doctoral thesis, it is an example of imaginative academic research of a quality too rarely met with.

COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

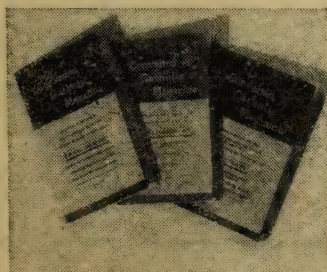
Last week's review of "Lord Weary's Castle" was written by Randall Jarrell, whose name was accidentally omitted.

The Catholic Church--Its Nature and Purpose

Factually and Objectively Discussed



Without Offense to Catholic People



You Should Know--



HOW THE CATHOLIC CHURCH EXISTS IN A DEMOCRACY

WHAT THE STEPINAC CASE MEANS TO US

MUST WE CHOOSE BETWEEN ROME AND RUSSIA

CAN PROTESTANTISM SURVIVE THE POPE'S BID FOR WORLD CONTROL

For First-hand Information on These and Other Questions of Vital Importance to Every American

Read THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by Former Roman Catholic Priests

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$3.00 A YEAR (10 issues) — Canada and Foreign \$4.25

Order from CHRIST'S MISSION, 229 West 48th Street, New York 19, N. Y., Dept. TN

Name..... Address.....

City (Zone)..... and State.....

Films

JAMES
AGEE

Movies in 1946

OF THE films of 1946 that I saw—I missed a number of likely candidates—I liked most "The Best Years of Our Lives," "Brief Encounter," "Henry V," "Let There Be Light," "Open City," and "The Raider."

"The Best Years" is equivocal in story, but in front of the camera—and this is still more important—it is done about as well as a movie can imaginably be, made among the frustrating facilities of a contemporary American studio.

Much of "Brief Encounter" is very likable and affecting; it seems to me the best romance since "Mayerling." It is a shriveling commentary, though, on the reality of the run of films, that so many people have spoken of this one almost as if Noel Coward had personally invented realism—and wholly as if the realism in this film were of an adventurous or even a high order. It seems to me, instead, a particularly neat sample of how to *package* realism, astutely modifying everything that might make the package fit clumsily into a lady's handbag.

In making "Henry V" Laurence Olivier and his associates chose to serve Shakespeare rather than to compete with him—and served him with honor, ingenuity, and grace. The bolder attempt would even in principle have excited me more; great movie poetry, deliberately or intuitively undertaken from scratch, without benefit of hindrance of a classic, I think still better of than that. But neither preference qualifies my admiration or my love for this beautiful film as it stands; nor am I terribly disturbed because it is a patriotic film, finds a good deal of good in war, and tells sympathetically of a cynical invasion.

"Let There Be Light," John Huston's intelligent, noble, fiercely moving short film about combat neurosis and some of the more spectacular kinds of therapy, will probably never be seen by the

civilian public for whose need, and on whose money, it was made. The War Department has mumbled a number of reasons why it has been withheld; the glaring obvious reason has not been mentioned: that any sane human being who saw the film would join the armed services, if at all, with a straight face and a painfully maturing mind. In a nation with half its forebrain left and a thousandth of its moral intelligence, even such a little suppression as this would cause a monstrous scandal, and an adequate fight. But in such a nation the general reaction to a good many more disastrous bits of crime and cowardice would long ago have had such effect that by now you would hardly recognize the place, and might not even need to be ashamed to be a part of it.

Of the films I have seen this year "Open City" is by all odds the best; and I beg leave—of those who don't dare admit they are ever capable of an opinion before they examine a piece of work—to doubt that "The Razor's Edge" or even "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers" is likely to be as good. "Open City" goes far in what I believe is the best general direction movies might take, now and within the discernible future. By this I don't mean they need be socially or politically hot under the collar—though much of the spirit and grandeur of this film come of that kind of heat. I do mean that the theme or story needs to be passionately felt and intimately understood, and that it should be a theme or story worthy of such knowledge and passion. I also put my deepest hope and faith in the future of movies in their being made on relatively little money, as much at least by gifted amateurs as by professionals, in actual rather than imitated places, with the binding energy, eye, conviction, and delight in work which are fostered in good-enough people by that predicament and which are at best hindered by commercial work in studios. As I saw to some extent when I reviewed the film and as an article by James T. Farrell has made much clearer to me, the film is among other things Communist propaganda. I don't enjoy this fact; but that cannot prevent my thinking "Open City" the best movie of its year and one of the best and most heartening in many years. It seems to be time, after many centuries of flagrant proof, to get used to the fact that by no means all one's enemies, or friends, for that matter, line up comfortably in the same camp, however the lines are drawn; and that no one group, however well accred-

ited, has a monopoly on the human or the creative soul.

Like "Open City," "The Raider" put amateurs through a reenactment, mainly, of actual events. Like "Open City," it triumphantly demonstrates how well that can be done. It is less furiously felt and more honest; its theme, if less grandiose, is nevertheless a fine one. Since I think so highly of both films I should take special care to make clear that this is not *because* they use non-actors, or are semi-documentary, or are "realistic." It is, rather, that they show a livelier aesthetic and moral respect for reality—which "realism" can as readily smother as liberate—than most fictional films, commercial investments in professional reliability, ever manage to. If they are helped to this—as they are—by their concern for actual people and places, that is more than can be said for most documentaries, which by average are as dismally hostile to reality as most fiction films. The films I most eagerly look forward to will not be documentaries but works of pure fiction, played against, and into, and in collaboration with unrehearsed and uninvented reality.

A few notes at random.

We saw last year about the last of films made during or directly inspired by the war: it is clear that many gifted people, such as William Wyler ("The Best Years"), and Olivier, and Huston, and John Ford, grew greatly during the war. From now on we shall see what they can do with this new maturity during the next interval of peace. My best wishes, God knows, are with them; my bets are against them. Once in a while, quite certainly, a good film is sure to get made: but my bet is that the next ten years or so will be even harder for good people to work through than the last; that soon there will no longer be a place on earth where honest talent will be allowed to break loose from the asylum for more than a male nurse's afternoon off.

It is said of J. Arthur Rank, under whom three of the listed films were made, that he intends to continue shooting for big money with one hand and backing small-audience talent with the other. I hope so; and will bet that within five years—three if you like—it will be as hard to make a good film in England as in Hollywood; and that Mr. Rank will be chiefly responsible. My reason? I suggest that you consult both God and Mammon on which is the more successful in coping with the servant problem.

I have the same doubtful hope and

WHERE HENRY WALLACE WENT WRONG

by Louis Fischer

FEBRUARY ISSUE OF
THIS MONTH MAGAZINE
Newsstands or 247 Park Av. N. Y. 17

best wishes for Republic's low-budget investment in such films as Ben Hecht's "Specter of the Rose" and—in 1945—Gustav Machaty's "Jealousy." I hope the policy will be continued; I wish it would be extended. But that will be useless unless such opportunities are sought by, and given to, people who are capable of taking mature advantage of them.

This was the year during which Sergei Eisenstein once more got it in the eye. Part Two of "Ivan the Terrible" will never be released; Part Three will never even be made; Eisenstein was once more called a bourgeois and a formalist, and other words almost as dirty. Civilization has come a long way since the days when in Vienna, the High Altar of western music, Mozart and Schubert could die so young, largely for want of mere patronage. Today we appreciate our men of genius. In Russia we make corpses of them, living or genuine; here we drown them in cream.

The Hays office became the Johnston office. It remained possible, as before, to say almost anything if it was prudent, childish, or false enough in the first place and sneakily enough said in the second. It remained impossible, as before, to say anything whatever, without sneaking it, which might move or interest anyone past the moral age of five.

Quite a few Hollywood people amused themselves as best they could in their captivity by making such nostalgic and amusing, if far from original melodramas as "The Killers," "The Big Sleep," and "The Dark Corner." Such harmless little slumming parties were treated by a number of critics, reviewers, and editorial writers as if they were a sinister mirror of American morals, psychology, society, and art. Since practically every movie is, to quite some extent, I can't insist that these were happy exceptions, except in so far as they were relatively intelligent, accurate at least to something in this world, and entertaining. I realize also that on its most careful level, as practiced by Dr. Siegfried Kracauer or Barbara Deming, this sort of analysis is of interest and value, dubious as I am about a good deal of it. But to me, the most sinister single thing that happened during the movie year was the emergence of just this kind of analysis—or rather, was the way in which it was indorsed by those incapable of it. I have long postponed writing on this difficult subject and must now again postpone: but briefly, for reasons which transcend movie boundaries, I am deadly alarmed to find that the function once performed, harm-

fully enough, by clubwomen and the nastier kinds of church pressure groups is now taken over, without a murmur or even a sign of divided consciousness, by the kind of people who used most earnestly to oppose priggishness.

Most lists of "the ten best" this year, including my own list of six, went very thin on Hollywood; and many reviewers commented on the fact, rather as if Hollywood had hit the nadir. It seems to me unjust to single out for sudden vilification one particular Hollywood year when every year for so long a time has been so very moderately fresh an egg.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued three of Mozart's sonatas for piano and violin—the lovely K. 296 in C and K. 378 in B flat, the powerful K. 379 in G—performed by Alexander Schneider and Ralph Kirkpatrick on the violin and harpsichord (Set 650; \$6.85). Mozart wrote for the piano; and the only justification for the use of the harpsichord is that his piano—as I once had an opportunity to hear in Salzburg—had a more delicate and otherwise different sound from ours. This justification is destroyed by the pounding that Kirkpatrick does much of the time; but whereas the pounding and clatter were unrelieved at the one concert of Schneider and Kirkpatrick that I heard a few years ago, and drove me out of the hall before the end, these recorded performances have passages in which Kirkpatrick plays with beautifully sensitive phraseological inflection—a particularly fine example being the penultimate variation in the finale of K. 379. In these passages his playing increases the pleasure I get from the superb playing of Schneider; in the others it is a disturbance which makes me long for the performances I can imagine Schneider giving with Franz Rupp. The recorded sound of the violin comes out of a wide-range machine brash and coarse, but improves with limitation of range; the sound of the harpsichord is dull—whether because of the instrument or because of the recording I do not know.

In another set (643; \$4.85) Pinza sings several Mozart arias with the Metropolitan Opera orchestra under Walter. I have reservations about Pinza's operatic performances, but fewest

Because

"In his book we have Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson brought up to date in terms of education, soil erosion, freight rates, the Tennessee Valley, and true democracy."

—HENRY A. WALLACE

People
are buying

The Shore Dimly Seen

By ELLIS G.
ARNALL

● "You read this book not only with a sense of the excitement of the battles he has fought but with a sense of the exciting days ahead."

—Lewis Gannett

● "Ellis Arnall has written a book not merely about the South for Southerners but about America for Americans. If Claghorn can read, he won't read it. But its reading is imperative for the rest of us."

—Jonathan Daniels

● "The book is marked by the kind of drive and inspiration which Government Arnall always exhibits in action . . . Inspiration and vision are found on every page."

—Thurman Arnold

3rd BIG PRINTING

At all Bookstores • \$5.00

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
Philadelphia New York

about his Figaro; and the sharpness of his *Se vuol ballare*, the bitter humor of his *Aprite un po' quegli occhi*—as against the smoothness, the pathos of Domgraf-Fassbender in the Glyndebourne performance—seem effective and excellent to me. His sustained singing of *In diesen heiligen Hallen* from "The Magic Flute," his animated delivery of Osmin's aria from "The Seraglio," (both in Italian), his performance of a—for me—rather uninteresting concert aria by Mozart, *Mentre ti lascio, o figlia*—these too I find good. The one performance which definitely does not come off, in spite of all the vocal hamming he puts into it, is the Catalogue Aria from "Don Giovanni." The records reproduce his singing with clarity and power that are lacking in the sound of the orchestra.

The Budapest Quartet's performance of Haydn's Quartet Opus 74 No. 3 (Set X-274; \$2.85) sounds as though it was recorded last year, when the group betrayed fatigue and boredom from the excessive amount of playing it had been doing. It is polished in execution and style, but without the subtle and exciting animation in the ensemble inflection of the performance of Haydn's Opus 54 No. 1 by the Roisman-Schneider-Ipolyi-Schneider group in the HMV-Victor set. And its recorded sound has none of the warmth and luster of the Victor performance.

Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5 is not one of the works of his that sound as though they had been turned out by his technical apparatus while his mind was occupied with other things. It is a real and solid piece of music, with sustained and involved construction which required hard thinking from the composer and requires it from the listener. And it is a pleasure to know that Prokofiev is still able to produce such a work, and that it can be produced in Russia and succeed there. Knowing the work only from a couple of performances, and having no score, I can't tell whether Rodzinski's performance with the New York Philharmonic (Set 661; \$5.85) is as good as it seems; but I can say that its recorded sound is cold and gray and a little harsh.

Even less well recorded—with drabber and murkier sound—is Ormandy's performance of Brahms's Third Symphony with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 642; \$4.85). The performance is surprisingly straightforward for Ormandy, and quite acceptable—though hardly necessary with Weingartner's in the Columbia catalogue. And though Walter's performance of Beethoven's

"Pastoral" Symphony with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 631; \$5.85) is very good and its recorded sound is clear and bright, I can't imagine anyone preferring it to Toscanini's marvelous performance and the additional warmth and luster of its recorded sound. That warmth and luster is lacking also in the recorded sound of Reiner's good performance of Mussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain" (presumably as edited by Rimsky-Korsakov) with the Pittsburgh Symphony (12460-4; \$1).

Casadesu's smooth and characterless performances of Book 2 of Debussy's Preludes (Set 644; \$5.25) do not give me any illusion of hearing more in the pieces than the playing around with mere stylistic formulas and mannerisms and piano sonorities that I have always heard. And poor recording—which deprives the piano sound of all its rich resonance and makes it weak in the upper range—robs the pieces of even their exquisite effects of piano sonority.

This poor recording aggravates the sound of Oscar Levant's insensitive treatment of instrument and music in a performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 (known as the "Moonlight") (Set X-273; \$2.85).

A surprisingly large number of the records have noisy, gritty, sputtering surfaces; and there are a number of sides with wavering pitch.

Drama Note

THE BIG TWO" (Booth Theater) is another instalment of the lengthening saga of the female war correspondent. A good many more plays, novels, and movies will have to be written before the full story is known, but it is already evident that neither the war nor the peace could have been won without her intelligence, her courage, and her sex appeal. Take, for example, the case of the better understanding—which you may or may not have noticed—between Russia and the United States. "The Big Two" reveals for the first time that it really began at a Bavarian hotel where a female correspondent engaged on an important but purely unofficial enterprise of her own fell for a handsome Russian officer. You would be surprised to know how human these Bolsheviks can become in the dark, and if it were not for this play you would probably never know that when the lights went up again the whole future of Anglo-Russian relations looked brighter. These things, it appears, are

best settled, not around the conference table, but between the sheets. Claire Trevor is attractive as our heroine, and several competent actors do the best they can.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Dance

ONLY in performance is theater art sharpened to life or dulled to death—through the qualities of the interpreter. This is even more true of the dance than of drama and music, which can be partially realized in reading, or of sets and costumes, which to some extent convey meaning even as sketches or designs. But the dance, existing in performance only, depends almost entirely on quality of performance for communicating its effect.

In José Limón's recent Broadway debut at the Belasco Theater a quality of performance was maintained which once again demonstrated that the virtues of a "school" of theater art derive not from theories exemplified but from forms achieved in performance. Mr. Limón is easily the outstanding male dancer of that Sunday-night school of the dance commonly known as "modern." In "Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejias," after the García Lorca poem, Limón, dancing with a lyricism and strength rarely seen on Broadway, revealed the full beauty of the choreography created by Doris Humphrey. He has a compact yet free-flowing style in which every movement tells; it was perfect for the stylized Spanish material. The excellence of his interpretation was matched by Letitia Ide's fine performance as the Figure of Destiny. Together they wove a wonderfully compelling dance of doom to the reiterated "at five in the afternoon." The one jarring note was Meg Mundy's performance as Figure of a Woman.

Unfortunately the final curtain of the evening did not fall on "Lament" but on a long something called "The Story of Mankind," a dull, self-conscious attempt at social comment, irony, and so on, on which no self-respecting curtain should ever have risen.

The entire program will be repeated on February 22 at the Needle Trades High School on West Twenty-fourth Street and on February 23 at the Ninety-second Street Y. M. H. A. Because Limón is an exceptionally talented dancer and because "Lament" is a profoundly moving dance, these are performances not to be missed.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Letters to the Editors

Insult to Isherwood?

Dear Sirs: I must confess that I find Diana Trilling's remarks on Christopher Isherwood's novel "The Memorial" very puzzling. Are we to assume that she considers the date when a book was written an important factor in judging its literary merit? A number of English critics of the highest standing have at one time or another expressed the opinion that "The Memorial" was Isherwood's finest work of fiction. Accordingly, it seemed worth while to bring out an edition of it in America. I feel that Mrs. Trilling has been singularly insulting to a writer generally acknowledged to be a serious and important artist in denying the favor of her unquestioned critical gifts simply because the book was not written in the past years. Its theme is timeless, and literally dozens of experts—writers and critics—have commented on the brilliance of its execution.

JAMES LAUGHLIN,
New Directions Press

New York, January 2

No—Ethical Protest

Dear Sirs: Mr. Laughlin forces me to expand a comment which I preferred to keep brief. I think it was perfectly clear that the few sentences I wrote about "The Memorial" were not intended as a review of that book or as criticism of Mr. Laughlin for reissuing it. I think it was equally clear that they were intended as censure of Mr. Laughlin for bringing out an old book as if it were a new one. By omitting all mention, in the book itself, on its dust jacket, or in its extensive advertising, of the fact that "The Memorial" is an early work of Mr. Isherwood, originally published in England in 1932 but hitherto unknown in this country, surely the New Directions Press has been willing to let readers infer that here was a new novel by the author of the recent successful "Prater Violet"—a mistake which has been made very generally. I consider this bad publishing practice, even bad publishing ethics; and I am especially disturbed that a press which was founded in protest against ordinary commercial methods should be guilty of it.

Obviously, all this has nothing to do with the quality of Mr. Isherwood's novel. Or perhaps it has only this much bearing—that it might be useful for

readers to know how to place "The Memorial" in the line of its author's development. When time permits, I hope to consider Mr. Isherwood's early novel as a literary work, quite without reference to the questionable circumstances of its republication.

DIANA TRILLING

New York, January 14

Everybody's Battle

Dear Sirs: When I hear the comment that the unions are cutting their own throats by making new demands in the face of public hostility after the Lewis fiasco, I note that the wish is frequently father to the thought. And I must admit that if, indeed, the unions could be exterminated the labor problem would be solved much as Hitlerism would have solved the Jewish problem by exterminating all Jews. But inasmuch as organized labor will not collapse and die until wage-earning America decides upon suicide, we may logically expect the unions to fight. In fact, a great number of non-union Americans have refused to be taken in by the anti-labor hullabaloo and have set out to get the whole truth. For just as the problem of Jewish survival turned out to be a problem of human survival in general, so the mounting attack on labor unions is today even more clearly an attack on the living standards of the average man and upon democratic rights in general. It is an ominous prelude to what is being prepared by American Action and similar outfits, and points up the need for an economic and political bulwark of democratic unity all along the line.

J. KNOWLES ROBBINS

St. Louis, December 23

Two Kinds of Realism

Dear Sirs: In the review of Sumner Welles's new book, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (*Nation*, November 16), I note with interest Mr. Schlesinger's statement that "his [Welles's] realism requires him to add that non-democratic countries have inherent tendencies toward instability which lead them to violate international agreements." From the context of the statement it is plain that prominent among the "non-democratic" countries referred to is the U. S. S. R. Since Mr. Schlesinger is a reliable reporter, I assume that the statement is

a correct representation of Mr. Welles's views, and since Mr. Schlesinger describes it as realistic I assume that he concurs in it.

I am afraid that the Welles-Schlesinger "realism," like so many others, is not quite an accurate representation of reality. It is not my intention, needless to say, to defend the foreign policy of such non-democratic states as Japan, Germany, and Italy. But I think that the probity of the U. S. S. R. in the conduct of its foreign affairs since the First World War has been equal, at least, to that of such indubitably democratic states as England and France. There are, to be sure, some large black marks against the Kremlin, but on three of the most significant issues which confronted the world in the period before the recent war—Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia—the Soviets were right and Britain and France were wrong, legally as well as morally.

And what of events since the recent war? Score one against the Soviets for remaining in Iran beyond the date permitted by their treaty. But chalk one up, too, against Britain, for treating as a Crown colony the Holy Land, in which its only rightful title is as a mandatory power under the League. I am afraid that not even a Philadelphia lawyer could prove that the British have lived up to the terms of the mandate.

I have attempted to keep close to the subject—the relative records of the Soviet Union and the democracies in honoring international agreements. But the discussion would be far more revealing if we were to inquire into the tendencies—toward stability or instability—which bring about the remarkable spectacle of genuinely democratic governments laboring earnestly to stamp out the elements of democracy everywhere except within their own borders. The word "realism" has, I believe, been used in describing this policy, too.

B. R. SCHUTZ

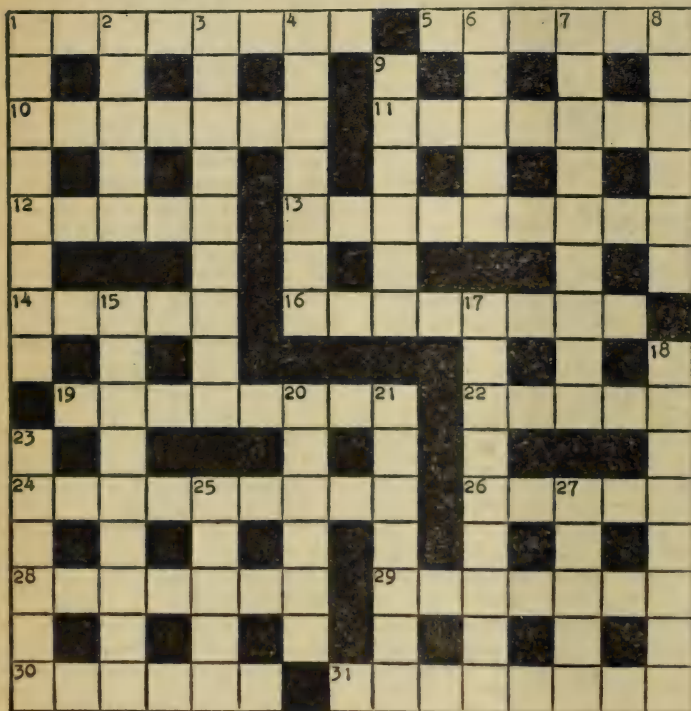
Peekskill, N. Y. December 2

Aid for Chinese Writers

Dear Sirs: Chinese writers today have neither money nor markets. Many publishing houses have been forced out of business by the disastrous inflation, the paper shortage, the loss of printing machinery, and the lack of communications. More than two hundred newspapers and

Crossword Puzzle No. 196

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 It is lamentably bad art
- 5 They date from the days when floors were cold and dirty
- 10 Hogarth's marriage (1, 2, 4)
- 11 North African country from which we get A-1 lager
- 12 Choice
- 13 The colonel has a covenant to work with us
- 14 Sorry, I seem to have upset the cruet
- 16 Ammunition for a winter campaign
- 19 Song for a mad girl or a grim lad
- 22 "An elegant sufficiency, content, Retirement, ----- quiet, friendship, books, Ease and alternate labor, useful life, Progressive virtue, and approving Heaven!"
- 24 Around 51 it's clear one gets forgetful
- 26 Upper part of the hip-bone
- 28 Tea, Tess? (anag.)
- 29 Not a riot car, but a riot finishes it
- 30 In the sere and yellow leaf phase for some time, apparently
- 31 For the boy, or the buoy

DOWN

- 1 Rats! (4 and 4)
- 2 Surly animals when their heads are sore
- 3 Automobile with seats outside (3-6)
- 4 Sheep's coats—not their cotes

- 6 European capital which gives you "the shivers"
- 7 Not uniform, and usually doesn't wear one
- 8 Replacements for a press
- 9 A hunting cry
- 15 Quack
- 17 Breastwork much used in street fighting in Parisian insurrections
- 18 What Clem is at may be climbing the wall
- 20 Reformed rogues, these birds
- 21 "Better late than never" doesn't seem such a hot motto when you miss this (4 and 3)
- 23 They stir up burning matters
- 25 A matter of life or death, but mostly life
- 27 A flowery language, from the look of it

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 195

ACROSS:—1 PEREGRINATION; 10 RED-DOUBT; 11 WOLFRAM; 12 EARLIER; 13 EYEWEAR; 14 WEEKEND; 15 RESTFUL; 16 COPPERS; 20 GRANADA; 23 TOECAPS; 24 LOCKNUT; 25 MEASURE; 26 ANDIRON; 27 SEVENTH HEAVEN.

DOWN:—2 ENDOUSE; 3 ELUSIVE; 4 RETIRED; 5 NEW YEAR; 6 TELLERS; 7 OURSELF; 8 GREENWICH TIME; 9 UMBRELLA STAND; 17 PRELATE; 18 ERASURE; 19 SUSPECT; 20 GOLIATH; 21 ARCADIA; 22 AINTREE.

magazines have been closed down by the government in its rigid program of "thought control." The result is that the economic position of most writers has been worse rather than better since the end of the war.

With very little or no money to be earned by literary work, many have become clerks, bookkeepers, or teachers, but prices have risen so steeply that their wages are not enough to support their families. Others are too ill for any sort of work. Tuberculosis and other diseases caused by overcrowding and undernourishment are spreading among them. A whole generation of Chinese writers may be sacrificed.

There is an organization through which many of them can be helped. The Chinese Writers' Association, founded in 1938, became famous during the war for its work with the armies and behind the front. The association has never made an appeal for help from abroad, its members being too proud to ask for such assistance, but we learn that it is excellently equipped to distribute any funds contributed by American writers. The undersigned members of the P. E. N. Club, who are deeply concerned about their Chinese friends and colleagues, are therefore making this appeal on their own responsibility.

We are entreating you to send a check marked in the corner "For China" to the P. E. N. International Relief Fund, 123 East Ninety-fourth Street, New York 28. Such contributions are income-tax deductible, and they will be distributed without administrative expenses either here or in China. They will be used to make direct grants to the neediest writers for food, medicine, clothing, and shelter.

CARL CARMER, EDGAR SNOW, MALCOLM COWLEY, JOHN P. MARQUAND, AGNES SMEDLEY, THEODORE WHITE, JOHN HERSEY, ANNALEE JACOBY
New York, December 27

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

74c a line (six words)

Classified Display \$7.39 per Inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions.

THE NATION

20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

Barclay 7-1066

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 1, 1947

NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

THE VEHEMENCE WITH WHICH *PRAVDA* SET about Ernest Bevin for his alleged desire to repudiate the Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942 led some observers to believe that the Kremlin itself was seeking an excuse to denounce that pact. However, Mr. Bevin, by protesting directly to Stalin against the flagrant misinterpretation of a statement obviously intended to squelch rumors of an Anglo-American alliance, has drawn a reply which suggests that the Russian government's real purpose is to secure a revision of the treaty. This is a perfectly understandable and reasonable objective, since the treaty, signed when the defeat of Hitler was still a very distant hope, has become outmoded in some respects. For instance, Article 3 declared that Britain and the Soviet Union would join with other "like-minded" nations in examining "proposals for common action" and that "pending the adoption of such proposals" they would cooperate to prevent a renewal of German aggression. Article 4 provided that this undertaking might be superseded if such proposals were adopted. It might, therefore, be possible to argue that with the organization of the United Nations the most vital clauses of the Anglo-Soviet treaty have lapsed. The British government, however, has never indicated that it considered the treaty a dead letter; on the contrary, it has several times expressed a desire to extend its life. Thus a revision of the pact so that it will provide, like the Franco-Soviet alliance, for mutual assistance within the framework of the United Nations should not prove difficult to negotiate. But if this is all the Russians want, one wonders why they use such indirect methods to attain it.

✱

LEON BLUM MAY HAVE BEEN A LEADER OF a caretaker government, but he was by no means a mere political janitor, as the rapid and on the whole satisfactory solution of the French Cabinet crisis has shown. Largely as the result of the veteran Socialist's boldness, M. Ramadier has been able to form a government that not only represents fairly well the state of French opinion but has some chance of holding together during the difficult period ahead. There are some anomalies, it is true, and they draw attention to the narrow limits within which the government must work. The Socialist Party's

nine seats are the just reward of initiative, but in giving the weak Left Republican Rally equality with the powerful Communist Party and the M. R. P. the new French Premier has performed a brilliant but precarious feat of jugglery. So long as the issues are not critical, the Left Republicans may be counted upon to balance the two major parties within the Cabinet, but they do not represent a strong enough section of the nation to uphold a Socialist Premier in graver disputes. The facts suggest that France's first "real" post-war government is itself something of a caretaker regime, reflecting the desire to postpone sharp dispute about the future of French society. The principal economic ministries are held by the Socialists, which means that M. Blum's mild deflationary policies will be strengthened. The question which disturbs middle of the road Frenchmen is how soon the working class, now in revolutionary mood, will show that impatience with present living standards which is already causing anxiety in Britain. Socialization, which might satisfy the communist-controlled C. G. T., will probably advance slowly, since the M. R. P. suffers from heart trouble when this sort of exercise is taken and has been recently cautioned by the Vatican physician. It would seem that in economic matters the Ramadier government can only hope to stave off radical discord until the international scene is clearer.

✱

THE MAKE-UP OF THE RAMADIER CABINET probably rules out a vigorous foreign policy. In demanding the Ministry of National Defense the Communists may have hoped to purge the army's active list of the reactionary officers who have found refuge within the occupation forces in Germany. More likely their intention was to challenge De Gaulle's public charge that they are unfit for such office. Whatever was the case, it was M. Bidault's nomination to Foreign Affairs which induced the party to compromise by accepting the chairmanship of the defense group of ministries. M. Bidault's vigorous dissent from British views on the Ruhr undoubtedly suggested to the Communists that he would support their opposition to the proposed Anglo-French treaty. Actually, the differences between the British and the M. R. P. may not prove irreducible. Yet for the time

Forger, Gamet, Coll.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	113
Crisis in Britain	115
Braden or Messersmith? <i>by Robert Bendiner</i>	116

ARTICLES

Pay Day in Georgia <i>by Lillian Smith</i>	118
Berlin and the Russian Zone <i>by Joel Carmichael</i>	120
"Time Is Money" <i>by A. G. Mezerik</i>	121
After UNRRA, What? <i>by Thomas J. Hamilton</i>	123
India's New Destiny <i>by Shiva Rao</i>	125
The Cushing Health Plan <i>by Martin Gumpert</i>	127
In One Ear <i>by Lou Frankel</i>	128
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	129

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Next Depression <i>by Robert S. Lynd</i>	130
Ten Great Poems <i>by Arthur Mizener</i>	131
Satire and Ring Lardner <i>by Irving Howe</i>	131
The Dark Side of the South <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	132
Reports from Everywhere <i>by Harvey Bresler</i>	133
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	134
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	136
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	139
Drama Note <i>by J. W. K.</i>	140

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 197

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	140
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchway

<i>Managing Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
J. King Gordon	Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
<i>Drama:</i> Joseph Wood Krutch <i>Music:</i> B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 29 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

being it is logical to conclude that the French government will not listen to Mr. Attlee's renewed plea for the treaty. This is not to say that M. Ramadier will thereby involve himself in a serious internal crisis. As *The Nation* pointed out last week, closer economic ties between France and Britain would do much to better European conditions. But there is an element in French thought almost as important as the fear of Germany, which the American press has rather neglected. The French people are not eager to become embroiled in the ominous dispute between the Soviet Union and the United States. There have been signs of an improvement in relations between the world's two most powerful states. However, one or two swallows do not make a summer, so that until British foreign policy markedly differs from American a majority of non-Communist Frenchmen may decide that to take a rain check on the Anglo-French treaty will be to show good weather sense.

★

THERE ARE SOME SERIOUS WEAKNESSES IN James Bryant Conant's suggestion that young men thirsty for education be assuaged with a federally financed, locally administered, two-year college program. But by and large it is a step, or at least a half-step, toward providing a broader base of educated citizens in this huge provincial nation. "One of the consequences of the present influx of veterans into our colleges and universities," said Harvard's president in his annual report last Friday, "will be a demand for the younger brothers and relatives to have similar opportunities." Dr. Conant notes that existing college facilities are already strained to the limit, both physically and financially. He proposes, therefore, as a way of meeting the demand, the two-year "college education." Facing up to the fact that "more and more thoughtful citizens are coming to recognize that in some way federal resources must be made available to assist certain states," Dr. Conant recommends passage of the Hill-Thomas-Taft bill, which would provide federal aid for public education "without federal control of education." Some of the funds thus made available, Dr. Conant believes, might well be drawn on to support the two-year colleges. The plan is a commendable one, though it still does not offer the poor equal educational opportunities with the well-to-do. A greater drawback might become apparent when the "local control" tacitly advocated by Dr. Conant was exercised, let us say, in Biloxi, Mississippi.

★

FLOWERY ORATORY AND SHEEP ROASTED whole are the essential ingredients of a real Arab feast. When Thomas J. Watson, president of International Business Machines, entertained Emir Saud, heir to the throne and oil royalties of Saudi Arabia, at the Union Club, he couldn't provide the second, but he did very well with the first by calling in Dr. Ralph C. Hutchison,

president of Lafayette College, as chief speaker. Dr. Hutchison, an ordained Presbyterian minister who once taught in a Persian missionary college, has evidently more than a nodding acquaintance with the uses of Eastern hyperbole. Addressing the guest of honor he said: "You have denied yourselves as a people many of the enticing allures of materialistic civilization rather than lose the overpowering consciousness of the presence of God in every hour of the day, in every walk of life. You have a great value for the world." Sensing that his audience might take this last remark too literally, the Doctor hastened to add that America's concern with Arabian oil is to insure that the Arabs will profit by it primarily and to keep it out of hands that might use it for aggressive purposes. We have often read how a good Arab host demonstrates the warmth of his hospitality by picking out the eye of the roast sheep and popping it into the mouth of the honored guest. Dr. Hutchison, it seems to us, managed to Americanize this custom nicely.

Crisis in Britain

BRITAIN'S economic crisis, the government's new White Paper shows, has a number of different facets. Despite the considerable measure of success attained by the export drive, the foreign-trade position remains heavily unbalanced, and it has not been possible to import urgently needed machinery and consumers' goods. The gap between production and spendable income continues to exert a strong inflationary pressure. The acute shortage of coal handicaps the export drive and the housing campaign, throws men out of work at a time when output is desperately needed, and intensifies the pervasive and discouraging "austerity" of living conditions.

To correct these conditions and overcome the crisis both more man-power and greater production per head are required. The possibilities of increased recruitment into industry, however, are limited. Reduction of Britain's foreign commitments, as Aylmer Vallance pointed out recently, would be of assistance, but the release of service men will hardly counter-balance the workers withdrawn from industry by the forthcoming raising of the school-leaving age. Sir Stafford Cripps has appealed to housewives, who helped out so nobly in the war, to return to the factories, but they have little incentive to respond while goods remain as scarce as they are. Another partial solution would be immigration, and there are signs that the reluctance of the trade unions to consent to this step is being overcome by the gravity of the situation. The ill wind sweeping Britain may therefore eventually blow some good to forlorn occupants of the D. P. camps.

Union opposition to the employment of foreign labor, as well as to other measures for raising output, has been conditioned by the fear of unemployment which for so

long has been dominant in the minds of British workers. They do not find it easy to adjust their thinking to the perspectives of full employment or to abandon restrictive practices and opposition to labor-saving machinery. But whatever justification such defensive measures may have had in the past, they are totally inapplicable at a time when it is man-power, not employment, which needs to be stretched to the uttermost.

Since the whole philosophy of the British labor movement precludes resort to those coercive steps which the Soviet government has taken in similar circumstances, Prime Minister Attlee and his colleagues must find a solution in cooperation with the trade unions. In particular, they have sought agreement on a wage freeze. Apart from those industries which are seriously undermanned, they have proposed that wage increases should be granted only when they are definitely linked to increased output. The trade-union leaders have not given unqualified assent to this proposal, but they seem prepared to use their influence to discourage indiscriminate demands for higher wages. They know that until production is raised there can be no increase in real wages however much may be added to money wages. As the recent White Paper pointed out, expendable income in Britain is \$28 million while the total of consumable goods and services available amounts to \$24 billion; until a balance is established, larger incomes only mean more inflationary pressure.

It is not, however, easy to bring this point home to the individual worker, for whom the first criterion of well-being is the size of his pay envelope. And it is equally hard to persuade him to stay on the job and speed up his work even though bonuses are offered for increased output. For a combination of high taxes and shortage of goods reduces the attractions of such incentives. The only way left for the worker to improve his well-being is to exchange income for leisure, and this has multiplied absenteeism.

In order to overcome such obstacles to greater production, it will be necessary for the British government to

A Plan for Germany

During the coming weeks, with the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers called for March 10, the attention of the world will be focused on Germany. Fritz Sternberg, author of "The Coming Crisis," reviewed in this issue of *The Nation* by Robert S. Lynd, has prepared an analysis of the current economic situation in Germany, related it to the problem of Western Europe's rehabilitation, and outlined proposals which might be considered a Memorandum for Moscow. The article will appear in next week's *Nation*.

enlist the enthusiasm of the workers so that they will fight the economic battle of Britain with the same spirited determination they showed when Hitler was the enemy. To do this, it seems to us, the grim facts set forth in the White Paper need to be dramatized in ways that will bring them home to the men in the pits and factories. Workers need to be shown just how their victory on the export front will lead directly to better meals in better houses. And they should be reminded of the

eagerness with which reactionaries at home and abroad exploit every economic difficulty as a "failure of socialism." It may be obvious enough to unbiased observers that Britain's man-power crisis would be no less acute had a Tory government won power in 1945. But it is Labor which has responsibility for overcoming that crisis, and, unless it succeeds, the cause of democratic socialism both in Britain and throughout the world will suffer a disastrous reverse.

Braden or Messersmith?

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Washington, January 27

RESTING on Secretary of State Marshall's desk is the resignation of Spruille Braden, a document long and fondly dreamed of by Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón. The Assistant Secretary's offer to retire is not the routine courtesy normally extended to an incoming superior in the expectation that it will be rejected with a pretty tribute. It is a demand for a showdown by a blunt and harried man. What Marshall does with this piece of paper will fix the pattern of international relations in this hemisphere for a long time to come. It may also decide whether the low living standards of a peasant-populated continent will go up a few notches or sink to a new low under the weight of a billion-dollar arms program. And finally it will determine the immediate future, if that is important, of Ambassador George S. Messersmith, whose strange concept of diplomacy has led him to represent the Perón point of view in Washington rather more ardently than his own government's point of view in Buenos Aires.

The difference between Messersmith's position and Braden's is essentially the difference between the shadow and the substance. Messersmith, like Vandenberg and Sumner Welles—and like scores of South American politicians—makes a fetish of "hemispheric unity," and the hollower the reality becomes, the more vocal the protestations. The main thing is the façade. "If I promise to give you a dollar and fail to do so," Brazil's cynical Foreign Minister Joao Neves de Fontoura explained to an American reporter in defense of Perón, "that is a violation of an agreement, but it does not mean I constitute a danger to your security . . . it still was better to sign such agreements [referring to Chapultepec] because it helps to create an impression of Pan-American solidarity."

Braden sees no sense in this game of let's pretend. He insists that the Act of Chapultepec and the United Nations Charter bound Argentina to a course of action that would safeguard "the essential rights of man"; that the Argentines specifically agreed, moreover, to purge their

country of Nazi influence; and that until they show convincing evidence of honoring past pledges it is foolish to exchange a new one with them—and downright fantastic to arm them on the strength of it. Far from displaying the required evidence, the Perón regime has brought Argentina close to being a corporative state. It has smashed the country's highest courts by wholesale impeachment, harried its press into craven subservience, and driven its finest teachers into exile. It has invited the quisling dregs of Europe to come in as settlers and paved the way for a one-party political system. It has threatened all the smaller countries around it with the direst economic consequences if they fail to enter the Argentine orbit, and it has been fostering throughout the Americas a campaign of virulent hate and distrust for the *yanqui*.

In the face of this record, the Welles-Vandenberg school of anti-Bradenites argues that by refusing to sit in on a conference that includes an unrepentant Argentina, we are presuming to dictate to the rest of the hemisphere. "This is a multilateral decision," says Senator Vandenberg, "which should always be made by all of us jointly, and not forced or dictated by us alone." And Welles, echoing the sentiment, writes that it "is surely not a question which should be determined by any unilateral decision of the United States."

This is a strange doctrine to come from the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Both Vandenberg and Welles know that a mutual-defense treaty, resting on arms distributed by the United States, is the chief item on the agenda of the proposed conference—in fact, its sole purpose. Nothing could be farther from their thoughts, moreover, than to have the conference called only to let it break up over the main order of business, a course that would rip open the façade of unity more violently than the failure to meet. What they urge, therefore, is in effect a double-barreled contention: that it is not for this country to determine for itself, and in advance, with what states it will enter into a mutual-defense agreement, and that such an agreement has

nothing to do with trust or lack of trust between the signatories.

The view that Braden is pressing on Marshall is the reverse on both counts. First, he says, no defense treaty that includes Argentina is possible without a change in that country's political direction. After all, where is the "defense" in arming a regime that palpably despises you? And, second, even with a complete about-face in Buenos Aires, a hemispheric arms program is not what is called for. Only the Argentines really want arms. They find themselves for the first time a creditor nation, they have expansionist dreams, and they are ready to pay in hard cash. But a big military machine for Argentina calls for corresponding moves in the other countries of Latin America, which will certainly not care to be placed at a disadvantage to the most truculent power on the continent. It is certain, however, that a skinflint Congress is not going to distribute a billion dollars' worth of weapons gratis, and these countries can't pay for them without seriously depressing standards of living that are already among the lowest in the world.

A program of this sort can therefore serve only the interests of the military and authoritarian top layer in Latin America—and perhaps, by the popular reaction it produces, the Communists, whose growing strength, ironically, is one of the chief motivations in the Vandenberg - Messersmith approach. Yet even in top circles, outside Argentina, the prospect of a big arms program is cause for alarm. A leading diplomat told me that while President Truman's plan for standardizing the weapons of the continent was well received, there was fear in every Latin American republic that the end result might be an armed race that would intensify rivalries and drain the continent.

Braden's offer to resign confronts Marshall with three choices: he can dismiss Braden and keep Messersmith; fire both and start from scratch; or keep Braden and call for Messersmith's resignation.

Few believe that he will take the first course. In the past few weeks the dogged Braden has been gaining ground. Former Secretary Byrnes, who concerned himself very little with hemispheric policy during most of his

tenure, talked with Braden for an hour and a half on December 6, and ever since he has backed him consistently against the maneuvers of Messersmith. Byrnes's opinion will unquestionably carry great weight with his successor. Under Secretary Acheson has always been an enthusiastic supporter of the Braden view, and Marshall, having coaxed him into staying on when he wanted earnestly to retire, is not likely to ignore his advice.

Finally, Marshall can hardly help being affected by the gross impropriety of Messersmith's anti-Braden campaign, which has created the sourest kind of impression throughout Washington. Messersmith appears to have lost all perspective. From Buenos Aires he has flooded Washington with bitter attacks on his superior. One publisher is reliably reported to have received a 30,000-word blast, and even Braden's subordinates have been included in the endless flow of bitter correspondence. He has come to speak of Perón as a "true democrat," established himself as an idol in the controlled Argentine press, and scandalously allowed the Argentine Foreign Minister, without challenge, to pit him against Byrnes in a public statement. So erratic has his behavior been that even his supporters are admittedly shocked. According to the Alsop brothers, Vandenberg, in spite of sharing the Ambassador's views, deliberately avoids meeting him.

The second choice open to Marshall, to let both protagonists go, is unfortunately all too probable as a makeshift solution. It is believed in some quarters that this course would ease the Secretary's relations with the Senate, where Braden has never been popular. A majority of the Foreign Relations Committee is probably against him, including the ranking minority member, Tom Connally, who bears him a grudge of long standing. But this choice would obviously solve nothing. Marshall would still have to decide between two conflicting policies.

To keep Braden at all, the Secretary will have to make the third choice and remove Messersmith, at least from Buenos Aires. On the basis of the Byrnes-Acheson opinion, and of President Truman's apparent inclinations, this hopeful course might well be taken if Braden's position revolved solely about the question of Perón. His objections to the arms program, however, may be too much for Marshall, who as Chief of Staff favored the hemispheric-defense treaty when it first came up for discussion. Circumstances have changed since then, however, and so, perhaps, has General Marshall. He saw clearly enough the evil effects of militarism in China, and had the integrity to denounce it. He may be statesman enough now to apply his findings to the Western Hemisphere. If he is, he will want to substitute for a dangerous and hollow military pact the kind of unity that Braden proposes—the unity that grows inevitably out of a commonly beneficial economic program and has never yet been known to grow out of the common use of identical rifle bores.



Caricature by Seligson

Spruille Braden

Pay Day in Georgia

BY LILLIAN SMITH

Clayton, Georgia, January 25

GEORGIA signed a bargain years ago with ignorance and fear and the "poor white," and today we are paying off. Herman Talmadge and the Crackers have moved into our Capitol. Ellis Arnall, and with him the liberals, the intelligentsia, the church women, and most of the urban rich, has moved out. Tear bombs, hoodlums, hate, tobacco-spitting, bad grammar, and obscene race jokes are chumming cozily together now under the old Georgia dome.

You cannot spot a Cracker by his bank account or lack of it, for some of the old "poor whites" are now Georgia's "rich whites" and some of the old "rich whites" are poor once again. He is more surely found by his possession of one or all of these qualities—ignorance, hatred of Negroes, envy of the "gentleman," and restlessness. The Crackers are the whites of the state who feel inferior. I have sometimes wondered whether their hatred of Negroes is as strong as their envy of people who are at home with the social amenities. They talk about "the niggers," but they also talk about "those city snobs who think they know so much." There is a profound sense of social inferiority among these people. They feel bitterly neglected and unesteemed as human beings. The Marxists do not take into account sufficiently the myth of the gentleman in the South, a myth that has created among uneducated—not necessarily unschooled—and socially unaccepted whites as deep a sense of inferiority as has poverty.

Herman Talmadge has jeopardized law and order in Georgia by a coup d'état so violent, so brazen, that it has shocked the entire state. By his arrogant jeers at the courts he has forced the issue of constitutional government into the front of Georgia politics, where it rightly belongs. He has unintentionally made of this issue of legislature versus the people a platform on which liberals, crack members, and even some of our biggest economic bourbons can stand and feel proud to be seen there. That

was bad strategy for Herman; it was an earthquake for Georgia nerves; and it was a secret relief to the liberals, for now they can take a position openly for something good and decent. But it would be superficial to consider this issue as the basic one in Georgia today. There is a basic issue on which the people of Georgia are divided as they have not been for seventy-five years, but it has not been articulated by either of the two clashing groups. It is so deep-seated, it has become such a Frankenstein, that neither the liberals nor the Crackers want to confess to it. Yet it is the emotional force beneath the liberals' conviction of the need for change and for upholding constitutional government and the Crackers' desire for power, which are the two issues one hears talked about now along with the argument over who is governor.

The Cracker party is not for change. It wants to hold things just as they are, or were four years ago, because it believes that only in this way can it get back its power. It is being financed by the economic interests, rural and urban, that do not want change in Georgia, for other reasons. You would have found behind Gene Talmadge some of Georgia's biggest textile-mill owners, and bankers, and farmers, and soft-drink millionaires; you would have found men behind him who support Georgia Methodism and who with their fathers endowed our largest church schools—though Methodist women, not quite so wealthy, are for Arnall. Many of these same people are for Herman because they do not want change. They want to exploit the hatred of Negroes, the ignorance, and the social inferiority of rural people to their own ends. But some of these powerful interests have switched over, alarmed by Herman's disregard of law and order.

As for Thompson, in his eager desire to be governor he scampered so fast over to the white-primary side—saying in effect, "If you'll just let me be governor I'll be as black in my 'whiteness' as ever Herman could be"—that he left his liberal supporters swinging dizzily in mid-air. At the same time he did not convince rural people of his sincerity. I have heard their laughter.

Those who sincerely want orderly and lawful change, however they may differ as to tempo, are on Arnall's side, regardless of what Thompson does or does not do. All other issues are confused, except the as yet inarticulate deep conflict between the rural people and the social elect. Even race is confused as an issue, for few liberals on Arnall's side would oppose segregation. Economic conditions are also a confused issue, with the bourbons working both country and city, and labor undecided.

LILLIAN SMITH lives in a rural county which went for Eugene Talmadge last summer. Her brother has been county ordinary, a position that is equivalent to county administrator or manager, for eleven years. Miss Smith knows the courthouse crowd and county politics. She knows why the country people hold to the county-unit voting system as if it were their Magna Charta. While she is sympathetic, she sees this feeling as a growing menace to law and order and democracy in Georgia. She is the author of "Strange Fruit."

One of the two weak spots in Arnall's program for change is that the program and its supporters are so cautious, so timorous in saying what they really believe, that they take the adventure out of the fight. Silence is a poor weapon to use against a powerful club like white supremacy. Their second and profound weakness is their condescension toward rural folk and their lack of interest in rural needs. This is their Achilles heel. They have lost the country regions, and Georgia is 65 per cent rural. No politician can afford to forget that. Although there have been important demonstrations of college students against him, the young, wanting excitement, have gone over in large numbers to Herman's side, who is as outspoken as his old father. The country people still cling with pathetic loyalty to the memory of "Gene," who despite his economic bourbonism and a college education still chewed tobacco, talked bad grammar, and could make his manners as gauche as any hill-billy's. They know he really liked them. He shared the same tastes with them.

Man does not live by bread alone anywhere—certainly not in Dixie. He lives by his feelings for himself and other people. Too long down here all of us were poor. Money could not be our symbol of excellence because none of us had it. We chose other symbols—the gentleman, and when one could not claim that, then a white skin would do. That in itself was enough down in Dixie to give one a coat of arms. But as time went on, the rural folks and their kin on the side streets and back streets of the towns realized that a white skin wasn't enough. The city gentleman somehow cornered most of the money and all of the esteem. The rural folks are starved for esteem. They feel as good as anybody, but nobody else seems to think so. Even when a Cracker gets rich, the city folks still don't seem to think he is as good as they are. It hurts. If the clubs in Atlanta shun him, and the society pages of the papers, all right—he will take over the Capitol and the Governor's Mansion. There he can feel at home; hobnob with royalty even if he himself made the crown on royalty's head out of corn shucks. Bad grammar and tobacco chewing are welcome there. They were not during Arnall's administration.

And now the city folks, in the countryman's mind, are trying to take away the one thing that has kept his self-esteem alive, his superiority to Negroes. And they would take it away without giving the Cracker equality with "the gentleman." You can't snatch the bone of white supremacy from a starving man until you give him some real food to eat, and this food can't be just money—not in Dixie; it has to be mixed up with human esteem and lots of it.

Last week Ellis Arnall spoke out for democracy more firmly than ever in his political career. He spoke eloquently for constitutional law and order. He thrilled many people by his words and by his wise acts. If he

would go "all-out" for everyone's right to be human, to be well fed, well employed, healthy, secure, and esteemed, he could substitute these fundamental rights for the phony right to be "Cracker and white" that the rural folks now cling to. He could tap great sources of energy in the state, for these people have boundless energy that will be used either for good or evil. And he would win back in larger, far larger numbers the following he has lost in Georgia. We who are liberal take all the fun out of being "good" by being so scary. We have not yet learned the fundamental principle of politics: you have to give the people something to believe in with all their hearts, or something to hate with all their hearts; and plenty of bread. This week the liberals have worked as I have never seen them do before, because they have had something they could at last believe in. It may seem important to them for only a few days or months. We shall see.

Herman knows how to take risks. He knows also about bread and circuses. A little bread and a lot of circus may be his formula as it was Hitler's, for his talk of white supremacy is strong and unceasing, and Negro-baiting, like Jew-baiting in Germany, rates above Barnum and Bailey with lonely, bored, rejected people. But on the morning of January 21 Herman Talmadge gave a message to the legislature which, if it was full of the circus, was also full of promises for rural white people who need so many little things. Rural white people will remember it. They will remember that kind of talk far more vividly than talk against monopolies and freight rates, for though these things are important to the South, the rural people do not know it. They know simple concrete facts about sick children who need hospital care when there is no hospital in their county, and about old people who need money for cornmeal, and about country teachers who must have more money to live. These things, close at home, and urgent, Herman Talmadge has promised them. And because he talks their language, they believe him.

To many country folks in Georgia, Herman's dictatorial regime is a rural revolution. They are not sure what they are revolting against—maybe just city snobbery, maybe just boredom; maybe they are tired of having their corns stepped on. But they are revolting, and Herman is their little Führer. Such people, deprived of so much, can easily forget that constitutional government is a necessity in a democracy. They can easily be persuaded that law and order are luxuries for city folks. Herein lies the danger which Georgians now see for the first time; though few would acknowledge, even yet, their responsibility for it. And few would confess even in their own hearts that such fine talk about good government is as ashes in the mouth for two-thirds of our people, white and colored, who have never in their lives known the sweet taste of acceptance as human beings.

Berlin and the Russian Zone

BY JOEL CARMICHAEL

Paris, December 15

IN THE Russian plan to make the Soviet zone of Germany at once a functioning element of the Soviet economic system and a political pole of attraction for the other zones—as discussed in my two previous articles—Berlin plays a special role. Owing to the presence of the other three powers it has come less under the quasi-monolithic influence of the Unity Party (S. E. D.) than other parts of the zone, and since that party's overwhelming defeat in the October elections it has been a rallying point for all the anti-Russian elements that remain submerged elsewhere.

Lately these elements have been receiving the support, tacit or open, of the other occupying powers, but in the beginning, while the S. E. D. was still in embryo, the Americans, for instance, not only gave no aid to the anti-fusionist Social Democrats but leaned over backward in their impartiality so as not to offend their military ally. This "correctness" has long since vanished. It is now a commonplace that the excessive number of Berlin newspapers is due to the eagerness of the rival powers to license "their own" papers. While I was in Berlin I often heard stories of inter-Allied bickerings which went something like this: "Why did your paper call us this and that?" "Well, yours called us such and such."

From the Russian point of view the trouble is that while Berlin is indispensable as a capital for the Russian zone, to say nothing of Germany as a whole, it has stubbornly resisted political coordination. Its recalcitrance is especially irritating because it cannot be isolated from the rest of the zone. It is a "window opening out to the West" in a sense that the Soviet authorities heartily dislike. At the same time it is the heart of eastern Germany; no other city could conceivably fill the same role. This inalienable position of primacy explains why the Russians accepted the challenge of the other parties and permitted the October elections, even though it was clear to dispassionate observers that the result would be a crushing defeat for the S. E. D.

The failure of the S. E. D. seems all the greater when one considers the tactical and material advantages enjoyed by the Russians. Not only had they obtained a death grip on the city administration through having been the first

to march in, but ever since the quadripartite occupation was established they have controlled the radio stations, the university, and the municipal councils, besides the geographically largest sector. Moreover, a genuine and fairly widespread sentiment in favor of a fusion of the two working-class parties had long existed, and it seemed at one time as if they might spontaneously coalesce. I heard many well-authenticated reports of a strong un-inspired movement for a single workers' party.

Knowledge of this mass sentiment explains the Russians' strange readiness to believe the assurances of their German advisers that the S. E. D. would win a sweeping victory. The post-election interviews of the party's leaders with their Soviet patrons must have been very depressing. Although the magnitude of the opposition vote was to some extent concealed by the way the returns were announced, province by province, there could be no denial of the fiasco. Industrial towns like Leipzig and Halle, which before Hitler had always turned in decisive majorities for the working-class parties, reversed themselves in favor of the right-wing Christian Democratic Union and Liberal Democratic Party. And this in spite of the superior resources at the disposal of the S. E. D.

In Berlin the three parties competing with the S. E. D. entered the struggle on a more equal footing with it than elsewhere. But there too they suffered from various kinds of discrimination. Any outsider could observe the striking difference in the amount of printed matter put out by the S. E. D. and its rivals. The opposition parties were allocated only a few meager scraps of paper, while the S. E. D. had enough for a superabundance of placards, posters, and broadsides. In addition, the Soviet authorities launched an energetic campaign of public philanthropy which struck most people as a brazen attempt at bribery. Coal, bread, and other needed supplies were distributed where they would do most good up to the very eve of the elections. Some of the attempts to influence people were amusing illustrations of bureaucratic ingenuity: women who for years had had no word from their husbands, presumably languishing in Siberian prisoner-of-war camps, suddenly received notes with the curt message: "Am well. Vote for the S. E. D."

The Kremlin of course realizes that if it is to control Germany it must either keep the country more or less permanently in subjection by means of an occupation army or set up a "friendly" government on the style of the Soviet Union's sister states, the so-called Slavic bloc. The second method undoubtedly seems preferable, and the election defeat must have occasioned a reexamination

JOEL CARMICHAEL, Nation correspondent for Central Europe, was attached to Army Intelligence in Berlin for a number of months. This is the last of three articles on the Russian occupation.

of its possibilities. The immediate reaction, however, was a hysterical outburst of plant removals and deportations of industrial workers. If it turns out that the Unity Party—or the Communists—cannot acquire a sufficiently broad base to take over the government in Germany, the occupation will no doubt linger on and on. But if the Unity Party—or the Communists—finally wins out, the Soviet forces will probably be withdrawn and a more or less coordinated German state will crown the Soviet system. I am convinced that if the Soviet Union could obtain Germany as a voluntary associate it would gladly relegate its Soviet "sisters" to the rubbish heap should the occasion demand. Since the Kremlin is evidently firmly resolved not to relinquish its grip on Germany, the question which alternative it will follow is a purely tactical one. In other words, it will pursue its goal as best it can.

The practical difficulties in the way of making Germany a willing partner are enormous, and they all arise, it seems to me, out of Russia's material impoverishment. Surely only a desperate situation at home can explain Soviet high-handedness about both food and industrial equipment. Just as the atrocities committed by the Red Army after its irruption into Germany are to be attributed to a total breakdown of discipline rather than to Krem-

lin policy, so the dismantling, requisitioning, and mass kidnappings must be due, if we grant the Russian intention of retaining a foothold in Germany, to a peremptory domestic need. The political consequences of the Soviet economic program in Germany have been so disastrous that the economic compulsion must have been overwhelming. Evidently the Russians are so badly off themselves that they can leave no margin of surplus for Germany. This brute fact alone would counteract the most adroit propaganda—and Soviet propaganda has been far from adroit.

It need hardly be pointed out that Germany's resuscitation can only be conceived of in terms of the worldwide rivalry of the great powers. That is why French stubbornness on all questions involving German unity or economic rehabilitation seems obsessive and outmoded; the French are evidently still thinking of yesterday's Europe, in which Germany was the decisive factor. Germany's present prostration is so great that the most elaborate plans for its reconstruction amount merely to plans for strengthening it for future use by a greater power. The solution of the German problem, in short, cannot be found in Germany but must be looked for in the field of international politics.

"Time Is Money"

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Detroit, January 20

THE United Automobile Workers' headquarters is a tidy, low brick structure above which rise on two sides the huge limestone General Motors buildings. For about three-quarters of the working day the U. A. W. building is literally darkened by the shadow of GM. But only literally; figuratively it is the high executives of GM who sit in gloom as they scan the portal-to-portal claims of the union and wonder if the old David and Goliath routine is to be played through again under the auspices of the United States Supreme Court.

While the size of the portal-to-portal claims has depressed the GM executives, it has also had a sobering effect on the leaders of the union. Walter Reuther, R. J. Thomas, and George Addes are men who earn modest salaries. Their union feels rich when it has a million dollars on hand. Now this Mt. Clemens Pottery case has forced them to think of sums which seem more comparable to the national debt than to anything in their

personal experience. They are determined to be conservative in their demands. They say to their attorney, Maurice Sugar, "File only for the amount which is unquestionably owing to the workers; don't pad." But when statisticians dig out the figures for a big industry like GM, they are bound to be startling.

One hundred thousand workers are affected. The extra time is all overtime, for the men have already been paid for a forty-hour week. That makes the portal-pay rate time and a half. Take a man who gets \$1 an hour straight time. He has spent fifteen minutes morning and evening in portal-to-portal walking. Half an hour at time and a half is 75 cents, and the law adds a 100 per cent penalty. That makes \$1.50. For one hundred thousand men it makes \$150,000 a day. Now multiply \$150,000 by the number of days the men have worked—five days a week, fifty-two weeks a year, over a period of at least six years—and it is easy to see how the astronomical figures get into the suits. The total of the claims already filed by all unions is more than four billion dollars, and that in anybody's language is a large sum.

No wonder the executives of the motor industry and the gentlemen of the National Association of Manufacturers have been aroused to a new pitch of fury against

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "Revolt of the South and West," is continuing his study of current political and economic developments in the South and Middle West.

labor. This portal-to-portal business seems to follow an all too familiar pattern—and just as a change was in prospect: the Republicans had come to power, and the Supreme Court seemed to be behaving. There was reason to relax a bit, and the annual meeting of the N. A. M. was complacent, even generous in its faintly liberal pronouncements. Then, bang, the Mt. Clemens decision!



"Our New Way of Avoiding Suits"

—they know it by the violence of the press and radio reaction. The bear, however, is neither expropriation nor revolution but the definition of a work day in terms which unmistakably require the worker to be paid for the full time he gives and has given his employer.

Such a definition has been needed ever since the wages-and-hours law was passed. Labor has recognized the need right along and has urged Congress to make the definition. But management mistrusts labor and has opposed legislative action, preferring to leave the matter to the courts. In 1938 Elmer F. Andrews, the first administrator of the wages-and-hours law, proposed that the law be amended so that its administrator could make a definite ruling on portal-to-portal pay which would not be subject to alteration by court action. Again management objected, declaring in no uncertain terms that it was opposed to handing over any more power to New Deal agencies—the courts were good enough for them. In 1944 L. Metcalfe Walling, reporting to Congress in his capacity as wages-and-hours administrator, urged that he be permitted to issue binding regulations defining working time and to protect employers who complied with such regulations against civil or criminal liability. If in 1938 management felt it was a bad idea to hand more power to a New Dealer, it felt it was a much worse one in 1944, with the outlook for a return to Republican rule growing brighter day by day. It still preferred the courts, definitely.

But the situation has changed. Industry is now calling for legislation, and Representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan has a bill ready. This would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to wipe out claims based on the portal-to-portal principle. It is a sort of Alice in Wonderland bill, disposing of all troubles with a casual "off

To hear the old guard of the N. A. M. tell it, the Supreme Court has expropriated the factories of the nation and handed them to the workers. But revolution via the Supreme Court does not seem very plausible to most men. Labor leaders and their lawyers are aware that they have a bear by the tail

with their heads," completely ignoring the little matter of money owed by violators of an existing law, and incidentally smacking down the Supreme Court's jurisdiction. Management applauds Representative Hoffman's law and is ably seconded by the *New York Times*, which says ingenuously, "Representative Hoffman's proposal would appear to be the most forthright legislative approach to the problem." Forthright seems the right word, but the use of the phrase "approach to the problem" can be questioned. Representative Hoffman wants to use a legislative bulldozer not to approach but to eliminate the problem.

In the Mt. Clemens Pottery case the Supreme Court held that "the time necessarily spent by employees in walking to work on the employer's premises, following the punching of the time clock, was working time." This decision, according to Maurice Sugar, general counsel of the U. A. W., affects and perhaps invalidates almost every existing contract between management and labor. At the same time it immeasurably widens the area of collective bargaining. At future discussions around a bargaining table there will be argument about whether or not basic hourly rates have taken into account "preparatory time." When they have, portal-to-portal will not be a big issue. When they haven't, the concept of the work-week is in for some thorough overhauling. The new concept will be that the time a worker gives his employer is to be considered in one piece and not separated into compartments by an employer's arbitrary decision. Eventually management will see that it is profitable—in dollars—to provide facilities for washing up and for changing into and out of necessary work clothes, to have convenient exits and entrances, and to give workers a good many other things which will make life more pleasant for them. And after a few years the extra cost of portal-to-portal pay, spread over the entire wage bill, will be a small matter, as is now the cost of social security, which in its day, according to the N. A. M., promised revolution and bankruptcy.

As to Congress, it will probably move quickly to rescue employers from the frying pan into which the Supreme Court dropped them. It would be a very good idea if Congress did finally legislate those definitions of a work-week which were so persistently requested by the wages-and-hours administrators and by labor. But it would be a very bad idea to put the whole economy into the fire by such legislation as Representative Hoffman now proposes.

Meanwhile the N. A. M. has intervened in the court case which will decide the amount due the workers in the Mt. Clemens pottery, and made a modest request. Let the court declare a new principle, it says; let it rule that all portal-money claims start from June 10, 1946, the date of the Supreme Court decision. Let the court declare all obligations incurred earlier uncollectible. This from

a group which boasts that industry meets its contractual and legal obligations!

On labor's side there is a good deal of confusion. Individual workers are dazed by the huge sums for which claims are being filed. Not having expected money for preparatory time, many workers have been receptive to newspaper criticism of union leaders who have filed suits. But the amounts awarded to the workers will be decided by the courts, not by the unions, and if the sum is large, the unions, I am certain, will help the companies find a way to pay. In fact, if the law can be changed so that the suits can be settled by a compromise, a method not now legal, the unions will be the first to applaud. The last thing they want is to put employers out of business.

Labor leaders have reacted in a variety of ways. District 50 of the United Mine Workers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor which does not subscribe to William Green's denunciation of portal-to-portal suits, would trade a demand for a wage increase for a settlement of the workers' portal claims. The more democratic unions of the C. I. O. will have no part in giving up a necessary wage increase in return for money to which the workers, according to the Supreme Court, are already entitled. Nor will they call off the suits if a wage increase is granted. This attitude will surprise many commentators, who view the portal-to-portal issue as primarily a bargaining advantage to be used, as Mrs. Elinore Herrick put it, "to sweeten pay envelopes."

The U. A. W. leaders are emphatic that the union's demands for wage increases must be kept separate from portal-to-portal claims. In the future, portal-to-portal pay, they agree, will have a place in bargaining about conditions of work, but claims based on past violations of the law have no part in present wage discussions. However, they are realistic; they know that they cannot expect both increased wages and portal-to-portal back pay unless the employers have the ability to pay the total sum, and they are prepared, I believe, to go a long way in working out reasonable adjustments. There is little reason for hysteria here, though on some sectors of the labor front real dangers exist. A good many shyster lawyers of the ambulance-chasing type have sniffed the pot of gold in portal-to-portal suits and are busy persuading local union leaders, on a fifty-fifty basis, to file huge claims, with or without merit, against local employers.

Portal-to-portal pay undoubtedly increases the complexity of labor-management relations. But when the smoke of the struggle has cleared away, labor and management may find that the enlarged area for bargaining makes all other disputes easier to negotiate. Society, which is forever seeking ways to stabilize industrial relations, may discover that it has passed through a portal leading to a happier land. Our friends of the N. A. M. should not complain; haven't they filled the copy books with the slogan "Time is money"?

After UNRRA, What?

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

THE reports that UNRRA's European operations would come to a dead stop on December 31 were fortunately a trifle premature. The organization is of course rapidly disintegrating, but shipments of food and other supplies to Europe are continuing. As was already known, they will continue to China until March 31 at least. The end has been delayed not by new funds but simply by the fact that UNRRA, owing to various difficulties, has not been able to spend its money as fast as it expected. From the standpoint of international cooperation, the continuance of UNRRA, even on half rations, is welcome because it puts off for a time the application of the brusque 1947 policy that the war's victims hereafter are on their own.

But the last bushel of wheat and bale of cotton will have been delivered within a few short months. What

will be done then? Thanks to the position adopted by the United States at the recent meeting of the General Assembly, virtually nothing by the United Nations. That body has set up a committee of experts which on January 6 solemnly began considering whether the average diet of the various countries needing help should be 2,200 calories, 2,600, or the same amount as in 1946. Of course unless these countries' governments are approved by Washington, they must look out for themselves.

The United States, in association with Great Britain and Canada, decided last summer that "the gravy train"—the phrase was Under Secretary of State Clayton's—had gone around for the last time, and that the three governments would furnish nothing more to UNRRA. No serious effort was made then or later to determine what the actual demand would be. It was assumed that the worst of the need was over, and that if it turned out otherwise, the countries feeling the pinch could always ask Washington or London for a credit. So, of course, they can, but it is easy to imagine what chance of being

THOMAS J. HAMILTON is chief of the United Nations bureau of the New York Times.

granted, a request for a loan, say, from Tito would have.

Fortunately, it appears that only Poland, Austria, and Italy will be in dire straits before next year's harvests, and probably the last two can get help from the democracies. Considering the existing feeling between the United States and the Soviet Union, it was hardly to be expected that Poland or Czechoslovakia, still less Yugoslavia, the Ukraine, or White Russia, would get anything from Washington. According to the best information available, the two Soviet republics will need help, but perhaps Moscow will come to their rescue.

The situation of the refugees and displaced persons, for whose care UNRRA has funds until June 30, will be critical. Though the United States was sternly opposed to international action for relief, it fought determinedly in the General Assembly for international action on refugees and displaced persons. As a result the General Assembly approved the formation of the International Refugee Organization, which is to take over UNRRA's charges. But the prospects for the actual establishment of the I. R. O. are extremely dubious.

This is because a substantial number of the countries that voted to set it up are far from enthusiastic about paying for it. Among these must be reckoned Great Britain, which from the inception of the U. N. has championed the cause of the refugees but has not yet found it possible to sign the I. R. O.'s constitution. Consequently, although the required eight signers have been found—among them are the United States and Canada—Secretary General Lie hesitated a considerable time before calling a conference for February 11 in Geneva to set up an interim organization. This body can be formed whether or not financial support is forthcoming from the eight signers, but the I. R. O. itself cannot be established until fifteen countries

the signers thus far are France, 4.1 per cent; the Dominican Republic, .04 per cent; Guatemala, .04 per cent; Honduras, .02 per cent; Liberia, .02 per cent; the Philippines, .24 per cent. Their quotas add up to practically 54 per cent, which is not too disappointing. Unfortunately, there is not the slightest indication that, aside from the United States, Canada, and France, any of these will actually pay. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in her final appeal for approval of the I. R. O. constitution, gave the specific assurance that a vote in its favor, or even signing it afterward, did not constitute an undertaking to put up any money.

The action of Belgium and the Netherlands, scheduled to provide 1 per cent and .9 per cent respectively, will apparently depend upon what Great Britain does. Since it is unthinkable that the British Labor government would withhold its support, these countries will presumably come around in the end. But even though the British sign, it will be hard to get the requisite fifteen nations to do so, and it is almost impossible to see where more than 73 per cent of the budget will come from.

The care of people made homeless by the war or fascist persecution would seem to be an obvious United Nations responsibility. If it is not discharged, the U. N. will lose much of its influence. Of the 1,000,000 who now need aid, from 200,000 to 220,000 are Jews. The rest are chiefly Balts, Poles, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, and White Russians, who refuse to go back to the Soviet Union, Poland, and Yugoslavia because they dislike or fear the Communist or Communist-controlled governments there. The idea prevailing among even well-informed persons that refugees and displaced persons are largely Jews and leftists has persisted in spite of the Soviet bloc's determined opposition to any international help for "traitors," who, they say, should be compelled to return to their homes. Although the right of refugee must of course be protected, there seems to be no reason why an apolitical peasant should not go back to the country he came from. And there is in fact a small trickle eastward of D. P.'s willing to try their luck behind the "iron curtain."

In comparison with this trickle, however, a flood of refugees, mainly Jews, continues to pour into the British and particularly the American zone of occupation. By the time UNRRA's camps are closed next summer, the total number will probably exceed the present 1,000,000. The question what is going to happen to them seems unanswerable. Migration to Palestine is out of the question for the rest of the year; not more than 20,000 or 25,000 can expect to settle in Latin America; unless Congress acts on President Truman's vague request for liberalization of the immigration laws, the United States will receive relatively few of them. Apparently they are in Germany and Austria and Italy to stay. It is unthinkable that they should remain indefinitely in



have not merely signed but ratified the I. R. O. constitution—that is, voted to pay their share, which would amount to 75 per cent of the bill. Understandably enough, Mr. Lie has been reluctant to commit the U. N. to the support of what may turn out to be a lost cause. The Assembly resolution does not even provide postage stamps for the interim organization, and all funds for its operation will have to be advanced by the U. N. itself.

In addition to the United States, which is scheduled to pay 45.75 per cent of the operational budget of \$150,000,000, and Canada, which will pay 3.5 per cent,

camps; yet their dispersal over the enemy countries, with the American, the British, or the French army as their sole protector, would hardly be practicable. Unless the I. R. O. can be set up in time as a going concern, the occupation armies will have to take over, and it appears that the American army is already planning to do so.

The worst of army rule is that it would prevent the formulation of a long-range plan for the solution or

even the amelioration of the refugee problem. If the D. P.'s refuse to go home, and other countries refuse to take them in, they must stay where they are. But under what conditions can they be assimilated into the German, Austrian, or Italian economy? How can they be encouraged to develop a sane and relatively hopeful attitude? It is obvious that only the I. R. O. can give the answer, not the Pentagon or the Horse Guards.

India's New Destiny

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, January 22

THE adjourned session of the Constituent Assembly was resumed yesterday after an interval of four weeks. The hope that the Moslem League would decide during this interval to enter the Assembly did not materialize. It is clear that many Moslems, particularly those from provinces where they form the minority population, find Jinnah's demand for Pakistan with an exchange of populations impracticable. They have begun to realize that however effective such a slogan might have been as a rallying cry for Moslems throughout India, as a solution for the Hindu-Moslem problem it won't work. Leading members of the Moslem party are big landlords who cannot migrate to neighboring provinces without sacrificing their properties and influence. Nor is that the only consideration. A week ago I met in southern India two educated Moslems who are accomplished scholars in Tamil, the chief language of the Hindus of South Madras, but completely ignorant of Hindustani. Such people—and they form a large part of the population—would regard the transfer to northern India as fantastic.

So far as the Congress is concerned, it has accepted after a sharp debate the Labor Cabinet's statement of December 6 interpreting certain disputed passages in the original document in favor of Jinnah. But left-wing elements in the Congress were extremely critical of the policy of appeasement of the Moslem League represented by this gesture. They asserted that Jinnah had allied himself unreservedly with Churchill and the British Tories in order to delay India's independence. Voting on the resolution was significant: 99 supported it and 252 opposed it, the rest preferring to remain neutral. Nehru and his colleagues seemed uneasily conscious of the strength of the opposition. They argued that while a renewal of the struggle with Britain might later become

inevitable, it was desirable to choose the proper issue and favorable circumstances.

Jinnah has delayed summoning the central executive of the Moslem League in the hope of overcoming internal opposition. The call, however, cannot be postponed indefinitely. If the league should again indorse the resolution to boycott the Constituent Assembly, Nehru is bound to raise the awkward question of whether the league's nominees can continue as members of the interim government. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, has steadily supported the league whether inside or outside the government, but even he may be compelled by the Labor Cabinet to point out to Jinnah that membership in the interim government has always been conditional on entering the Constituent Assembly. Nor can the Moslem League decide in favor of participation without accepting the Cabinet's declarations, which—as Congress ceaselessly maintains—imply repudiation of Pakistan.

At this stage, therefore, it is difficult to forecast what policy the Moslem League council will recommend to its followers. The odds are in favor of their entering the Constituent Assembly when it meets again in April. The Congress Party will go through the business of this session during the next few days and then disperse: it will adopt Nehru's resolution and appoint an advisory committee on fundamental and minority rights, leaving places for nominees of the Moslem League should they decide later to take them.

Rajendra Prasad, president of the Constituent Assembly, made an important statement yesterday in answer to Churchill's mischievous suggestion that the Assembly, in the absence of the league, was only a caste Hindu organization. Analyzing the figures, he said that of 296 elected members, 210 were present—that is, 155 Hindus out of a total of 160, 30 caste representatives out of 33, 6 Christians out of 7, all 5 backward tribesmen, all 5 Anglo-Indians, all 5 Sikhs, all 3 Parsees, and 4 Moslems out of 80. With the exception of the Moslem League, whose absence he "deeply regretted," the Assembly, he said, represented every section of the people.

SHIVA RAO is correspondent in India for *The Nation* and the *Manchester Guardian*. He is on the staff of the *Hindu of Madras*.

Despite this refutation the Tories will continue to claim that the Assembly is not adequately representative and therefore its decisions cannot merit the British Cabinet's serious attention. This is also the line of argument which a number of the princes are likely to adopt: some because, being Moslems, they would prefer to await Jinnah's decision; others because they find the radical nature of the demands for a responsible government made by Congress leaders like Nehru embarrassing.

All the princes, however, do not think alike. Ten years ago Churchill, then only a leader of a diehard group of Tories, led a vehement opposition to the policy of Baldwin's Cabinet on India. Through private negotiations with the princes he successfully delayed the inauguration of the federation until the beginning of the war, when Linlithgow, then Viceroy, suspended it indefinitely. The question many princes are now asking is whether Churchill is likely to come to power again as leader of a Tory government in Great Britain. Meanwhile, can they expect assistance from Nehru's government to suppress any popular uprisings within their territories? Their treaty rights provided that the Viceroy must furnish assistance. But the defense forces are now under the control of Nehru's government.

The Moslem League and the princes will have decided by the middle of February whether they are joining the Constituent Assembly or not. The decision of the princes will not be unanimous, since a number of them would rather deal directly with the Constituent Assembly than accept the directive of a negotiating committee.

Factors outside the Constituent Assembly will also exercise considerable influence on its future course. One is how soon British officials, both civil and defense, will quit India. The Indian Civil Service now consists of about 1,000 men, half of whom are British—some of them young but many nearing retirement. The Indian Police Service contains some 600 men, 60 per cent of whom are British. The British officials demand compensation for retirement in addition to their pensions, arguing that constitutional changes force them to leave India. The British government has scaled down their compensation demands, making £8,000 the maximum, but has otherwise supported their case. The Congress leaders view the problem from a different standpoint. They cite the example of South Africa and Eire, which have retained the officials who served under previous regimes, and express their willingness to do likewise.

The problem is not primarily financial. Nehru recently complained in a public speech that there was a definite understanding between the British officials and the Moslem League. In the past an aggrieved officer could seek the protection of the Secretary of State and thus enjoy a considerable measure of immunity from disciplinary action. With the disappearance of that privilege, officers

can expect just treatment from the Indian national government—but not the freedom to indulge in intrigue. How many will ultimately choose to continue in service under the altered conditions must be decided by the end of March. They can stay if they are willing to drop the protection of the British Secretary of State in London.

A committee composed entirely of Indians except for one British military officer has just been appointed to draw up a program for complete nationalization of all defense forces. Progress must necessarily vary with the different services—army, navy, and air force. At higher levels it will inevitably be slow since hardly any Indian has advanced beyond the rank of brigadier.

One thing, however, seems certain. By April, when the Constituent Assembly will hold its next session, the process of eliminating British personnel from India's administration will have definitely begun. Those who continue to serve will do so by accepting the authority of Nehru's government as final. The significance of this change will be great.

As Mrs. Pandit, the distinguished leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, told the Constituent Assembly yesterday, "India is rapidly becoming conscious of a new destiny which is awaiting her as a champion of the cause of freedom for all dependent people of Asia." It was a striking speech. India, she said, had a dual task. The first was to throw off all traces of imperial domination and thus lead the way for Burma, Indo-China, and Indonesia. The second was the establishment of a social democracy. The fulfilment of these objectives, she said, would be a powerful contribution to world peace.

The negotiations now going on in London concerning Burma's political status are being eagerly followed by India. The close relationship between the two countries was emphasized by the recent visit to New Delhi of General U Aung San, leader of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League of Burma. The youthful general—he is only thirty-three—gives one the impression of a man molded by the hard realities of the war years. "What do you want for Burma?" I asked him. "Dominion status won't do. We must have independence," he replied without hesitation, adding after a moment's pause, "and complete freedom during the interim period." He was particularly critical of the limitations regarding defense and foreign policy, for both of which he is nominally counselor to the governor. The troops in Burma are not even under the control of the governor, and foreign affairs are directed from London. "The British have divided us," he said without a trace of bitterness, "but those tactics won't succeed." He was confident of popular support in the struggle to achieve independence in the event the London negotiations proved a failure. And he added with a laugh, "The Burmese people haven't any inhibitions about violence."

U Aung San looks forward to closer association with India—but on a basis of independence for both countries. He made it abundantly plain that Burma can never become part of an Indian federation. The first step after Burma's independence, he thought, would be to form a Southeast Asian federation. Later it might be possible to visualize a confederation of all Asia, in which China, India, and Southeast Asia would be three distinct units. As head of the newly established Burma Council of World Affairs U Aung San hopes to attend the coming Inter-Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi sponsored by Nehru and scheduled to meet the last week in March. Indo-China, Indonesia, the Philippine Islands, China, Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Syria are

other countries which have so far responded to the invitation.

Nehru has just answered Dulles's charge that India seems to accept Soviet guidance. He has described the policy of his government as one of cultivating friendly and cooperative relations with all countries, notably the United States, while avoiding alignments with any particular power or group. The primary and immediate concern of India, Burma, and Southeast Asia is to eliminate imperialist domination. During the coming months the question will be settled in India as to whether this purpose can be achieved with the cooperation of Britain and other European powers or whether aggressive methods must be used.

The Cushing Health Plan

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

DR. HARVEY CUSHING was one of America's most eminent physicians. He was a gifted writer, an erudite historian, a philosopher of medicine. Probably he is best known as the man who by lifelong, systematic, tenacious labor learned how to wrest from the grip of death persons afflicted with brain tumors. Cushing's biography, written by his pupil and friend, John F. Fulton, has just been published.* It should be read not only by every student of medicine but by everyone who needs reassurance about the existence of human dignity in our time.

The book contains a letter which Dr. Cushing sent to President Roosevelt more than twelve years ago, on November 10, 1934. This letter is still timely and in view of certain proposals made recently in Washington is worth quoting.

Dear Mr. President: May I venture to hand on to you a suggestion for what it may be worth? . . . Would it not be a good move just at this time to take into consideration the establishment, if not of a government department, at least of a super-bureau of public health to coordinate a number of welfare agencies?

Such a department would naturally include such scattered interests as infant welfare and the Children's Bureau, old-age insurance, possibly the matter of the veterans' hospitals and health compensation, vital statistics, the administration of the Food and Drug Act, and the existent Public Health and Marine Hospital services.

* Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois.

DR. GUMPERT, a New York physician, contributes a monthly page to The Nation on new developments in medicine and related fields.

I know that such a fusion would be difficult owing partly to inter-departmental jealousies. . . . But I am sure that opposition could be overcome, and it certainly would mean a great saving of energy, prevent much duplication of work, and lead to a proper concentration of authority on subjects that have to do with public health. This is not infrequently an interstate matter, as, for example, when Chicago dumped its sewage into the upper waters of the Mississippi River.

There will be difficulties about such a concentration, but you are accustomed to overcoming difficulties. . . . When the "Committee of One Hundred" some years ago broached such a proposal to Theodore Roosevelt, he admitted the importance of the project but said the time was not ripe for it. The time may be ripe for it now—or you may be able to ripen it, which amounts to the same thing. One difficulty is the proper man to head such a department . . . but the opportunity usually brings the necessary man to the surface.

There is an old adage of the operating room that suggestions spoil good surgery—that is, that the assistant is not supposed to draw a red herring across the operator's path while he is at work. Nevertheless, I hand this suggestion on to you for what it is worth. . . .

[Signed] HARVEY CUSHING

Strangely enough, the advent of a Republican regime seems to have brightened the chances of realizing Cushing's idea. President Truman in his message to the Eightieth Congress recommended the establishment of a single Department of Welfare to administer federal programs concerned with health, education, and welfare. Senator Robert A. Taft, now in power, should be able to have enacted the bill which he prepared during the last Congress in collaboration with Senator J. William Fulbright. This bill would establish a Department of Health,

Education, and Security which would comprise the Federal Security Administration, the Social Security Board, the Children's Bureau, the Public Health Service, the Office of Education, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Food and Drug Administration. Though many persons think Senator Taft's national-health bill an entirely inadequate substitute for the controversial Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, the nomination of a Secretary of Health would be a tremendous step forward—provided, of course, that the man chosen was not a bureaucrat or politician but a physician of outstanding scientific and executive ability.

The health of peoples will be a decisive factor in the future of this small and overcrowded world. World sanitation seems indeed more promising, and perhaps more constructive, than world diplomacy today. The United States could easily assume the leadership of the crusade for health and welfare if its great research and public-health facilities were united and fully utilized.

The time is ripe for a federal Health Department as envisioned by Harvey Cushing.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

LAST month the frequency-modulation operators had a banquet and back-patting session at the Hotel Statler in Washington. More than 100 FM operators plunked down \$100 in yearly dues and another 200 FM stations are expected to enrol soon to finance the Frequency Modulation Association. The chairman of the Federal Communications Commission spoke, a number of FM men spoke, and an executive director was hired. The calculated effect was to promote FM, and that will be done.

One topic not on the agenda was the wishes of the FM audience. Neither the set manufacturers, the radio retailers, nor the FM broadcasters, with few exceptions, seem to be worrying about the listener. But if FM is to prosper, something will have to be done, and soon, about the quality of the FM sets being sold and of the FM stations being erected. The one thing most people want from FM is static-free reception and superfine tonal quality. Pre-war stations and sets provided this; present-day sets and stations, again with a few exceptions, do not.



Every FM set I've seen for sale has been a combination of FM and a regular radio. These sets receive FM but reproduce it on the AM speaker, which means that FM's sound range of 15,000 cycles is heard over a speaker with a sound range of only 5,000 cycles. To give full FM tonal quality separate sound systems are needed, but such sets will cost around \$400 when they come off the production line.

Full-range FM sets—15,000 cycles—cost about \$600. And even the listener who can afford these prices does not get the best FM quality unless the set can tune a pre-war FM station. For unless a station uses all the power required for its particular transmitter, the FM signal received by the listener will not be static free. And too many of the post-war FM stations are rushing on to the air with patchwork equipment, makeshift antennae, and partial power. Listeners ten miles away often cannot get these stations, and those near by pick up static. The reason is that while FM is unaffected by vacuum cleaners, electric razors, and dial phones, it comes within the range of such an infinitely widespread and vexing static as the buzz made by the spark plugs of an automobile.

Numerous tricks are being worked on the listeners. Suburban residents, supposedly within range of an FM station in a metropolitan center, buy AM-FM radios or even the high-priced FM sets, and then, when they don't work, learn they need a special \$25 FM antenna. Or they buy an FM set which works perfectly in the shop in the city but not so well at home. Then they discover that the retailer is either not equipped to service the set or can't afford to send a man out to where they live. Some retailers are selling AM radios with room for FM equipment, although they do not know when the attachment will be available or what it will cost. I've seen \$400 radios sold on this basis.

As a result of all this a good deal of listener dislike for FM is being built up. Already radio retailers in some communities are finding themselves overstocked with AM-FM receivers. Retailers in other communities, where there are no FM stations, buy up these sets and sell them to FM-hungry listeners. The situation is not the fault of anybody in particular. The station manager wants to get on the air as soon as he can to start building an audience. The retailer, in most cases, is just a salesman with little knowledge of the set he sells. And the manufacturer is making sets as cheaply as he can to meet his competition; the manufacturer's engineers know the score, but the sales manager, not the technician, is responsible for sales volume.

To protect themselves and their listeners FM broadcasters need standards. The manufacturers have AM sets and transmitters and electrical appliances to make and sell; they are not worrying about FM. Nor are the retailers. Only the FM broadcaster with his sizable investment has all his eggs in one basket. It is up to him to cure listener-irritation while it is still limited.

You are bound to enjoy an FM set. But before you buy one, be certain that you can get an FM station using its full facilities, that the set will give you FM's full 15,000-cycle sound range, that an FM service man can be sent for when needed, and that you have an FM antenna.

And remember, until the FM stations and the musicians come to terms, you'll hear none of the popular AM programs that use live music on your FM set



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Storm in a Cocoa Cup

UP TO October 1, 1946, the wholesale ceiling price of cocoa beans had been held firmly at 9 cents a pound. It was then raised to 14½ cents, close to the price Brazilian growers were receiving in the world market. A little more than three weeks later OPA was flung to the Republican wolves, and members of the New York Cocoa Exchange rejoiced at their escape from controls. In the first free-market deals cocoa changed hands at 14.95 cents, and traders predicted that prices would only advance moderately. Their judgment proved poor, to put it mildly, for since then spot quotations have rocketed and the current price of around 25 cents may easily be pushed higher, especially if candy-makers are allotted more sugar.

People in the trade disclaim any responsibility for this sad state of affairs. It is all the fault, they say, of the West African Produce Control Board set up by a socialistic British government to buy and market the cocoa crop in Nigeria and the Gold Coast—about half the world supply. In a cabled protest to the board on November 20 last, the New York Cocoa Exchange flatly accused it of manipulating the advance in prices by withholding offers. "We suggest," they added, "that our long-expressed fears that the American cocoa industry would be subjected to a monopolistic squeeze are now being realized. We protest against your marketing policies as being contrary to the basic spirit of the Atlantic Charter, which promised free access by all nations to the raw materials of the world."

How far is this serious charge against the British government justified? My own investigations suggest that the story is not so plain a tale of villainy as the Cocoa Exchange indicates.

The West African Produce Marketing Board was organized during the war when the shutting off of European markets and the lack of shipping threatened to ruin the West African cocoa growers, all of whom are native small-holders. As a result prices were stabilized at rather below the average of the three pre-war years, and the board, although forced to destroy a large tonnage of beans, which cannot be stored for long under tropical conditions, made a modest profit.

British colonial administrators decided that this wartime expedient made possible marketing methods which contrasted rather happily with those in vogue before the war. Then cocoa was sold by the cultivators through brokers to twenty-eight large European merchant firms, which alternated between cutthroat competition and organized collusive buying. Prices were apt to fluctuate violently, and the unsophisticated growers were often cheated and forced into debt. The marketing system, according to the *Economist*, was one "riddled with abuses." It is such con-

siderations that have influenced the British government in its decision to leave marketing in the hands of government boards until native cooperatives are sufficiently developed to take over the job. Any profits that are made will be spent for agricultural research and education or similar purposes.

This plan, it should be noted, gives no kind of preference to British cocoa merchants or candy manufacturers; in fact, the "trade" in London has protested just as vehemently as that in New York. Its sole objective is the protection of many thousands of native farmers, who in the absence of such a scheme could not enjoy any equality of bargaining power with the handful of buyers through whom their produce would pass to the world market. The conception of colonial trusteeship, it is claimed, makes the safeguarding of their interests an imperative duty.

Granted the force of this argument, it remains true that a colonial power is obligated to allow other nations equal access to the raw materials produced in its territory. Does the West African cocoa scheme constitute a violation of this pledge? I do not think so, as long as all buyers, irrespective of nationality, are treated alike, but final judgment can only be made on the basis of the actual behavior of the West African Board. It should be noted, however, that as long as price ceilings were maintained here the board cooperated with the OPA. When controls were dropped, it waited to see how demand would develop before offering new contracts and asking for competitive bids. If American consumers were going to pay more for cocoa, the board wanted to make certain that part of the profit would accrue to West Africa.

In fact, once ceilings were abandoned, there was nothing to stop a rise in the price of cocoa in this country since demand was greatly in excess of the allocation of half the world production made to the United States by the International Emergency Food Council. This gives America the same share as it secured before the war but a smaller absolute amount since, mainly owing to the ravages of a plant disease, cocoa output has fallen sharply in the past few years. Until this condition is remedied, or until depression reduces the demand for candy, cocoa will remain comparatively expensive no matter how it is marketed.

The real test of the West African Board will come when a more normal relation between supply and demand is reestablished. Should it then try to hold the price level by artificial means—for instance, by borrowing the parity concept from the United States Congress—protests from American consumers may be in order. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that British colonial administrators have learned something from the fate of the famous "Stevenson plan," designed to jack up rubber prices and hold them at a level satisfying to the planters. That scheme ended in fiasco because it so stimulated production that its organizers were drowned in a flood of rubber. The West African Board, anxious not to invite a similar inundation, will aim, it appears, at ironing out seasonal fluctuations rather than at exacting a monopoly price. Meanwhile, it is encouraging to know that it is devoting part of its profits to defeating the "shooting sprout" disease, which consumers of chocolate malteds must regard as their chief enemy.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

This Is It

THE COMING CRISIS. By Fritz Sternberg. The John Day Company. \$3.50.

THIS review is written as the research program of the Committee for Economic Development for the coming two years is announced. The program, characteristic of the vast industry of current American research, trudges into the future biting off and masticating endlessly small separate bits of "objective reality"—"Business inventories and their effect on business," "Incentives for investment," "Special problems of small business," and so on. Is it a lack of insight or courage that makes American research fail to see or unwilling to work in terms of the magnitude and the over-all political character of the choices we Americans are making, so to speak, in our sleep?

Fritz Sternberg's book is so different from the thinking of American social researchers that either he or they are colossally wrong at a time when such wrongness involves the central function of intelligence. Reading this book, I get the sense that, in contrast to this kind of thinking, American research operates with the most crucial function of the human cortex inactive, namely, the function that perceives isolated phenomena together as wholes, in terms of over-all direction of thrust and meaning.

Four major ingredients of Mr. Sternberg's thinking as an economist are largely lacking in our American approach: (1) He thinks historically, alert to the sequences of fundamental social change. (2) As a displaced European he can examine a hypothesis that tends not even to occur to the American mind, namely, that this is a revolutionary era in which immensely important things are at stake in the unrolling gray ribbon of events. (3) He approaches our economy not as an array of processes but as a total system and a capitalist system, with the characteristics that go with such a system—a class-stratified social base, the resolution of differences by power struggles, a dynamic need to expand which makes certain predictable things likely to happen and as surely prevents other identifiable things from happening. (4) He has a theory of the complexity of causation which prevents lapsing into the liberal's linear view of progress through a chain of discreet, well-intentioned steps.

Here are the conclusions Mr. Sternberg reaches by this kind of thinking: Down to the First World War capitalism's economic depressions were self-healing, for the expansion of markets more than compensated for the tendency within capitalism to increase unemployment. But by 1913 this ceased to be the case; and when the 1929 collapse came it was so serious as to be different in kind from all its predecessors, and it still had not been overcome a decade later when World War II began. The new stage of capitalism that 1929 signaled is characterized by chronic mass unemployment and the overt alliance of economics and politics.

The United States emerges from World War II with productive capacity heavily augmented and "the factors making

for economic crisis tremendously intensified." Not only is there no chance that we can increase our foreign trade enough to absorb even 10 per cent of this new productive capacity, but each effort to do so will aggravate the crisis difficulties of the rest of the capitalist world. Nor can the gap be closed by increasing domestic consumption, for in our monopoly-capitalist social system, in which power is in the hands of the big corporations, there simply is no likelihood that real wages will be allowed to rise by the necessary 30 to 40 per cent.

Current proposals for the state as investor to fill the gap needed for full use of man-power and resources fail to recognize that such a permanent peace-time program acknowledges that "capitalism in its contemporary form has failed to justify its existence at its most critical point." The sponsors of such state activity evade the central problem of the relation of state investment to private capitalist investment; but it would unavoidably affect profit-making. And here again one faces the raw fact of class power, for "no government mainly influenced by capitalist circles could possibly accept" a policy operating to abolish unemployment as a class-control weapon and to increase substantially the working-class share of the total social product.

So a crisis at least as severe as 1929 is coming in the United States, and for reasons cited by Mr. Sternberg it will develop without effective state interference. But the state will be intimately involved in the deepening crisis. "In the United States, as in all other countries, we are now faced with a decisive transformation of the functions of the state." It will lose its "façade of independence as between, or above, the classes, [and] the more the state intervenes in economic affairs, is compelled to intervene as a result of intensifying social antagonisms, the more big business will have to fight to obtain direct influence on the state. Thus in the coming epoch . . . the class struggle will be fought primarily to secure direct influence on the state, [and this] will become the decisive political and economic battlefield in the U. S. A."

"Whether there will be a Third World War or not will depend to a very large extent, to a decisive extent perhaps, on the policy pursued by the United States economically, militarily, and in foreign relations in the period in which the coming crisis will take place." Conditions in the United States in the crisis will be more favorable to the growth of American fascism, though increased popular sophistication may operate somewhat to curb this tendency. But "the strength of the monopolist-capitalist forces and their satellites in the United States is so very great that it will represent a considerable success for the left-wing progressive forces if they can play a role at all beside the reactionary forces in the crisis." As the crisis comes, big business will very probably plunge the country into a war-preparation-economy (*Wehrwirtschaft*) as a depression counter-measure, as this is the only anti-crisis device that can be developed "without greatly limiting the functions of the employing classes."

This is Mr. Sternberg's appraisal of how things are. He may be right or he may be wrong. I believe he is right. The

need is for organized labor and middle-class progressives to stop indulging in factional fights and to get to work on the real issues; and for American research to come out from behind its fig leaf of "objectivity" and test step by step the bases for Mr. Sternberg's conclusions, rather than dismiss them as "speculation."

ROBERT S. LYND

Ten Great Poems

THE NOBLE VOICE: A STUDY OF TEN GREAT POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.

THE NOBLE VOICE" is a collection of ten academic lectures, and certain of the book's faults may be at least partly excused by this fact. Mr. Van Doren has, for instance, a tendency to fall into a highfalutin poetical vein: "Motes of the vernacular are always dancing in its ['Troilus and Criseyde's'] beams, as proverbs get up and stretch in the dry light of noon." Doubtless this sounded better than it reads. What is perhaps more disturbing is the way Mr. Van Doren commits himself to an unhappily exaggerated justification of the necessary translations. Too much has certainly often been made of the fact that Homer wrote in Greek, but it is, none the less, something more than "an interesting fact" that he did so, just as Spenser's language is something more than "antique orthography which keeps so many readers away from 'The Faerie Queene.'" And what Professor Krapp's Modern English does to Chaucer's Middle English, which is not after all unreadable, is really gruesome. "What I shal after doon, I can not saye;/But trewely, as yet me list not pleye," says Chaucer's Criseyde to Diomedes; and Professor Krapp's: "Though how my heart may change, I cannot tell;/The future may, of course, my grief dispel."

Mr. Van Doren has, to be sure, his theoretical as well as his practical reasons for using translations. "Their merit as subject matter," he says of his ten poems, "... is that they offer a perspective through poetry," and adds of his favorite, Homer: "Nothing prevented him from believing and loving the deeds and men that he saw, exactly as he saw them." For Mr. Van Doren, that is, the permanent, common values are the heart of poetry, and the great poet always finds them in the everyday world. That is why what he calls "style" or even the poet's native language is only a "superfluous barrier . . . between the reader and the work." There are certainly great poets of this kind, though not all great poets are of it, and perhaps no single great poet is exclusively of it.

In any event, there are only two ways to get at such values in a poem; either you understand it in all its local particularity and, by a final critical act, discover at the heart of this understanding the poem's universal qualities; or you trust your intuitive notion of what the great poem must be and measure each poem against it. Mr. Van Doren's method is the second, and, apart from the necessary assumption of superiority to his poet which this method forces on him, it shows, in his hands, another weakness. However true it may be that all great poems are trying to deal with a very few "permanent truths," it is apparently a fact that no such truth exists for anyone as such; it exists at all only in a particular local habitation and with its own name. As a consequence a

poet must deal with it in the form in which it exists in his time, and the failure of a critic to consider this may make everything he says irrelevant. Mr. Van Doren passes all these considerations off as matters of "style," but just as the Criseyde of Professor Krapp is not the same person as Chaucer's—nor his world the same world—so the values of "Paradise Lost," conceived in a different set of particulars, become something different, something, moreover, impossible for a man in the seventeenth century to conceive at all. Mr. Van Doren is very busy correcting Milton's blunders, such as making God a theologian or trying for vastness in his poem or describing Adam and Eve in Paradise as he does ("We could," he says, giving Milton a little hint of how to improve matters, "accept them in a state . . . wherein they breathed the truth with bivalvular ease and peace"). All this is to ignore the form man's understanding took in the seventeenth century for an irrelevant account of how much better "Paradise Lost" would be had it been written in the twentieth century, with the concrete particulars and convictions which pose the question of man's fate most sharply for us, by Mr. Van Doren, with his private ideas of a paradise overflowing with bivalvular ease.

When Mr. Van Doren likes a poet, as he does Homer and Dante and Chaucer and, with qualifications, Lucretius, he is full of apologetics and of frequently admirable appreciation. When he dislikes a poet, as he does Milton and Spenser and Wordsworth and, with qualifications, Vergil and Byron, he is likely to spend most of his time displaying prejudices which are no better for being old and familiar. He is surely right that we ought to know more than most of us do about these poems—and all other great ones—even though we cannot hope to be experts on all of them. It is not easy to believe, however, that his manner will encourage a reasonable understanding of many of them.

ARTHUR MIZENER

Satire and Ring Lardner

THE PORTABLE RING LARDNER. Viking Press. \$2.

THE sensitive reader is certain to be profoundly moved by this collection—if not always because of the quality of the writing, then because of its evidence of the American writer's unique dilemma. Ring Lardner began writing as a popular columnist, and until his last days he was suspicious of the judgments, even of the favorable judgments, of "highbrow" critics. He was in no sense of the word an intellectual. He lived in and wrote about a very constricted world, beyond the limits of which he seldom ventured; his characters usually come from the theater and sports, and occasionally from the small town with which Lardner never lost emotional contact.

Yet no American writer had a more certain vision of what is cheap and futile in our national life. By comparison Dreiser was gentle, Anderson a publicity agent for the village, and Lewis a kindly Rotarian. But this very depth of Lardner's penetration into the internal terrors beneath the sham surfaces of our life—the terrors of self-recognition and the gripping fear of the self—was to prove a major source of the dilemma from which he was never to escape.

His notorious misanthropy—what was it but a dead end, a desperate defense against his own uncorrupted vision, which he could not temper with faith, belief, or hope?

Lardner's characters were doomed. Perhaps he pitied them; perhaps he had some vague glimmer of understanding that they were dried up and defeated—for they were all dried up and defeated: Lardner made sure of that—by social molds they could not shape. But he gave them no leeway; each of them, in no matter how different a way, was doomed. One's first and most native reaction to his best stories is a shudder mixed of horror and despair. What a terrible act of condemnation: the movie magnate and his dipsomaniac wife of "The Love Nest," the bored old nannies of "The Golden Honeymoon," the barber and his customers of "Haircut," the disappointed girl and her "friend," Chas. F. Lewis, Mr. Man of "Some Like Them Cold." In these stories pity is at a loss and compassion almost irrelevant; there is only the shudder of contempt for the Yahoos.

For Ring they were all Yahoos, all wretched frauds in the jungle of American deadliness, where security could be found only in boredom and boredom was the price of security. The tragedy was that Lardner himself was just a little bit of a Yahoo too, that there runs through his work a strain of egotism as uncritical and unattractive as that of his characters. He snickered together with them at what he imagined was sophistication and intellectuality, and he could not always distinguish between the pretentiously phony and the real thing; hence his unreadiness to face his dilemma as a writer shuttling between popular and serious mediums. Hence, too, his crippling self-limitations.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The Nation

Money-Saving Magazine Combinations

with Harpers Magazine	\$8.50
You Save \$2.50	
with Consumers Union	\$9.25
You Save \$1.25	
with Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union	\$11.75
You Save \$3.75	

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses, Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself:

- ☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14
☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

2-1-47

There seems to have been in Lardner some internal check which would not let him progress too far above the level of the sideswipe mimic, a level on which his victims might have appreciated him—as in fact many of them did. Intensely serious though he was, Lardner's attitude toward serious writing is constantly betrayed as ambiguous—which is why a much inferior writer, Sherwood Anderson, never so sharp or true as Lardner, stumbled to an instinctive grasp of the human dilemmas that Lardner seldom reached. Only in a few pieces, such as his greatest story, "Haircut," is there the density of atmosphere and delicately implied reserve of emotion which can legitimately be expected in first-rate writing.

What was this internal check: his need to be accepted by large groups of readers, his so American fear of being labeled highbrow, his sense of self-doubt and self-castigation, or a social intelligence unequal to his eyes and ears? On each level of his work there is a failure to develop, to move beyond ready competence and ready satire. Several times he made the leap from one level to another, but the very fact of these disconnected and conflicting levels is a source of the uneasy and irritating limitations of his work.

For eventually irony became a rut. The sharpest ears, the keenest eyes remained—the sharpest ears, the keenest eyes. Lardner refined his accomplishment a little more; he crucified a few more Yahoos and even bled a little himself from the stab of the nails he drove. But the always-awaited transition to tragic scope, to a full grasp of life—so tantalizing because it seems always so near in his best work—is never quite negotiated. Lardner's irony became fixed, a hardened attitude, at times even a blinder and an earstop.

Lardner, then, is a peculiar ironic instance of the central problem of American literature—the inability of its talents to reach fulfillment. Few of our writers had a greater native endowment, and few reached the peaks that Lardner did in a few pieces. Yet the gap between potentiality and accomplishment is especially glaring in Lardner precisely because of the magnitude of his talent. He was not able to face the ultimate consequences of being a writer, a dedicated creator transforming his perceptions into enduring structures of the imagination. How much we thereby lost we shall never know, but surely it must have been a great deal. IRVING HOWE

The Dark Side of the South

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE. By Stetson Kennedy. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

WITH the revived KKK and the activities of Columbians, Inc., so much in the news, Stetson Kennedy's new book could not have been published at a more opportune time. There seem to be two schools of thought among those unfairly abused individuals known as "Southern liberals"—those who recognize the ills of the South but insist on discussing them within the framework of the *mores* of the region, and those who like Mr. Kennedy prefer to let the chips fall where they may. On no question are these two groups more sharply divided than on that of whether intervention, in the broadest sense of the word, by non-Southerners in the affairs of the South is to be desired. Recently that courageous Southern liberal Hodding Carter told the

readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, in a familiar phrase, that "intervention is likely to do more harm than good." What distinguishes Stetson Kennedy's book from other recent books about the South by Southern liberals is that he has broken entirely with this time-honored myth. From his point of view, the "slavocracy of the South" must be uprooted, or in its fight for survival it may involve the entire nation in its machinations to preserve a scheme of racial dominance.

Both historical and contemporary experience confirms this point of view. Was it "intervention" for Northern individuals and organizations to interest themselves in the recent Bilbo hearings in New Orleans? If so, then the fruits of this interest have amply justified whatever risks were involved. While the material which Mr. Kennedy has so carefully collected is not as well organized as might have been desired, this shortcoming is more than offset by the passion and conviction with which he marshals facts to serve a social purpose. One section of the book is of particular value—that in which Mr. Kennedy traces the history, background, and shifting personnel of the South's racist "front" organizations.

It is only in the next to final chapter that Kennedy's liberalism begins to falter. There he argues that the Southern Negro must be emancipated socially. As part of this thesis he contends that it is foolish to argue that segregation violates the Fourteenth Amendment. Actually, there is abundant reason to believe that such decisions as *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, upholding the constitutionality of a segregation statute, are based upon a deliberately perverse construction of the history, meaning, and purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment and that these cases will be reversed. It is to be doubted, furthermore, that the Southern Negro can be emancipated economically and politically unless a frontal attack is made at the same time on the whole structure of Jim Crow segregation. Despite this minor weakness "Southern Exposure" is must reading for all who wish to understand the revolution that impends in the South.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Reports from Everywhere

RECONQUEST: ITS RESULTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. By Hallett Abend. Doubleday and Company. \$2.75.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE. By Sydney Morrell. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.50.

THERE used to be a time when studies of spheres of influence and treatises on "reconquest" and its implications were solely for the professional political scientist. But history today is running too fast for the historians; the field is wide open for the newspaper boys. The reporter-turned-analyst is today a fast-selling item on the publishers' shelves. And one may not categorically say *Caveat emptor*; after all, most of them were on the spot, and they at least provide a modicum of information which contributes to our understanding of what goes on behind the heavy curtain which overhangs most of the world today.

Hallett Abend's book is a case in point. A top Far East correspondent for the *New York Times* for many years, he was one of a party of journalists on a War Department junket to Europe and the Orient during the summer of

1945. On one level his book is a froth of personal impressions, descriptions of army accomplishments—like the superb war-time job of the Army Transport Command in flying supplies and personnel over the Himalayas—and bits of commentary on the various trouble spots visited by the group. Here Abend shows a sense of humor and an easy style that make for good reading. On the other level—the interpretative one—the results are not so happy. An over-long synoptic history of Japan, although it correctly interprets that country's overweening ambition and double-dealing, is painfully dull. There is, finally, a vitriolic attack on Yalta as a secret, iniquitous pact among Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt to sell out the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and so on. According to the author, our Chinese ally and the millions in Burma, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and Indo-China, not to say countless Europeans, have been betrayed as part of a bribe to Stalin to enter the war against Japan and to join the United Nations. Except for the chapter on Yalta and a plea for a hard peace with Japan and Germany there is little in the book to justify its rather pretentious title. "My Sixty Days in a C-54" might have been more appropriate.

Mr. Morrell's book examines the psychological aspects of power politics in four European countries—Iran, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece. The author is interested primarily in attitudes rather than events—the attitudes of the peoples of these four countries as they emerge from the war, in interplay with the attitudes of the Big Three. He traces virtually the same pattern for each country. Russia is on the offensive, with a coordinated plan. This leads it secretly to encourage the terroristic cliques which infiltrate into all phases of national life, by fair means or foul, but always under color of the democratic ideal; once they gain power, as in Yugoslavia, "democracy" becomes but a façade for totalitarian rule. England plays a defensive game in which it gives material and psychological support to all elements that oppose the dynamic Russian sweep. As for the United States, as usual we are vacillating and unsure of our policy; consequently we shift, hedge, and generally confound the other two with our confusions.

This book is a violent attack on the motives and conduct of the Soviet Union. Despite the obvious animus of the author, the charges which he makes are very serious. We have too little information about Iran and Yugoslavia to check their validity, and Italy was until recently under a severe military censorship. Greece, however, has had the benefit of long visits by observers with a reputation for competence and political maturity, among them Leland Stowe, Frank Gervasi, and the Mowbrays. If what Mr. Morrell says is true about the E. L. A. S. and the E. L. A. M. being no better than a gang of Communist cutthroats, if the left-wing movement in Greece places "importance on advertising slogans rather than upon ideals," if Soviet interest in Greece stems only from a desire for imperialist expansion, then one can credit similar charges about the other three countries discussed. But the reports by others do not square with the author's appraisal of the Greek situation. This reviewer's vote on the merits of Mr. Morrell's interpretations is an unequivocal "Nay."

HARVEY BRESLER

Films

JAMES
AGEE

NON-POLITICAL" or essentially "humanistic" movie artists have made many unbeatable comedies and quite a few good dramas; but with exceptions so rare I can scarcely think of them, the only movies whose temper could possibly be described as heroic, or tragic, or both, have been made by leftists. This fact agrees neither with my wishes nor with my deepest convictions as to the source of great tragic art, nor am I persuaded of any merely "historical" explanation of it; but I do think it needs to be remembered, and questioned at length, as I cannot question it here, by those who like myself trust only the individualist in art, and who tend automatically to dismiss all political and propagandist art.

The latest example of what I mean by a great leftist film, and one of the finest, is André Malraux's "Man's Hope," which was made during the last days of the Spanish civil war and is only now released in this country. It is clear that this film is not going to lack for an audience, if probably a

small one; but I suspect that its appeal will be chiefly political, and that even those among this political audience who are particularly interested in films will overlook, or undervalue, some of its most important qualities as a film.

I will accordingly by-pass a good deal that is the heart and soul of the movie—that it is, including and far beyond its political intensity, one of the few wonderful film records of men in courage and sorrow—as so clear and so compelling that it needs no detailed comment. I prefer to use this space to defend things about the film that I have heard talked of as weaknesses and imperfections.

I will not worry about, or argue with, those who may regret the use of amateurs as actors. So far as I am concerned, the film merely emphasizes, even more sharply than most of its kind, the superiority of amateurs over professionals for a large and crucially hopeful part of achievement and possibility in films. The people in this film—Spaniards and members of the International Brigade—do and are things, over and over again, which are beyond acting and utterly different from it; and the one considerable piece of acting that is required—a peasant's face as, in avalanching despair, he tries

to locate a Fascist flying field from the unfamiliar perspective of a Loyalist bomber—is as inspired a blending of reality with imagination as I remember to have seen. Of course it adds immeasurably to the force, poignancy and realness of these players that the were not merely amateurs but also fighters, in the last ditch of a lost war whose "reenactments" here were hardly that, pinched as they were into spare moments between actual work and actual war.

The early scenes, of staff conference and small interlocking missions, are fitful, nervous, ragged in pace and series and apparent aim; compared with more traditional films they seem repetitive and undramatic. But they seem to me an original and important achievement. Barring a few literary touches they go dead against every one of the graces of art, including the good ones; and instead of those graces they achieve scrawny kinds of pace, immediacy, and personal detail which I have never before seen art attain. In their over-all shape and linkage, moreover, even in their near-repetitiveness, these scenes communicate with sharp success the lost, near-blind, yet intensely alive and responsible experience of men as individuals and, at the same time, the desperate interdependence of their efforts. They are also filled, in fantastic paradox to all that is hostile to liberty in left-wing politics, with that strange nascent-oxygen vitality, the very quintessence of liberty, which so far as I can make out is an ambience peculiar to dedicated revolutionists.

It is in these scenes, moreover, that Malraux does his most interesting things with "excess of energy" and with his sound-track. By excess of energy I mean his interest—which he may have learned from Eisenstein—in letting things and movements into his frame which have nothing to do with the central action or which enhance it only queerly and surprisingly—a guerrilla's sudden skipping change in step and his sudden hand to his sweating neck; or a dog wandering in from one corner of a street scene while a ball maunders in from another—little things which brilliantly lock men and their efforts and feelings into the exact real place and time of day. Some of these devices remain "studies"—the work merely of a highly gifted beginner in films—in a not wholly satisfying way; but generically I believe in them and in the few people who use them rather than trying their best to keep their



The rebels, radicals and reformers who were our frontiersmen of freedom

Critics & Crusaders

A CENTURY OF AMERICAN PROTEST

By CHARLES A. MADISON

● A stimulating book about the "rebels" in American history—Garrison, Margaret Fuller, Debs, Henry George, Altgeld, Randolph Bourne, Steffens, and many others. Here are their stories, and the stories of their "crusades"—Abolition, Utopia, Liberalism, Radicalism, etc.—presented in absorbing detail. \$3.50

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

HOLT
RINEHART & COMPANY

Announcing A NOTABLE SCREEN PRODUCTION OF THE
PROVOCATIVE NOVEL BY GUY DE MAUPASSANT



LOEW-LEWIN, Inc., presents *Guy de Maupassant's*

THE *Private* AFFAIRS OF
BEL AMI

Hollywood said that this brilliant characterization of a scoundrel was too sensational to be filmed... but David L. Loew and Albert Lewin have met and conquered the delicate problems of its unconventional story. They now bring to the screen the daring narrative which for years has delighted lovers of the world's finest romantic literature.

In his adaptation and direction, Albert Lewin adds another signal achievement to the screen successes which he has made of literary masterpieces — such pictures as Somerset Maugham's "The Moon and Sixpence" and Oscar Wilde's "The Picture

of Dorian Gray"—pictures also said by Hollywood to present "unconquerable problems."

Produced by David L. Loew, "The Private Affairs of Bel Ami" presents distinguished performances by one of the most talented casts ever assembled in Hollywood. The stars are GEORGE SANDERS, ANGELA LANSBURY and ANN DVORAK, with Frances Dee, John Carradine, Susan Douglas, Hugo Haas, Marie Wilson, Albert Basserman, Katherine Emery, Richard Fraser and Warren William. Released thru United Artists.

WATCH FOR OPENING DATE AT YOUR LOCAL THEATRE!

films tidily to one nicely shaped and euphonious event at a time. Malraux's sound-track is more successful: blendings and counterpointings, along an echoing street, of the bawling of cattle and a rooster's shout, against the metal, vindictive language of modern war's stupendous guitar.

A little later Malraux dares, as few others would, so to extend a night drive through deep country in search of the automobiles needed to headlight the bombers' night take-off that for once the hypnosis, exhaustion, sadness, and beauty of such a task, and the passage of hours, are utterly communicated, not just comfortably suggested. I may as well mention here as anywhere else the remarkable thoughtfulness and beauty of *form* in this picture: the jagged, scratchy, miscellaneous scenes of exposition, almost an orchestra's tuning-up, first swept up and bound into a sheaf by the poring motion of this night drive—catapulting the film into the air and its wildest action—which in turn drains down a mountainside in one of the most ambitious codas ever designed in a film. It is a commonplace that movie and musical form are closely related, but films which show any creative reverence for the relationship are not so common.

Malraux's climax—the Loyalists' attempt to bomb a flying field and a bridge against impossible odds, and their dependence on the eyes of a peasant who has never been off the ground before—is more clearly within movie dramatic tradition. I need say of it only that it is so powerful in emotion and meaning, and so beautifully done, that as pure accomplishment it excels every other excellence in the film, and stands with the few great classical passages which have been achieved, in films, through the perfect identification of melodramatic suspense with meanings which are normally far above the proper use of melodrama.

Once the Loyalist fliers have crashed, Malraux begins his closing movement: the slow and painful bringing down of the dead and wounded from mountaintop to valley, assisted and attended by more and more peasants. I am not sure that this sequence is wholly successful; I am sure only that I was so deeply moved by all I saw, and by Malraux's confidence in the grandeur of the interlocked fact and symbol, and by his determination to build this wonderful symbol through a virtually endless series of near-repetitions into

a colossal dirge for heroes, that for me it towered above most successes, and most attempts, that I have ever seen in films. A man of poetic genius, say an Eisenstein, would, I am sure, have adorned his central meaning with many and brilliant smaller symbolic perceptions; and this, I suppose, would have been even better. But I revere the way Malraux has done it as much for its nakedness as for its nobility.

Last week, speaking of "Henry V," I said that I prefer to see great poetry attempted on the screen from scratch. "Man's Hope" is a glorious example of what I mean. The heartsick peasant in the disastrous plane is great movie poetry. The descent of the broken heroes from the desperate stone crown of Spain, as from a Cross, to the maternal valley, a movement so conceived that a whole people and a whole terrain become one sorrowing and triumphal Pietà for twentieth-century man, falls possibly short of its full imaginable magnificence, considered syllable by syllable; but in its mass it is poetry even greater. Homer might know it, I think, for the one work of our time which was wholly sympathetic to him.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

JEAN DUBUFFET, the new French painter so much discussed in Paris—a small sample of whose art provoked this writer to two successive pieces last June—is now the subject of a one-man show at Matisse's (through February 1) containing twenty-two oils. Among them are three pictures painted in 1943, six in 1944, six in 1945, and seven in 1946.

Inevitably Dubuffet will be called a "primitivist," or "primitivistic," or even, by some of the more habitually unqualified critics, a "primitive." He has, indeed, gone to sidewalk graffiti and children's art for a considerable amount of plastic inspiration; he has reduced his drawing to the rudimentary linear schematizations by which children and untutored or ungifted adults reproduce nature; and he has, in his horizontal pictures, made design a matter of sectioning off the rectangle into smaller rectangles with straight up-and-down and all-the-way-across lines—as Klee did, and as his followers and the gifted but incomplete Adolph Gottlieb (at the Kootz Gallery through February 1) and

Torres-Garcia and many others still do. But this is something that comes from impressionism and Cézanne and cubism even more than from primitive and children's art. Like so much of modern art it is a kind of geometry impelled by the need, conscious or unconscious, to remind ourselves of, and repeat, an acknowledgment of the physical limitations of the medium, among which is the shape usually rectangular, of the picture space. Dubuffet is obviously, as every fleck of paint on his canvases shows, an erudit painter, and no more a primitive than Klee. Like the latter, whose influence he is one of the few Frenchmen to feel, he paints the primitive and the childlike at a remove, portraying it, so to speak, from the heights of culture and as a state of mind, not a way of art.

In his earlier paintings, those of 1942 and 1944, Dubuffet tries to find an equivalent in color for the "primitivist" reduction to which he subjects his drawing. These pictures are in flat, thin, high-unmodulated tones. But they do not work, they falsify the artist's sensibility and experience; this elementary spectrum is not sincere; and none of the pictures of this period are truly successful. In contrast to the directness and richness obtained by Matisse and Miró when they take lessons in chromatism from barbaric or children's art, the result is impoverished, giving us to suspect frustrated talent at the most.

The tonality of Dubuffet's 1945 and 1946 pictures is a radical departure. There is a sudden scaling down to blacks, browns, grays, and dirty whites with pinkish, lavender, or bluish overtones running in and out like glazes. The pigment is mixed with tar, asphalt or gravel and laid on thickly, roughly and, apparently, with plenty of varnish. The drawing remains more or less the same in principle, but now the lines are scored or scratched into the paint as if with a stick. The result is, on the whole original and profound. The large "Vue de Paris," with its flat, cubed surface is a major picture, not so much in its conception, which echoes Klee, Dufy and Utrillo, as in the "artistry" of its rendering—"artistry" being the only word I can find for the subtlety and instinct with which Dubuffet maintains every part of the surface flush with the canvas and exactly inside the frame. This painting is proof, if it is still needed, of how completely Dubuffet has assimilated all that the School of Paris has had to teach since 1908.

The almost outright abstract and somewhat smaller "Grand Paysage," also

f 1946, is a more original but less spectacular and immediately successful work than "Vue de Paris," and bears resemblance at points to a sort of thing many painters over here have been trying to do with Klee's heritage: even, over-all treatment, scratches in bark, lines, graffiti scraped into limestone. But where the Americans mean mysticism, Dubuffet means matter, material, sensation, the all too empirical and immediate world—and the refusal to be taken in by anything coming from outside it. Dubuffet's monochrome means a state of mind, not a secret insight into the absolute; his positivism accounts for the superior largeness of his art.

"Black Beauty," "Moulesse de café," and "L'Homme à la cravatte rouge," and perhaps "Minerve," all of 1945 and monochromatic, are also strong paintings, if not equal to the above two. As happens, none of these, including the two above, have the concentration and quiet intensity of the 1945 "Promeneuse Parapluie," which is missing from the show, although exhibited at the same gallery last June. Three or four more pictures on the level of "Promeneuse" would suffice almost of themselves to make Dubuffet one of the major painters of the twentieth century. In fact, even though his art still suffers under the limitation of being too essentially personal—which is a limitation it shares with Klee's. Where Picasso, Matisse, and even Mondrian speak for a whole age, Dubuffet still speaks for but a single mood inside a single period of that age.

Jackson Pollock's fourth one-man show in so many years at Art of This Century (through February 7) is his best yet. It is his first one and signals what may be a major step in his development—what I regard as the most important so far of the younger generation of American painters. He has now largely abandoned his customary heavy black-and-white or gun-metal chiaroscuro for the higher scales, for alizarins, magentas, cerulean blues, pinks, and purples. Like Dubuffet, however, Pollock's art goes in a similar if less abstract direction. Pollock remains essentially a draftsman in black and white, and must as a rule rely on these colors to maintain the consistency and power of the surface of his pictures. As is the case with almost all post-cubist painting of this kind, if it is the tension inherent in the constructed, re-created surface of the surface that produces the strength of his art.

This was not an accident

PM's Appeal Gets \$210,000. Saves Hospital

This ought to be called "How a Little Newspaper Saved a Big Hospital," the newspaper being New York's PM and the hospital Sydenham, the country's only interracial voluntary hospital.

Faced with the alternative of raising \$300,000 or closing down, Sydenham, which serves the 500,000 people of Harlem, appealed to the PM for help, and PM picked up the ball.

Between Thanksgiving Day, when the first story about Sydenham appeared in PM, and New Year's Day, 10,000 letters all containing money ranging from crumpled dollar bills to checks up to \$1,000, many letters, while signed by individuals, stated that the attached checks represented two to fifty persons.

As for money, PM's readers dug down for about \$210,000 of the \$275,000 raised by the first of the year, and the balance of the contributions was directly attributable to PM's appeal.

What's particularly unusual about the story is that PM went direct appeal to its readers—no gimmicks, no parties, no luncheons, no rallies with big names. Sydenham is in Harlem, and its staff of Negro and white physicians, nurses, technicians and general employer ministers to patients of all races and creeds. The slogan is: Pain knows no color.

Three days before Thanksgiving, Sydenham's future seemed bleak. It had been struggling along under a \$300,000 deficit, left in great part as an inheritance from the previous administration before it became an interracial hospital. It looked like the jig was up. The ambulance service was to be closed down, and next to go were to be part of the wards, the clinics and the emergency service.

In desperation, Director David M. Dorin called up PM Reporter Gene DePoris and put his cards on the table. He said the Sydenham would be finished unless the hospital could get some money—but quickly. DePoris discussed Sydenham's plight with PM Editor John P. Lewis, who decided to open up with both barrels to get the hospital over the hump....

EDITOR & PUBLISHER
JAN. 4 '47

Any newspaper should be proud of such reader response. It is tangible proof of reader loyalty—and it is easily explained.

PM readers know that PM wants to get and does get the stories behind the headlines—and presents those stories as only a liberal and progressive newspaper can. PM readers also know a good cause and an honest appeal when they see one. That is why they came through so generously. But as any reader will tell you, PM features more than the news that is most important—every day. It supplements that news with background and related information which makes the issues and forces crystal clear. The commentators who do this job are men of wide experience and national reputation. They include:

MAX LERNER—educator, radio commentator, author, and chief editorial writer.

JENNINGS PERRY—Tennessee newsman who resigned his editorial writing post rather than attack Henry Wallace in violation of his own beliefs.

ALBERT DEUTSCH—whose reporting on veterans affairs, the care of our mentally ill, and other public welfare subjects has won many citations.

I. F. STONE—whose stories of his perilous journey with refugees from Central Europe to Palestine attracted world-wide attention.

BILLY ROSE—Broadway impresario, producer, showman, restaurateur and cracker-barrel philosopher.

FRANK SULLIVAN—New York World Alumnus whose humorous sidelights on the passing scene delight PM's Sunday readers.

F. H. LAGUARDIA—former mayor of New York and UNRRA's last director general who writes Sundays as he chooses—of New York, national politics or world affairs.

Under the direction of Editor John P. Lewis, PM will, in '47 do as good a job as it did in '46. If you haven't already found out just how good that can be—buy PM at your newsstand or fill in and mail the order blank below, today.

(TEAR OUT HERE)

I wish to subscribe to PM.

(CHECK CHOICE)

No.

Daily and Sunday	6 months	\$8.25 ☐	12 weeks	\$4.20 ☐
Daily only (5 issues)	6 months	6.00 ☐	12 weeks	3.00 ☐
Sunday only (PM's Weekly)	6 months	2.50 ☐	12 weeks	1.25 ☐

I am enclosing a check or money order.

Name.....
Street.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

(Mail to PM, Box 81, Times Square Station, New York 18, N. Y.)

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
80th ST.
59th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

ECHO

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

ALDEN
Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RKO

NOW

ERROL

ELEANOR

FLYNN • PARKER

'Never Say
Goodbye'

- AND -

'THE BEAST with FIVE FINGERS'

Starring ROBERT ALDA

Andrea KING

Peter LORRE

"ON THE BEAM . . . DELIGHTFUL."—PM.

JEANNE CRAIN

LYNN BARI • ALAN YOUNG

'Margie'

IN TECHNICOLOR

Based on Stories by Ruth McKenny & Richard Bransten

- AND -

'DICK TRACY vs. CUEBALL'

MORGAN CONWAY

ANNE JEFFREYS

Loretta YOUNG • David NIVEN

In HAL WALLIS' Production

'The Perfect Marriage'

Directed by LEWIS ALLEN

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

- IN PERSON -

THE MILLS BROTHERS

OLGA SAN JUAN • TIM HERBERT

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

ELLIOT LAWRENCE

AND HIS ORCHESTRA

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

Classified Advertising Rates

SEVENTY-FOUR CENTS A LINE (6 WORDS)

MINIMUM THREE LINES

Classified Display \$7.39 per Inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions

THE NATION

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

BARclay 7-1066

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD ROGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present
"IRRESISTIBLE HUMOR."—Barnes, Herald Tribune.

HELEN HAYES

- in -

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY"

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

44th St. West of Broadway. Evenings 8:30

BROADHURST Thea., Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday 2:30

"JUBILANT AND JOYFUL."—Brown, Saturday Review of Literature

ETHEL MERMAN

IN THE MUSICAL SMASH

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN!"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELD

with RAY MIDDLETON • 45th St. West of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30

IMPERIAL Theatre Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York—NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Boston—SHUBERT Thea.—with Betty KEAN

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT"—Life Magazine

"A smash hit of
enormous pro-
portions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. OH 4-4261
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

JOSE FERRER IN
CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAM SHERMAN

PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON

ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON
BARRYMORE THEA. 47th Street West of Broadway. CI 6-0399
Eves., Incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

Buy Your Books through The Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside of United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

THE NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Pollock, again like Dubuffet, tends to handle his canvas with an over-all evenness; but at this moment he seems capable of more variety than the French artist, and able to work with riskier elements—silhouettes and invented ornamental motifs—which he integrates in the plane surface with astounding force. Dubuffet's sophistication enables him to "package" his canvases more skillfully and pleasingly and achieve greater instantaneous unity, but Pollock, I feel, has more to say in the end and is, fundamentally, and almost because he lacks equal charm, the more original. Pollock has gone beyond the stage where he needs to make his poetry explicit in ideographs. What he invents instead has perhaps, in its very abstractness and absence of assignable definition, a more reverberating meaning. He is merican and rougher and more brutal, but he is also completer. In any case he is certainly less conservative, less of an self-painter in the traditional sense than Dubuffet, whose most important historical achievement may be in the end to have preserved the easel picture for the post-Picasso generation of painters. Pollock points a way beyond the easel, beyond the mobile, framed picture, to the mural, perhaps—or perhaps not. I cannot tell.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ONE of the great events of the year is Victor's release of the recording (Set 1080; \$4.85) of Mozart's Symphony K. 551 (known as the "Jupiter") made by Toscanini with the N. C. Symphony. The performance gives the work with all its majesty and rance, and with the unusual feature of the second movement played *Andante mentoso* instead of the usual *Adagio*. And it is reproduced with clarity, spaciousness, and brilliance. But my review copy has a generous share of this month's amazingly blemished records, including two sides with especially noisy surfaces that make the second movement, with its muted violins, difficult to hear.

For those who hear not by names but by their own ears the early little Mozart Symphony K. 184 that Koussevitzky has recorded with the Boston Symphony (11-9363; \$1) is largely the conventional flourishes and bustle of the inconsequential fast movements, with an interlude of Mozartian cantilena

liness. It is a work that requires no more than Koussevitzky brings to the performance of Mozart; the orchestra plays well; and the recorded sound is rich, but a little coarse from the excessive reverberation.

I have been at a loss to understand the to-do about Monteux in recent years—and I am not referring to the extravagances of Virgil Thomson, most of whose judgments of French conductors, quartets, violinists, and pianists are among those which seem to be concerned with experiences in some private world of fantasy unrelated to the realities the rest of us hear. I am referring to the general line, which has been that recognition has come belatedly to one of the giants, and which I say is nonsense. I am fully aware of Monteux's competence as conductor and musician, but also of its limitations. At a concert a couple of seasons ago I heard the Philadelphia Orchestra play very beautifully, but only as it would in any case, not with any special qualities of sound and style that could be attributed to Monteux; and the details of tempo and phrasing that could be attributed to him in the performance of Mozart's "Haffner" Symphony made it a very unsatisfactory performance indeed.

On records the San Francisco Symphony is clearly a well-disciplined and fine-sounding orchestra, with which Monteux gives some good performances of French works. But if one could not be certain that the occasional faulty balances in Debussy's "Rondes de printemps" were his doing rather than the recording engineer's, there can be no doubt of his responsibility for what happens in the newly issued performance of Brahms's Second Symphony (Set 1065; \$4.85). At several points, as the performance proceeded, I thought I heard something sound strangely different from the way I remembered; but it was not until the third or fourth time, and when the difference struck me with special force, that I stopped the record and began to investigate. The passage was a phrase near the end of the beautiful *Tranquillo* episode in the development section of the finale, beginning in the sixth measure before the return of the opening theme of the movement: over string tremolos the flute, clarinet, trombone, and bass tuba in unison play D, A, B flat, F; but as far as I could tell—by repeatedly playing the record at that point and checking with the score at the piano—the trombone in the recorded performance went from B flat up to C while the other

that is characteristic in its poignant love-instruments went down to F. More than once I have seen Toscanini stop an orchestra in the midst of a terrific uproar (for example in Shostakovich's Seventh) and ask a contrabassoon or some such instrument to play what he had just played, and then point out that the G flat should be G natural; and Stokowski, from what I have heard, is capable of the same thing. But here, on the other hand, is a false note that leaps out at one from a slow, quiet, lightly scored, open-textured phrase; and Monteux seems not to have heard it when it happened and when he played the test record.

In his performance of the work Monteux reveals a lack of the necessary sense for the proper relation of tempos. Thus his pace for the cello theme in the first movement is disproportionately slow for the pace of the movement up to that point. And in the third movement, in which Brahms carefully establishes related tempos for the sections to achieve continuity of the basic pulse throughout, Monteux's mishandling of these tempos destroys the continuity of pulse and make the *Allegretto grazioso* slower the second time than the first. (Brahms directs that the time-value of the quarter-note in the three-quarter measure of the *Allegretto* be maintained as the time-value of the entire two-quarter measure of the *Presto*, so that groups of three such *Presto* measures, at its conclusion, lead back into *Allegretto* three-quarter measures that are in exactly the same tempo as the first time. But Monteux makes the *Presto* measures slower than the quarters of the *Allegretto*, so that the groups of three *Presto* measures lead back into *Allegretto* three-quarter measures that are also slower.) There are also incorrect relations of dynamics—e. g., the excessive loudness of the brass just before the cello theme in the first movement—and occasional faulty balances, all of which may be produced by the recording. The sound

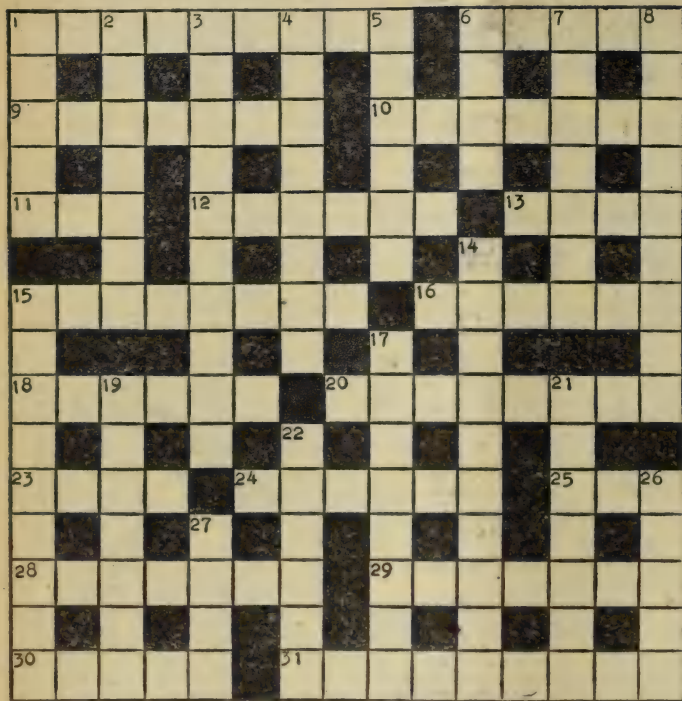
THE JOHANNES STEEL REPORT ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Subscription \$5.00 a year

Send remittance to
JOHANNES STEEL
P. O. Box 878, Grand Central Station
New York 17, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 197

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Makes admissions to the man in the street (5 and 4)
- 6 Bare the head
- 9 Wide, but not wide-eyed
- 10 Educe (4 and 3)
- 11 This punch might make you feel groggy
- 12 The gold-digger's profession
- 13 Make a hit, but cause no sensation
- 15 Boniface (4 and 4)
- 16 The amount a volt can send through an ohm
- 18 Floating in water gives Nat a tan
- 20 Bifurcated feminine apparel
- 23 The one who succeeds
- 24 Humpty-Dumpty's last seat
- 25 "... like the countryman who looked for his --- while he was mounted on his back"
- 28 As a result of a counter-attack
- 29 A letter
- 30 This kingdom in turn averted famine in the East
- 31 Is it not observable with the naked eye?

DOWN

- 1 You are in for it
- 2 "Alas, the love -- ----! it is known To be -- lovely and a fearful thing" (2 and 5)
- 3 Celebrating a victory over an insect
- 4 He must always have a manual before him when he plays

- 5 Means of correction frequently put to the proof (3 and 3)
- 6 The two-toed sloth, you know
- 7 Humorous ejaculation which seems to offer the choice of two letters or three
- 8 Father needs heaps of help at golf
- 14 A person who suffers from this might well work for a reduced figure
- 15 The rising sun cast its shadow early over this
- 17 What would a lackey be about to get this? Brawling, perhaps (5 and 3)
- 19 Isolde instructed her handmaid to prepare a poisonous draught for him
- 21 Springy result of mixing ice and salt
- 22 They make firm representations
- 26 Petrified steel
- 27 Pass over lightly

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 196

ACROSS:—1 SOBSTUFF; 5 CHAIRS; 10 A LA MODE; 11 ALGERIA; 12 TASTE; 13 COLLEAGUE; 14 RECUT; 16 SNOWBALL; 19 MADRIGAL; 22 RURAL; 24 OBLIVIOUS; 26 ILIUM; 28 ESTATES; 29 CHARIOT; 30 SENILE; 31 BREECHES.

DOWN:—1 STAR TURN; 2 BEARS; 3 TWO-SHATER; 4 FLEECE; 5 HAGUE; 7 IRREGULAR; 8 SPARES; 9 HALLOO; 15 CHARLATAN; 17 BARRICADE; 18 CLEMATIS; 20 GROUSE; 21 LAST CAR; 23 POKERS; 25 VITAL; 27 IRISH.

of the performance on the records is fine, but with some automatic leveling off and limiting of volume and brilliance at climaxes.

Beecham goes through the first movement of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony (Set 1081; \$4.85) as though he were not conducting the London Philharmonic Orchestra but driving a bulldozer; and the effect is not improved by recording which makes the sound heavy and muffled with an enormous amount of bass and almost no treble. He relaxes for the other movements and plays them very beautifully; but their recorded sound is only slightly better balanced. More nearly—but not entirely—normal in balance is the recorded sound of his performances of the Waltz and Polonaise from Tchaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin" (11-9421; \$1).

Two singles offer some Stokowski performances with the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra. On one (11-9418; \$1) is "Forest Murmurs" from Wagner's "Siegfried," with the usual exaggerated retardations of pace and expansions of the sonorities that are well reproduced. On the other (11-9419; \$1) are the popular Haydn Serenade from the Quartet Opus 3 No. 5, which Stokowski renames Eighteenth Century Dance after transcribing it to provide antiphona effects for solo woodwinds; and what he calls a Trumpet Prelude by Purcell, in which he has the trumpet phrases repeated by the violins—these performances also being excellently reproduced.

Drama Note

PROGRAMS still assume that spectators are more interested in the life history of the actress who carries a tray than they are in any information about the author of the play. I am therefore, only guessing that "Little A" (Henry Miller Theater) is the maiden effort of Wallis Clark. Half melodrama and half character study, it exhibits some real talent without completely succeeding, or avoiding entirely some disturbing echoes. There is a hint of Strindberg's "The Father" and there is more than a hint of "Craig's Wife" in the story of a man who finally turns against a domineering wife. Alternately too static and too violent, it jerks itself along toward a sensational finish that is neither uninteresting nor quite satisfactory. Otto Kruger is excellent in a part which seems more satisfactorily written than that assigned to Jessi Royce Landis.

J. W. K.

MAY 14

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 8, 1947

NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

PALESTINE IS HARVESTING THE BITTER FRUIT of a policy of indecision and cowardice the blame for which, if resting primarily on the British government, must be shared by the government of the United States. The order to evacuate British civilians from Palestine occasioned by the recent kidnappings can only be interpreted as a signal to convert that tragic land into an active theater of war. The military will now attempt to repair the failure of the diplomats of London and Washington, and their efforts are doomed from the start. *The Nation* has stood firmly against terrorist tactics and warned that they would become the excuse for just such action as has now been decided upon. It now urges with equal insistence that the British government rescind its decision and not, in the words of the *London Herald*, "surrender to terror." If it is not too late, the condemned Irgun member should be granted a reprieve in consideration of his war services in the British forces or his case, even over his protest, be sent to the British council. Above all, the present crisis should be sufficient to stab the London and Washington negotiators awake to the necessity for an immediate and permanent plan for Palestine. If the solution is a partition that guarantees a "viable" Jewish state, then let the governments of Great Britain and the United States declare it and stand by their decision.

✱

THE DEBATE ON ATOMIC-ENERGY CONTROL resumes as the Atomic Energy Commission's report moves into the Security Council. Preliminary skirmishes suggest the stormy rough-and-tumble over principles and top-policy prerequisites that has from the beginning marked American-Russian exchanges. It can safely be predicted that as long as the one side insists on the abolition of the veto and the other on the priority of a convention outlawing atomic arms, no compromise will be arrived at. It is perhaps useful to recall that the focus of discussion is or ought to be a report which by the widest stretch of the imagination cannot be considered an adequate basis for a treaty or convention. The Atomic Energy Commission report is an *interim* report, as its own text emphasizes. A vast amount of work remains to be done: the "detailed powers, characteristics, and func-

tions of the international control agency" will have to be defined with great exactitude. All this spells months of hard work for the commission. Why cannot the Security Council instruct the commission, which has proved its competence in the technical and scientific fields of the atomic problem, to get on with its job, and leave the disputed section of the current report to debate when all the facts are in?

✱

GEORGIA IS MORE NEWSWORTHY NOW THAN at any time since Sherman crashed through to the sea. With two governors in Atlanta, its finances half-frozen, and a legislature bent on making suffrage the affair of private "clubs," it presents a picture of democracy about to receive extreme unction. On the other hand, indignation meetings are reported throughout the state, the brassy legislative maneuver contains pleasant possibilities of boomeranging, the courts cast a long shadow over the path of the Pretender, and former governor Ellis Arnall is barnstorming the country preaching the tenets of democracy. At the moment, the most important of these developments is the passage of the white-primary bill by the state House of Representatives. The essence of the measure is to prevent federal interference in behalf of would-be Negro voters by the simple device of repealing all state controls over the primary, leaving it up to local Democratic clubs to make such regulations as they see fit. The theory is that the primary is purely a party affair, and the party can insist on lily-white exclusiveness where the state government cannot. But three rude contingencies tend to modify the rapture of the Talmadge legislators in perpetuating this bit of parliamentary larceny. First, the Georgia Supreme Court may throw out "Governor" Talmadge, and along with him all legislation carrying his signature. Second, the federal courts are likely to decide to hold Georgia to the spirit as well as the letter of the Fourteenth Amendment. And, third, if the courts do not so decide, Negroes might flock to receptive Republican "clubs" or eventually to a third party—with the result that Georgians might wake up some November morning to find that at last they really had a better electoral system than Poland or Yugoslavia.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	141
Pulling Out of China?	143
Socialization in Germany	144

ARTICLES

The Labor Pains of Senator Taft by Wilbur H. Baldinger	145
Cancer Spot of Europe by Fritz Sternberg	146
China's Dark Destiny by Peggy Durdin	150
Letter from Paris by Michael Clark	152
Highballing with Kilowatts by Richard L. Neuberger	154
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	157
In One Ear by Lou Frankel	158

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Citizen and the Ideal by Louise Bogan	159
Typical Cartels by George Soule	160
Surrealism in Chile by René Blanc-Roos	160
Briefer Comment	161
Art by Clement Greenberg	164
Records by B. H. Haggin	165

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 166

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 198 by Jack Barrett	168
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor
J. King Gordon

Literary Editor
Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 813 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH Labor government and the Burmese delegation, reached in the astonishingly short period of five weeks, is one of the most heartening of recent events. There is now no insuperable obstacle in the way of Burma's achievement of either dominion status or total independence. It does not diminish the Labor Party's credit to say that Britain has done no more than recognize a plain necessity. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League has also shown wisdom in resisting counsels of violence. That the majority nationalist party has chosen the peaceful way may be due to the fact that Burma, ravaged by two military campaigns, is in great need of immediate economic help. In converting the \$300,000,000 loan, upon which Burmese reconstruction depends, into an outright grant and in promising further financial help during the interim period, London doubtless hopes to influence Burmese opinion. The negotiations were marked by frankness, vigor, and a realistic willingness to compromise upon all issues. The British yielded to U Aung San's demand that the April elections must return, not a mere legislative body, but a Constituent Assembly empowered to draw up a constitution; the Burmese made concessions on the problem of the hill tribes of the frontier regions, who, distinct in mode of life from the rest of the country and formerly an oppressed group, make up one-third of the population. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, which has always objected to partition as proposed by the White Paper of 1945, has agreed that the constitution must safeguard the rights of the minority. Difficulties and dangers remain. Nevertheless, if the present wisdom continues to be shown, Burma has every chance of achieving its liberty during the British Labor Party's present term of office.

✱

REPRESENTATIVE WALTER ANDREWS OF NEW York, chairman of the House Committee on the Armed Services, appears to be painfully confused over his committee's place in the scheme of government. How else explain his almost idiotic directive to the committee staff? According to an Associated Press dispatch, these people, including high-salaried professional assistants, have been ordered by Mr. Andrews to dress just so, to avoid all fraternization with members of other committee staffs, and to remain standing when officers or members of Congress are present until given the command "At Ease." We can no more imagine a self-respecting civilian paying attention to such impertinence than we can picture Representative Helen Douglas shouting "At Ease" out of the corner of her mouth. But Mr. Andrews should be set straight all the same. His committee is a civilian watchdog, charged with keeping the military and naval services properly subjected to popular control, and not a low-echelon service command designed to cater to the brass and braid. If the gentleman from New York

ants to play the old soldier, a uniform can surely be
 ug up for him and perhaps a garrison platoon in, say,
 Korea.

✱

DAVID STERN'S ACTION IN SELLING THE Philadelphia *Record* and his two Camden, New Jersey, papers rather than settle with the Newspaper Guild strikers seems to us like the gesture of a defeated dictator. Unable to attain absolute rule, he has sought to ruin his 1,675 employees and has succeeded in destroying his reputation as a liberal. In 1935 Mr. Stern, then publisher of the New York *Post*, signed one of the first "guild-shop" contracts and thus gave the young union a very welcome boost. But in recent years he has attempted to overcapitalize on this good deed and has become increasingly difficult to deal with. Now he has left Philadelphia with only one morning and two evening newspapers, while Camden has none at all. However, the *Bulletin* management has announced that efforts will be made to enable publication to be resumed under "independent ownership." The strikers' solidarity is unbroken; whoever buys the properties, they insist, will have to sign a contract before starting the presses.

✱

SIXTEEN MILLION TENANTS RECEIVED A last-minute reprieve on January 29 when the President, performing a hasty and undignified somersault, stopped the mimeographs which were grinding out a release authorizing a 10 per cent boost in rents. Mr. Truman's approval of this plan had been originally secured by his too clever confidant, Clark Clifford, and some top officials in the Office of Temporary Controls, who persuaded him that it would be smart politics to forestall a G. O. P. bill providing for a 15 per cent increase. Fortunately, the news leaked out, and frantic calls to the White House from labor leaders and democratic Congressmen induced the President to think again. Even politically this pandering to the real-estate lobby would have been folly; much better leave the responsibility of killing or revising rent controls to the Republicans. From the point of view of national economic welfare, a rent increase at this time could well prove disastrous. It would wipe out the much-advertised but actually very modest fall in the cost of living and would certainly strengthen demands for higher wages. Moreover, an OTC report just issued shows that landlords as a group are doing nicely with profits ranging from 25 to 43 per cent higher than before the war. As Senator Tobey, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, has very properly stated in the course of hearings on the Republicans' rent-increase bill, the burden of proof is on them.

IN THE PASSING OF DAVID LOUIS PODELL *The Nation* has lost a valued counselor and loyal friend. In his distinguished career as an attorney he was habitually on the side of the people against the rude pressures of an industrial society. His firm belief that society was made for man and not man for society brought him into the group that gathered around Franklin D. Roosevelt to map out a program for America when the country was overwhelmed by economic crisis. When the war broke out, he was elected to head the small-business section of the Department of Justice. It is probable that the war burden he ungrudgingly carried in spite of failing health contributed to his too early death. He was identified with *The Nation Associates* from its beginning, and his wise counsel contributed greatly to the work of the organization. David Podell was a man whose liberalism was not something to be donned like a Sunday suit for a special occasion: it was part of the warp and woof of his life.

Pulling Out of China?

IN WITHDRAWING American troops from China General Marshall has taken the course that was logically implied by his report of January 7 on the breakdown of his year-long mediation effort. He has done wisely, for in no other way could the United States have been restored to a position of influence. But when the Secretary of State considers what program he will adopt for the future, it is to be hoped that he will draw more radical conclusions from his experiences than those contained in his report.

From the outset it was obvious that there could be no hope of success if the mediating power gave such aid to one of the contestants that the ratio of military force between them was seriously altered. That principle has been persistently flouted. Since V-J Day the United States has trained and equipped some forty divisions for the Kuomintang. Moreover, by transporting nearly half a million troops to strategic points the United States army and navy have served as effective allies of a militarist group which at least once during the negotiations declared its intentions of exterminating the other party. It is true that a part of this aid was given before January, 1946, when General Marshall began his peace effort. The greater part, however, was given during the negotiations of the Committee of Three. The result was extension of the civil war and repeated violations of political agreements. Inevitably, the Yen'an regime concluded that the American mediation effort was nothing but a mask for Western imperialism.

The refusal of the middle-class Democratic League to participate in the Constituent Assembly or to enter the coalition government is another indication of the

extent to which Washington defeated General Marshall's purpose. To borrow General Marshall's words, "On the side of the government, which is in effect the Kuomintang Party, there is a *dominant* group of reactionaries who have been opposed . . . to almost every effort I have made to influence the formation of a genuine coalition government." Again in his words, the action of this group "has been devastating in its effect." Stronger terms have not been used by the Yen'an regime itself. In effect, the United States has strengthened an intolerable dictatorship and helped to prevent the rise of those very middle-of-the-way parties upon which, in the latter part of his report, the American mediator declared the salvation of China depends.

If the Secretary of State is to take full advantage of the liberty he has now given himself, the course he must follow is noonday clear. The Chinese reactionaries, Chiang included, have without doubt banked heavily on the outbreak of war between this country and Russia. In such a war they have seen their best chance not only to recover territories formerly controlled by China but to arrest social revolution and democratic reform alike. This pernicious notion must be dissipated.

Then, if the United States is truly resolved to give no more military aid to Chiang, this country can do much to bring a real coalition government into existence. The Communists at present refuse to enter the government until a return is made to the military situation of January, 1946, and the new constitution has been annulled. It is unlikely that these conditions will be met. But that does not mean that all-out civil war is inevitable, for neither party is strong enough for such a campaign without foreign aid. A compromise can therefore be reached. Although, on paper, the new constitution satisfies most of Yen'an's demands, it is certain that without powerful persuasion from General Marshall Chiang will not give substance to the promised reforms. But if the Kuomintang is made to understand that no help whatever will be given to China until the promised democracy becomes a reality, the result may well be a genuine coalition government. The inclusion of the Democratic League is vital, not only because it is the one minority group that promises to become a major party, but because fulfilment of its conditions for entry would satisfy nine-tenths of the demands of the Communists.

Will American policy permit General Marshall to deliver what amounts to an ultimatum to Chiang-Kai-Shek? Nothing less will undo the harm this country has done. Powerful interests, both military and political, will doubtless urge support of the mock coalition government now set up in China. To do so would be to sentence China to protracted civil war, with unforeseeable results. Secretary Marshall must bear in mind that not all the power of the United States can arrest a revolution so profound as that which is occurring in China.

Socialization in Germany

IN HIS article on page 146 Dr. Fritz Sternberg paints a somber picture of western Germany as a subsidized slum and sets forth a program of economic reforms urgently required if the Germans are to become self-supporting and to build a democratic state.

One particularly ugly element in the situation is the comfort enjoyed by the Nazis and their collaborators, which contrasts bitterly with the misery of the urban masses. A few Nazis, of course, have been punished, and others have been deprived of their jobs; but millions are free and still able to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. It is as Dr. Sternberg points out, essential both from the economic and the moral point of view that the privileged position of these men should be ended. That measure must be accompanied by the drastic reorganization of the whole economic and financial structure. Government debt, a burden which the weakened economy cannot support, must be canceled, and an entirely new currency created.

The most necessary step of all is the socialization of the major German industries, for as long as these remain in the hands of those who cooperated so ardently with Hitler, we shall not have a peaceful and democratic Germany. Unfortunately, there seems to be a major conflict between America and Britain on this question—a conflict which may prevent many of the hoped-for benefits of zonal unification from being realized. The British government has very definitely committed itself to a policy of public ownership, subject to international controls, of the heavy German industries, including coal, steel, chemicals, and engineering. Officially, the American occupation authorities are neither for nor against this program; the matter, they say, must be decided democratically by the German people themselves. However, this attitude does not preclude unofficial discouragement of any moves toward public ownership. For instance, the new Social Democratic chairman of the Bi-Zonal Economic Committee has been pointedly warned by General Clay that he will not be allowed to use his position to foster socialization plans.

These attitudes reflect not only the personal inclinations, and sometimes interests, of American officers in Germany but also pressure from big business at home. A note in the *Journal of Commerce* of January 29 reveals the line clearly. The United States, it pointed out, cannot oppose socialization abroad but has a legitimate interest in safeguarding American investors from confiscation. Since Germany could not indemnify American owners of property in a satisfactory way, that is, in dollars, nationalization would become in fact confiscation. Therefore it is argued, the State Department should officially dis-

courage nationalization in any case where American investors are involved, which means the whole of heavy industry.

The American people, however, did not fight the war to rescue American business from ill-advised investments. It fought to overthrow Nazism and German militarism once and for all. This aim will not be achieved if the monopolists who financed Hitler's rise to power and collaborated in all his plans for world conquest are allowed to keep their economic, and hence their political,

power. It is idle to talk of democracy in Germany unless the German people are allowed to eliminate the industrial oligarchy and gain control of their own economy. And it is futile to hope for economic revival on a scale sufficient to relieve American taxpayers from their present German burden until this question, which is basic to reorganization, is settled. American liberals must wake up to this situation and insist that alleged American interests are not permitted to camouflage the resurrection of the Thyssens, the Krupps, and the Stinneses.

The Labor Pains of Senator Taft

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, February 2

REPRESENTATIVE Fred A. Hartley, Jr., who in his *Congressional Directory* autobiography exults that he is the "only living person after whom an aerie of the fraternal Order of Eagles has been named," sets out this week to stake an even bolder claim to a page of history. The rugged Republican from Kearney, New Jersey, chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, is going to wrap up the labor program in a bill which, he says, will be more than good enough to stop John L. Lewis.

Mr. Hartley's chief helpers in this enterprise are the committee's two next-ranking Republicans, Gerald W. Landis of Indiana and Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, names which strike terror to the minds of children of all good union card-carriers. Their endeavors can be counted on to put the party back in good standing with the National Association of Manufacturers, which has been disturbed by the slowness of anti-labor legislative processes in the first month of the Eightieth Congress: Robert R. Wason, chairman of the board of the N. A. M., declared last week that there had been a Republican "sell-out" to labor for 1948 vote purposes.

What aroused the N. A. M. board chairman was the apparently plodding way in which the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee was going about its appointed task of banning closed shops and industry-wide bargaining. Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, until now a dependable man, was chairman. Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota had proposed bills to accomplish the two N. A. M. objectives. So what was the need for all the talking in the Senate committee?

The need for the talking was made clear at a Taft hearing on the Ball bills. From the far Democratic left of the table Florida's Senator Pepper wondered persistently if the evils of capital should not be considered along with the evils of labor. Between Pepper and Taft, New York's Irving M. Ives—who can make Taft watch

his labor step in 1948—asked searching questions. At the right Ball, a younger Lincoln to his Minnesota adherents, was jealously proud of his legislative handiwork but uncertain in his answers to questions about it.

The witness was Ludwig Teller, New York labor-relations counselor, who found Ball's bills faulty in at least some respects and who had his own "balanced" labor program. Teller would set up special courts to replace the National Labor Relations Board in cases involving enforcement of the Wagner Act. He also urged "crisis measures for crisis situations" and said there ought to be a law on secondary boycotts and strikes. Taft asked unhappily, "Have you tried to draw a statute on the subject?" Teller said he had not, and Taft nodded in confirmation of his own uncertainties.

The need for the talking was also made plain yesterday morning at the White House, when President Truman held a special press and radio conference to announce joyfully a no-strike, no-lockout peace treaty between the Associated General Contractors of America and the Construction Trades Department of the A. F. of L., affecting at least two million workers. The President said that the compact for settlement of disputes between the tough A. F. of L. craft unions and the just as tough contractors was a "notable step along the road to industrial peace." In this opinion even Senator Homer E. Capehart of Indiana and his colleague from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, concurred, and nobody pointed out that such a gratifying development in labor-management relations would not be permitted under the Ball bills, which have been regarded in Republican policy circles as legislative minima.

Ball's Senate Resolution 105 declares "unlawful any contract or agreement making membership or non-membership in a labor organization a condition of employment." The A. F. of L. building-trades unions are traditionally closed-shop outfits, and they negotiated their understanding with the industry on that basis,

specifically excluding from the treaty any "employers in whose operation a non-union condition exists."

Ball's Senate Resolution 133, preventing "the use of certain monopolistic practices in collective bargaining," forbids industry-wide negotiations. It provides that "no labor organization shall be a representative for purposes of collective bargaining of any employees of an employer if such an organization also acts as the representative . . . of employees of any other employer engaged in the same industry . . . unless . . . located within the same labor-market area."

Both the A. F. of L. craft unions and the contractors are largely Republican in their voting habits. Perhaps that consideration will act as a further deterrent to precipitate action by Taft and his labor committee.

In any event, little hope is seen in Washington that

the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. will regard the situation on the Hill as a compelling reason for merger. The Miami proposal of President William Green of the A. F. of L.—and John L. Lewis—to President Philip Murray of the C. I. O. for amalgamation conferences was as cynical as the earlier Murray proposal to Green for a united front against pending labor legislation.

No adult reading this will live long enough to see a united labor movement in the United States. But both labor groups will be around long enough to see a legislative blitz against their very existence. In the Senate the enemy may withdraw tentatively from his heavily armed positions. The House forces are eager for the fray, and Hartley has the votes. Taft will need many of his talents to resolve the conflict to the credit of the Republican Congress and to the end of industrial peace.

Cancer Spot of Europe

DIAGNOSIS OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE starting point of any realistic program for Germany must be the present economic situation as it is reflected not only in production figures but in the condition of the various classes in the population.

Economic conditions are immeasurably worse today than they were even in 1932, the year of deepest depression, and social antagonisms are much sharper. The leader of the Social Democrats in the British zone, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, said recently, "The situation in Germany is such that 35 per cent of the inhabitants have not only retained all they possessed before the war but have become in effect even richer because the others have become poorer. Another group, about 25 per cent, have not enough to live on but through connections of all sorts manage to keep body and soul together. The rest of the people, 40 per cent of all Germans, have nothing but their food ration cards. Such conditions mean latent social revolution."

ALMOST HALF THE POPULATION DESTITUTE

Making up the destitute 40 per cent are the many millions who were bombed out of their homes, the other millions evacuated from the former German and Polish provinces now in the hands of the Russians and Poles,

and the vast number of Germans who were expelled from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other countries. These people have nothing but the clothes on their backs. They live in cellars or crowded into rooms without furniture or kitchen utensils. Not for a hundred years has such destitution existed in Germany. Even during the blackest years of the world crisis the unemployed had shelter, could obtain coal in winter, and drew insurance which enabled them to eat twice as well as they can today. The basic fact in the whole German problem is that the living standard of nearly half the population has been depressed far below anything in the experience of living generations.

Among the 25 per cent who manage to gain a livelihood are the workers and other employees in the smaller towns and those in the large cities who were not bombed out. These people, even if they get no more food than the official rations, still have an apartment with living facilities and so have some hope of survival.

The 35 per cent who, according to Dr. Schumacher, have suffered little from the war fall into two groups—farmers, and the Nazis and their collaborators. The countryside except in a few places has not been devastated. The German farmers—some 20 to 27 per cent of the population—still have their homes and personal property intact. They have their land. And what is particularly important in the western zones, they are fully employed, in contrast to the city workers; their output lags behind demand, and the black market is open to them. The farmers are, in fact, the only existing middle class,

FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist now living in this country, is the author of "The Coming Crisis," which has probably been more widely discussed than any other recent book in its field.

for the former urban middle classes, after having been impoverished during the inflation period and almost ruined by the great depression, were the particular victims of the

Wehrwirtschaft (war-preparation economy) and the war.

The top 10 per cent is made up of the Nazis and their collaborators, men who made vast profits out of the armaments economy before and during the war. With the exception of a few who have been brought to trial, these people have not been deprived of their wealth, and their use of it has been very little restricted in the three western zones. The progress of denazification in the American zone is frequently reported—in September, 1946, at the time of Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, General McNarney, then American commander-in-chief in Germany, even declared that denazification had been completed—but in reality little has been accomplished. A number of Nazis have been thrown out of administrative posts, but so far nothing has been done to break their social and political power. In almost every town under American control big and small Nazis remain in undisturbed possession of their bank accounts and their property. They are well housed and well dressed, and because their money allows them to buy food on the black market, they have good health and sufficient energy for political activity. Punishment of the Nazis and their collaborators would have meant decisive changes in the social structure, and such changes have been strictly avoided in the American and French zones, though some are now being initiated by the British.

INDUSTRY STAGNANT

An American economic policy in western Germany is non-existent. The most essential repairs have been made in the transport system, but for the rest American policy has been and still is one of waiting until free enterprise again sets the wheels of industry in motion. And because free enterprise is not equal to the task, the blame has been placed on the three-zone system. German production at present is far below the level fixed at Potsdam, and with conditions such as they are it is hard to see how it can be raised by the methods of private capitalism.

The situation is quite different in the territory under Soviet control. The Russians are keenly interested in production because a considerable part of the current out-

put goes to the Soviet Union. Some of it, however, stays in Germany, and this provides an incentive to German labor. There is even a man-power shortage in the Soviet zone, though unemployment prevails elsewhere.

Incentives to industrial activity are painfully lacking in western Germany. There is at present no functioning currency, and no one in Germany can know what money will be worth in the future. There is no certainty about the availability of raw materials. And because of the latent revolutionary ferment, the capitalists are not even sure that their factories will remain in their possession. Under these conditions it is no wonder that capitalist industry is at a standstill. And since the American administration finds a planned economy absolutely foreign to its mind, it has failed to take the necessary steps to restore production. The result is that the output of even the most essential consumer goods is disastrously insufficient. This is also the case in the British and French zones.

As evidence I will quote the following appeal to the British Minister in charge of German affairs, published in the *Hannoversche Presse*.

We are speaking mainly of our own city, which we take to be neither better nor worse off than other devastated cities in the British zone. Hanover has again 334,000 inhabitants. Among them are 200,000 bombed out people, 16,000 refugees (40,000 more stand before our doors), 3,200 former concentration-camp inmates, and an indefinite number of people, certainly several thousand, who have had their homes and their furniture requisitioned for the occupation forces. . . .

In the fifteen months since the capitulation there has been hardly any possibility of replacing these losses. Allotments of goods have been so ridiculously low that not even the normal demand could have been filled. To illustrate: in a period of a year and a half only fifteen pfennigs' worth of sewing and darning material has been allotted per family.

Since the introduction of new allotment cards by the Military Government for necessary consumer goods, the city of Hanover has twice received supplies. The first shipment was a sort of advance for extremely needy cases until the result of the goods inventory was available; the second was the first regular allotment for one month. If one compares these two allotments together to the needs of a city of 344,000 inhabitants, one is tempted to believe that a careless clerk forgot three, or at least two, zeroes in every amount. For example, for about 150,000 men and youths the allotment for a period of four months was 89 suits, 31 coats, 227 pants, 206 work jackets, 469 work aprons, 416 work suits, 76 work pants. For 1,700 mothers with new-born babies there were 82 jackets, 118 baby shirts, 217 rubber sheets, 4 baby carriages. A total population of 344,000 people received 43 mattresses, 55 bedsheets, 5 gas stoves, 9 gas cookers, 99 beds for adults, 30 children's beds, 27 clothes closets, 48 tables, 260 chairs.

All the large cities of Germany are in the same straits. And in consequence the people are sullen and despairing. The first post-war winter, 1945-46, was of course one of great hardship. But the winter of 1918-19 had also been hard, and it was followed by recovery. So people thought that this time, too, when spring came, things would take a turn for the better. But spring came, and summer, and the hunger rations of 1,500 calories were still further reduced—in the British zone to just over 1,000. This winter the amount has been raised, but it remains a hunger ration. With reserves at a low point, the German people are going through the second peace-time winter in an almost starving state.

It is reported that should the winter be a very severe one, small but violent uprisings may occur in the western zones. On the other hand, the Germans may have become so tired and fatalistic that they will have no strength for this kind of resistance, which after all would not change the situation. But whether uprisings break out or not, the fact remains that industrial Germany today is a stagnant slum in which only the former Nazis and their collaborators enjoy a fairly decent standard of living.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES

How can this situation be changed? The first thing necessary is a clear understanding of the elements that enter into it, but in furnishing the needed information the American press has been singularly negligent. It has reported that the Germans are on hunger rations but not the extent to which the United States is responsible for this condition through its adherence to the Potsdam agreement. The essence of the difficulty is that the three western zones, with 66.7 per cent of the population of Germany, produce much less than two-thirds of its food. Before the war their output was only 43.8 per cent of the total amount of bread cereals, 40 per cent of the potatoes, and 32.2 per cent of the sugar beets. It must be remembered, too, that before the war Germany imported about 20 per cent of its foodstuffs, and today, with the population swollen by the influx of millions of displaced and evacuated persons, would need to import 50 per cent, even if agricultural production reached its pre-war level. Germans in the western provinces are responsible neither for the presence of the refugees nor for the political barriers that prevent the free movement of foodstuffs from the agricultural regions in the east. The United States, by signing the Potsdam agreement, assumed at least part of the responsibility and should do what it can to discharge it.

With respect to industrial production the American press has supplied even less adequate information. For example, on October 26 the *New York Times* printed the following dispatch from Berlin: "The September industrial output in the United States zone suggests that

after unbroken expansion of such activity during the year a seasonal decline is starting, according to Brigadier General William A. Draper, Jr., director of the Economic Division of the Office of Military Government." The fact is that when Germany collapsed, production dropped to nothing, from which point, of course, any recovery at all can be represented on paper as an unbroken expansion. But it is absurd to describe the present complete economic stagnation as a seasonal decline.

Though the American public is meagerly informed about the economic situation, it is constantly told about German progress toward democracy, as manifested by the existence of a free press and trade unions. Again the reality in no way corresponds to the picture. The German press is strictly forbidden to criticize the policies of the occupying powers and is therefore not at all a free press. It cannot discuss the lack of food, the unemployment, the unsettled currency, the prosperity of former Nazis—all questions of the utmost importance to the German people. Trade unions, it is true, exist—in a society which does not even produce the necessities of life—but they are not allowed to make representations in the matter of wages.

These are the economic and social facts from which democratic planning for a new Germany must start. Is there any possibility of developing real democracy among a people living at a below-subsistence level, without houses, without jobs, and without hope?

SOCIALIZATION INEVITABLE

Capitalism as it existed in Germany before and during Hitler's regime will not be restored. In the Russian zone as everywhere else in Eastern Europe the Soviets have destroyed the social foundations of capitalism. In the west the conditions described above make the reconstruction of capitalism almost impossible. Moreover, the British Labor government is now definitely moving toward the socialization of key industries. This policy, if carried out with determination in the face of the expected American opposition, will bring about a fundamental change in the structure of society in Western and Central Europe, just as the decision on independence for India may change the social structure of all Asia. Its announcement by Mr. Bevin in the House of Commons was a decisive step toward the realization of democratic socialism in Europe.

Some time ago the British government socialized the coal mines of the Ruhr. Then, in the summer of 1946, it placed steel production under the management of the British military authorities. These might be regarded as isolated acts, but Mr. Bevin's declaration that the chemical and engineering industries would also be socialized revealed that the British government has a systematic plan for the expropriation of German heavy industry, cartels, and monopolies. Mr. Bevin left no

doubt about the Labor government's program when he said, "Our intention is that these industries shall be owned and controlled in the future by the public. . . . They should be owned and worked by the German people, but subject to such international controls that they cannot again be a threat to neighbors. . . . The case for public ownership of these heavy industries was never stronger than it is in Germany today."

In embarking upon a policy of socialization for Germany, the British government is well aware that its ideas are not shared by the United States. It can hardly be an accident that Mr. Bevin chose to make his declaration concerning its intentions just as the economies of the American and British zones were being merged. He was informing Washington at the outset that he would give no support to the reconstruction of capitalism. Undoubtedly the British will encounter difficulties in carrying out their plans against American objections, but they start with the advantage of having most of the coal, iron, and steel production of Germany centered in their zone, especially in the Ruhr. Seventy-eight per cent of the coal, 72 per cent of the pig iron, and 72 per cent of the steel of Germany are produced in the British zone; none of the coal, 2 per cent of the pig iron, and 2 per cent of the steel, in the American. As for the other zones, 8 per cent of the coal, 14 per cent of the pig iron, and 14 per cent of the steel are produced in the French; 14 per cent of the coal, 12 per cent of the pig iron, and 12 per cent of the steel, in the Russian.

Controlling such a large proportion of these important commodities, the British, if they stand firm, will be in a strong position to introduce socialization, provided they can gain the mass support of the German people for the change. This should not be too difficult, for the election results in the British zone showed that the Social Democrats, whose program insists upon socialization, are the strongest party. The conditions under which the Social Democrats will cooperate with the British government were indicated in a resolution passed at a recent conference of party executives at Cologne, which was attended by delegates from the American and French as well as the British zone. After referring to the destitution of the people and to the responsibility of the Nazis for the state to which the country was reduced, the resolution declared: "In politics, economy, and administration the same powers rule which brought us to our present situation." And then followed a very important statement: "The

German Social Democracy has for a long time observed this development with the greatest anxiety. Its repeated proposals and opinions have not led to any real changes in policy. It is not willing to assume political responsibility for conditions forced upon it. It makes its political cooperation dependent on binding promises."

A SHORT-TERM PROGRAM

The Cologne meeting also formulated a program to deal with the immediate present. This program covered three points—food, production, and finance. With respect to food, it demanded "that sufficient nutrition be assured and an equalization in the food supply between town and country be brought about." No lengthy documentation is needed to prove that even the increased food ration of 1,500 calories is absolutely insufficient. With the workers so undernourished, an increase in German production to the minimum figure set at Potsdam is impossible. People must get more than 2,000 calories a day if industrial activity in Germany is to be revived. And they cannot get it without larger food imports. Obviously, imported foodstuffs must be paid for by the export of German manufactured goods. But let us be clear about this. *Additional food imports must come first*; they are the indispensable prerequisite for increased production.

After food the prime necessity is an agreement among the occupation powers to permit the manufacture of homes, or barracks, furniture, crockery, clothing, and other articles which the millions who possess nothing but their ration cards must see in prospect if they are to work with any hope or energy.

These steps toward reconstruction must be accompanied from the very beginning by financial measures which are not mere technical devices. The injustice which permits the Nazis and their collaborators to live parasitically upon their former gains must be ended; the security of German democracy demands a drastic elimination of the advantages at present enjoyed by those who brought Germany to ruin. The debts of former German governments must be canceled, and all their obligations except provision for the care of invalids and the aged must be repudiated. Finally, as an absolute essential, a new currency must be created.

Such a program would of course encounter resistance from certain classes in Germany—former Nazis and their collaborators would know that their hour had struck—but it



would be enthusiastically supported by the great majority of the population.

The United States will permit the socialization of Germany only slowly if at all, and only out of sheer necessity, for socialization runs counter to the policy so far followed in the American zone and to the capitalist tradition in which this country has been educated. But if it is done, the consequences will be decisive for world history. The issue is clear. Shall there be a continuation of the policy hitherto followed by the United States in Germany, which perpetuates the slum, favors

the Nazis and their collaborators, and lays the foundation for a revival of neo-fascist, militarist tendencies; or shall there be a planned German economy—that is, socialization of the basic industries—and the resultant emergence of a democratic-socialist Germany? If Germany is reconstructed along democratic-socialist lines, the Socialist forces in the whole of continental Europe will be strengthened or rebuilt, and there will thus be developed a great independent center of political power between the Soviet Union on one side and the monopoly capitalism of the United States on the other.

China's Dark Destiny

BY PEGGY DURDIN

Nanking, China, January 3

THE recently adopted democratic constitution for China has had, outside of official circles, an extremely lukewarm reception. The dearth of rejoicing noted in even such moderately liberal papers as the *Ta Kung Pao* is due to the depressing realization that the promulgation of the constitution has solved none of China's pressing political problems and may in fact have complicated them.

Convocation of the National Assembly, in clear contravention of agreements reached by the all-party Political Consultative Conference last spring and, it is reported, against General Marshall's advice, was the signal for a decisive break in the year-old Communists vs. government negotiations. The Communists have since made it abundantly clear that they consider the Assembly illegal and the constitution it produced a "fake." No wonder there is little optimism about a constitution which instead of unifying the country solidifies its divisions. The character of the Assembly which produced the constitution would alone dampen enthusiasm for it. Although Chiang Kai-shek, through the political maneuvering of which he is a master, split the "third-party" front and brought the Social Democrats, the pro-Kuomintang Youth Party, and many reputable non-partisans into the Assembly, it remained in general an unrepresentative aggregation of Kuomintang and Kuomintang-approved delegates.

Moreover, the difficulty with which the government pushed this liberal draft constitution through the Assembly augurs ill for its implementation. Incorporating as it does certain basic principles laid down by the all-party

P. P. C. Draft Constitution Committee last spring, it is a much more democratic document than the Kuomintang-sponsored draft of May, 1936, which it replaces. Chiang Kai-shek achieved the participation of the Youth Party and the Social Democrats in the Assembly—thereby rescuing it from being a blatantly one-party affair—by his promise that the revised draft would be adopted. He forced its passage in order to keep his word and to prevent the disastrous shock to American official and non-official opinion that adoption of a constitution markedly less democratic than the draft would have caused.

A very considerable number of the Kuomintang members of the Assembly, principally those "elected" ten years ago, were determined to destroy those very articles of the draft constitution which the Communists and other left parties in the Political Consultative Conference had thought most vital. Chiang Kai-shek cajoled and argued; he reminded party members that political expediency required the passage of the draft and that it could be legally amended at some later date. Chen Li-fu, head of the party's Board of Organization, tried—or at least made a pretense of trying—to whip the party into line. Finally, through the maximum exertion of his authority as party leader, Chiang subdued the revolt: he gave definite orders that no important changes in the draft could be made and invited Kuomintang members who would not follow his leadership to leave the party.

There is widespread disbelief that the Kuomintang is at all prepared to keep to schedule on handing power back to the people. Chen Li-fu recently likened the Kuomintang to a famous prime minister of ancient times, one I Ying. When Emperor T'ai Chia was young, he said, I Ying was accused of usurping the power. He refused to defend himself against the charge, saying simply that his actions would be understood in the future. When T'ai Chia came of age, I Ying retired from politics, voluntarily relinquishing his power to the proper au-

PEGGY DURDIN, China-born, was correspondent for Time in Chungking during the war. She is the wife of Tillman Durdin, correspondent in China of the New York Times, and now lives in Nanking.

honor. Only then was the nobility of his motives recognized. The aptness of this analogy seems dubious.

The period of Kuomintang "tutelage" officially ends with the Presidential election next fall. Although funds for the party are noticeably absent from the current budget, there is little doubt that the Kuomintang will continue to draw on the public treasury this year. It will be the only well-financed party in the elections. Unless civil liberties are restored in China, so that parties in overt opposition to the Kuomintang can speak and write as they will, the free elections which form the basis of a constitutional democracy cannot be held. Elections that are boycotted by both the Communists and the Democratic League, China's only approximation of a liberal party, and that are contested by the Kuomintang, the Youth Party, and the Social Democrats under the present limitations on political activity would be hardly more than a form.

The new constitution is the work not only of the P. C. C. Draft Constitution Committee and the Legislative Yuan but of such constitutional authorities as Dr. Wang Chung-hui, secretary general of the Supreme National Defense Council; Dr. John C. H. Wu, Minister to the Vatican; and Carson Chang, head of the Social Democratic Party. It definitely provides for a democratic form of government, although in some ways a clumsy and inefficient one. The central government is to be composed of a large popularly elected National Assembly (a Sun Yat-sen conception), a President elected by the assembly, and five "Yuans"—Legislative, Executive, Examination (civil service), Judicial, and Control (a combination of upper house and investigation committee).

The National Assembly, a huge body elected for a six-year term on an occupational as well as a geographical basis, has power not only to choose the President and Vice-President but to amend the constitution and, eventually, to exercise the rights of initiative and referendum.

The President has less power than the President of the United States. He is elected for a six-year term and may be reelected once. He chooses the head of the Executive Yuan (Prime Minister) and its other members with the consent of the Legislative Yuan. He appoints members of the Examination and Judicial Yuans with the consent of the Control Yuan. He proclaims pardons and amnesties, issues emergency orders which must be ratified within a month by the Legislative Yuan, represents the nation in foreign relations, summons disputing Yuans for consultation, and shares with the Legislative Yuan the power of declaring war, negotiating peace, and concluding treaties.

The Executive Yuan has a limited responsibility to the Legislative Yuan, which can question its members at any time and to which it must present reports. The Executive Yuan must comply with any laws passed by the Legislative Yuan or resign. It can request reconsideration of

any bill passed by the Legislative Yuan, but on repassage of the bill by a two-thirds' majority the head of the Executive Yuan must comply or resign.

The Legislative Yuan, popularly elected for a three-year term by provinces, municipalities, Mongolian Leagues and "Banners," the "frontier regions" (Sinkiang), overseas Chinese, and occupational groups, is the highest lawmaking body of the state. Its financial control is limited by the qualification that it can decrease but not increase expenditures announced by the Executive Yuan.

The Control Yuan, elected by provincial and municipal councils, with representatives from Mongolian Leagues and Banners, Tibet, and overseas Chinese, has the power of impeachment, audits the Executive budget, and passes on certain Presidential appointments.

The constitution guarantees the customary protection of civil liberties, stating that they may not be "restricted by law" except "for preventing infringement of the freedom of other persons, averting an imminent crisis, maintaining social order, or promoting the public interest." Many Chinese view this qualifying clause with uneasy skepticism, having had the experience of being formally granted civil liberties which they have yet to enjoy.

The constitution comes into effect on Christmas Day, 1947. All enabling legislation must be passed in the first three months of this year.

The Communists have not only asserted the illegality of the constitution but criticized its provisions—its "abridgment of civil liberties" and its limitation of provincial autonomy and executive responsibility. The Democratic League, after some initial indecision, objects mainly to the method by which the constitution was adopted, declaring that since the Assembly was convoked in violation of P. C. C. decisions, the constitution was illegally drawn by the Kuomintang.

In some ways the adoption of the constitution is a political victory for Chiang Kai-shek. One of his chief objectives before the convocation of the Assembly seemed to be to isolate the Communists politically, to wean other parties from any alliance with them. In this he was partly successful; the Youth Party and Social Democrats broke with the Democratic League and most non-partisans followed suit.

Now that the constitution has been adopted by Kuomintang China and repudiated by the Communists, a section of Chiang Kai-shek's program for the near future seems fairly clear. Without making any real political concessions to the Communists, and sure of their refusal, he will probably invite them to join an interim reorganized government, as envisaged by the P. C. C., and to cooperate in the procedure of putting the constitution into effect. The State Council, an interim all-party governing body conceived by the P. C. C., in which the apportionment of seats was never settled, will be

organized. Probably the Youth Party, the Social Democrats, and some non-partisans will participate. The Executive Yuan, the number of whose members has recently been increased, may also be reorganized, with some of the less important portfolios given to persons outside the Kuomintang. The Legislative Yuan, charged with making a large number of vital enabling laws, may be enlarged.

Inclusion of non-Kuomintang men in the government is certainly a sound move. But without the participation of either the Communists or the Democratic League, and with a Kuomintang majority in all these organs, the Kuomintang's policies in the interim period can hardly be challenged.

It was evident some months ago that the Communists had changed their mind about participating in a coalition government; they had, no doubt, made a new interpretation of the Chinese and international scene. A Yen-an New Year's editorial analyzed the present situation as follows: In the period since the end of the war, it said, "international conditions have greatly altered." On the one hand are the "American imperialists and their running dogs in all countries," who have replaced the fascists of Germany, Italy, and Japan. On the other is the "democratic worldwide united front," which will "certainly obtain the sympathy and support of the social-

ist Soviet Union." A severe economic crisis in the United States this year will "promote the formation of the worldwide democratic united front" and deal American imperialism a blow from which it will never recover. "The Chinese people must now carry on a struggle to the death with Chiang and American imperialism, their two natural enemies." Another phase of the struggle, the Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, pointed out in a New Year's message, is "the daily swelling mass movement for democratic liberties on the part of all classes of people in areas under Kuomintang rule."

The Communists' strategy for the present seems to be to increase their political influence in their own and Kuomintang areas and to continue and intensify attrition warfare. By widespread guerrilla activity, by destruction of lines of communication, by sabotage, they will increase the economic dislocation of Kuomintang China. The Communists will utilize every available group—labor, the students, the Democratic League—to foster economic and political discontent.

Kuomintang China, the Communists believe, will be tremendously weakened by the people's dissatisfaction and the economic chaos. In this setting, and with possibly a more favorable international situation, the Communists will finally return to the conference table, their bargaining power enormously enhanced.

Letter from Paris

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, January 18

LA FRANCE s'est donnée un chef!"—that phrase, betraying the relief felt everywhere in France that the provisional has at last given way to the full-fledged Fourth Republic, was the comment most often heard the day before yesterday when the news of Vincent Auriol's election as President was flashed over the air. France is just as beset with problems as it was before, but there can be no doubt that a new and welcome note of hope, rational or irrational, pervades the city today.

On Thursday evening the Presidential procession, returning from Versailles, swung down the Champs-Élysées in pomp between massed police and military pickets—Paris, with its incredible plethora of policemen, could easily afford that luxury—and headed toward the Elysée Palace, refurbished for the occasion. Some people in the crowd muttered enviously, "At least they [M. and

Mme Auriol] have an apartment!" They have indeed, and a unique one. Built in 1718 for Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, the Elysée has had a rather unusual succession of occupants, including Mme de Pompadour and the two Napoleons. For a time, under the Directory, a certain M. Howin rented it from its owner, Bathilde d'Orléans, Duchess of Bourbon, and turned it into a dance hall called the Bal de l'Elysée-Bourbon; he did a roaring business catering to the "*merveilleuses*" and "*incroyables*" of his day. The prosaic Third Republic used it as the residence of its Presidents, a precedent, among many others, faithfully followed by the Fourth.

In fact, the Fourth Republic's resemblance to its immediate predecessor seems to be its most striking characteristic. When one recalls that barely two years ago the slogan in vogue was, "*Nous voulons du neuf*," and when one sees what has actually happened, it is hard not to feel almost stupefied. The two republics, whether one takes their basic charters, the men at their head, or their methods, are almost as alike as two peas in a pod. In this connection the newspaper *Le Monde*, itself a worthy successor to that Third Republic institution *Le Temps*,

MICHAEL CLARK is The Nation's representative in Paris. During the war he was attached to the Information Service of the French army in the Near East.

comments: "Where is the flowering, so long awaited and expected, of new men, the young men of the resistance, of the national renaissance and renovation? 'From resistance to revolution,' said some; 'the States General of French rebirth,' said others. . . . What a deflation of presumptuous proclamations!" And, indeed, it is hard not to agree with *Le Monde* that in view of the abdication of the young men of the resistance France could do worse than rely on the wisdom and political experience of some of its elder statesmen, men like Léon Blum, Vincent Auriol, and, perhaps, Paul Ramadier, the new Premier.

The newly elected President of the Republic is, beyond a doubt, a pure product of the former regime. He was elected a Socialist deputy in 1914 by the citizens of his own bailiwick, the Haute-Garonne. In the period between the two wars he played a prominent role: he was Minister of Finances in 1936, Minister of Justice under Chautemps, Minister again in the second Blum Cabinet, and, finally, Minister of State under De Gaulle in 1945. An old Socialist faithful, M. Auriol often represented the French party at international Socialist congresses. The man he has chosen to head the government, Paul Ramadier, also a Socialist, is another veteran of the Third Republic; Under Secretary in the Blum Cabinet of 1936 and in the Chautemps Cabinet of 1937, he was Minister of Labor in Chautemps's second Cabinet and in Daladier's in 1938.

Léon Blum's interim government has now passed into history. Considering what had gone before, and especially the innumerable chestnuts left in the fire when Bidault retired, Blum did very creditably in the short time he had to work in. His was not a government of *salut publique*; it could not have been, for what it most lacked was continuity, the essential condition for real reform. But he did check, for a moment, the spiraling rise of prices and wages. He did, in London, manage to improve Anglo-French understanding. He did avoid coming to grief in Indo-China. His trick at the helm was short, but while it lasted he steered the ship of state skilfully enough to make its course steadier now than it was before. And that is tribute.

French men and women, in their daily bout with the material problem of existence, still acute, sometimes seem rather unconcerned about the larger problems of France's position in the world. Even the fighting in Indo-China, where the whole future of the French Union is at stake, has failed to give them a sense of urgency. Yet these problems remain and must be grappled with. One of them is the question of French participation in the exploitation of the Middle East's oil reserves. Last week the government, more aware than the public at large of the importance of this matter, protested in Washington and London against the proposed realignment of British and American oil interests in the Middle

East. There can be no doubt that here in Paris this protest appeared justified. On a previous occasion, following the First World War, France was maneuvered into a back-seat position as regards Middle East oil; it thought it would get Mosul, but somehow Mosul fell to Britain.



Caricature by Berger

Vincent Auriol

In the end, the Compagnie Française des Pétroles obtained a 23.75 per cent interest in the Iraq Petroleum Company, an international cartel of American, British, and Dutch interests which holds the Mosul and Kirkuk concessions.

Now, however, the American participants in the Iraq Company—Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company—have made

a deal whereby they will acquire a 40 per cent share in the Saudi Arabian oil concessions held by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company. The French protest is based on a secret agreement concluded in 1928 between France, Great Britain, and the United States; this agreement provides that none of the participants in the I. P. C. may acquire new concessions anywhere in the area covered by the former Ottoman Empire without bringing in the others. The present transactions are a clear violation of this agreement. And no one can expect the French to take much stock in the arguments put forward in London and in Washington to the effect that oil transactions in the Middle East between private companies are of purely commercial import or that the 1928 agreement was invalidated because of trading-with-the-enemy complications. The blunt fact is that the American interests, seriously worried by the diminution of domestic oil reserves, are going "all-out" for new sources of supply in the Middle East and are not hesitating to by-pass the rights of the French.

Another fly in the ointment has been the hue and cry that went up abroad when the French government announced that it had set up a customs barrier between the Saar and the rest of the French zone in Germany. The *Washington Post*, for instance, commented on this action in the following terms: "French Military Government officials insist that these operations are purely administrative. They say that no action will be taken which can really be called political without the consent of the Council of Foreign Ministers. But this assertion will convince nobody. The fact is that France has hammered another nail in the coffin of the Potsdam agreement. . . ."

In the meantime the *Berliner Zeitung* (Russian license) has remarked, "France is sending extra food into the Saar just as the Nazis, in 1938, dropped tracts on Alsace saying, 'We are hastening to your aid.' It is the policy of the *coup de force*, of the accomplished fact, that we are witnessing today."

It is, of course, nothing of the kind. What the French want, and desperately need, is not the Saar territory or the Saarlanders but the Saar coal. To get the maximum production in the Saar mines, as in the mines of the Pas-de-Calais, extra food allocations to the miners constitute an elementary precaution. And, indeed, the French authorities are making a serious effort to assure a fairly satisfactory food supply in an industrialized and densely populated area. There is clearly no point in allowing supplementary rations sent to the Saar to be diverted through channels black or white into the rest of the French zone. The French policy of special treatment for the Saar is already paying off. William Attwood reports in the *New York Herald Tribune* that "thanks to the efforts of the region's 55,000 miners

working twenty-four hours a day, on eight-hour shifts, the French have boosted daily coal output to 33,000 tons from less than 11,000 tons when the mining missions arrived from Paris to take over the mines in 1945." At present, of course, only 18 per cent of the Saar coal production goes to France, the rest being distributed, mostly in Germany, according to the directives of the London coal conference. What the French actually want is the bulk of the Saar coal and the control of the mines; they want that to count as reparations. The measures they have already taken as well as the proposals which they are likely to advance next March are motivated by this desire and not by any urge for territorial aggrandizement. The French have had enough experience in European affairs to know that a population which from 1814 to 1920 and from 1935 to 1945 was subjected to intense Prussianization is not going to throw itself into their arms simply because the Saar was French in the time of Louis XIV. But they do believe that the Saarlanders will welcome an economic or customs union with France if it helps their material well-being.

Highballing with Kilowatts

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., January 30

AFTER the big 4-8-4 locomotives have snorted by, billows of smoke hang lazily in the mountain air. The smoke is thickest when extra coaches and mail cars have made the drive wheels slip on the steep grades between tidewater and the Inland Empire. In ragged shreds the smoke clings to the 230,000-volt transmission lines from Bonneville and Grand Coulee which cross and recross the twisting railroad track.

But why should any smoke at all hang over a railroad train when power from the world's greatest source of electric energy hums overhead?

Dr. Paul J. Raver, administrator of the huge government dams on the Columbia River, is asking this question of the eight transcontinental roads which run from the Continental Divide to the Pacific seaboard. It is certain to be a major subject of controversy in American railroading for many years. It may become a national issue if the country ever suffers a shortage of oil. At present diesel engines threaten to replace steam locomotives on

nearly all the mountain divisions of the West, but the diesels in turn are threatened by electricity.

Most Western railroads burn oil. And as far back as 1940, before the drain of war, the National Resources Committee announced that the "country's oil supply must be considered strictly limited." Dr. Raver contends that the electrification of Western railroads would save 200,000,000 gallons of oil a year. He has in mind no piecemeal program, but wants to put all the 8,850 miles of main-line track in the West under trolley wires.

The undertaking would affect the trunk lines crossing the eleven Western states—California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Montana, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico. It would begin at the eastern ramparts of the Rocky Mountains and extend to the seaport terminals on the Pacific. The operations of major railroads would be drastically revised—namely, of the Union Pacific, the Great Northern, the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, the Santa Fe, the Milwaukee, the Western Pacific, and the Denver and Rio Grande.

When the late J. D. Ross, whom Raver succeeded, first called Grand Coulee Dam "an oil well that will never run dry, a coal mine that will never thin out," railroad executives were scornful. They said the cost alone made it ridiculous to talk of electrifying the sparsely traveled, single-track systems which thread the Rockies,

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist whose articles on interesting developments in the Northwest—politics, power, conservation—appear frequently in *The Nation* and other magazines.

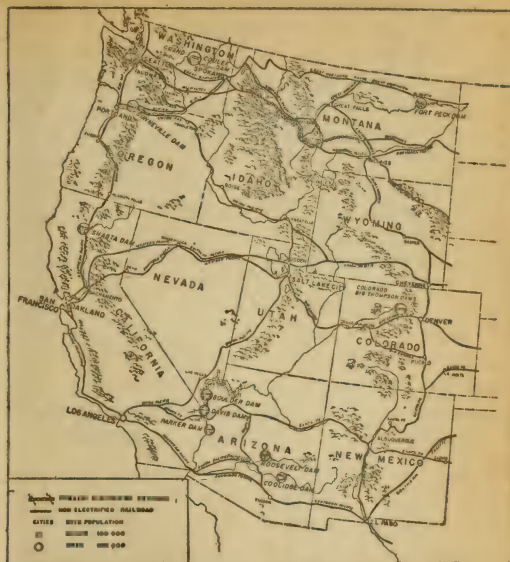
Bitter Roots, Cascades, and Sierras. Boards of directors are no longer scornful. On the paneled walls of their meeting rooms are charts showing the steady rise in the price of oil.

"When Bunker C hits \$2 a barrel, I'll electrify," the president of one of the West's biggest lines told Ross. Bunker C, standard fuel for oil-burning locomotives, was then \$1.05 a barrel. Today it is \$1.55. As the price goes up, the interest of rail executives in Coulee and Bonneville power mounts proportionately. The Rio Grande is studying electrification of its Moffat Tunnel route, the highest crossing of the Rockies, and the Great Northern, which already has electrified a seventy-two-mile stretch across the hump of the Cascades, may string the wires all the way to Seattle.

According to classical railroad economics, electrification is inadvisable except in areas of great traffic density. Expensive catenary wires and power substations can be justified between New York and Washington on the double-tracked Pennsylvania, where trains run only a few minutes apart, but the long hauls across the emptiness of Wyoming and Montana are a different matter. More than 1,500 miles separate cities on the Northern Pacific. Can the heavy initial cost of electrification be amortized when schedules call for only four passenger trains every twenty-four hours?

Dr. Raver and his engineers are attacking this long-standing objection to running railroads by electricity from two salients. One is the conservation issue; the other is a rival system of economics—a system based on the lowest power rates in the world. Raver says it is "paradoxical to move trains by oil or coal in a region as abundantly supplied with inexhaustible hydroelectricity as the Far West." America's oil may give out some day. The Columbia and the Colorado will flow downhill through their deep gorges as long as this geological epoch endures. Trains, moreover, are the only form of transportation which can be hooked to central-station power. Planes, ships, automobiles—none of these can take their energy from a wire; all must burn expendable fuels.

Federal dams on the swift mountain rivers of the West have an ultimate capacity of 4,604,000 kilowatts. Approximately one-fourth of this power—1,250,000 kilowatts—would move every train from the edge of the Great Plains to the Pacific. A few weeks ago the Columbia River Power Administration applied to the Federal Power Commission for permission to set up a special rate schedule for railroads. The basic charge would be 4 mills a kilowatt-hour, which may be compared, roughly, to the 7.5 mills paid by the Pennsylvania for power on the line that is the most successful example of railroad electrification in the United States. Juice bought from private power companies has cost the Milwaukee twice as much on its electrified mountain divisions in Washing-



ton state and Montana. Electricity at 4 mills a kilowatt-hour delivered to the trolley is the economic foundation of Dr. Raver's argument.

In 1937 J. D. Ross and Franklin Roosevelt rode down the lava chasm of the Columbia behind a Union Pacific oil-burning 4-8-2 and decided that it was wasteful to use this type of prime-mover a stone's throw from a river where 42 per cent of the water power of the nation was lurking. In the decade since then the diesel engine has largely replaced steam on Western railroads, and it is against the efficiency and cost of this kind of power that the advantages of electrification must be measured.

A diesel locomotive is a power plant on wheels. It generates its own electricity. An electric locomotive picks up energy from an overhead wire. Diesels, because they create their power, are considerably more expensive than electrics. But electrics require costly trolley systems. The cost of the two installations on the Great Northern's 180-mile Inland Empire division, just south of Grand Coulee Dam, is compared in the following table:

	Diesel	Electric
Trolley system		4,250,000
Power substations		1,750,000
Communication and signal changes		800,000
Diesel fuel stations	\$ 100,000	
Locomotives	4,900,000	3,200,000
	\$5,000,000	\$10,000,000

On the basis of these figures diesel power has all the best of it. Why string thousands of miles of trolley wire when one can use locomotives that generate their own electricity? But installation costs are not the alpha and omega of the problem. Diesel locomotives wear out

quicker. Their maintenance is costly, and they must often be replaced, whereas the Milwaukee's original electrics still haul twenty-car passenger trains up the 2 per cent grade above Butte. Below are the estimates of Raver and his staff for the operation costs of the rival systems on the Inland Empire division:

	<i>Diesel</i>	<i>Electric</i>
Maintenance of trolley		\$ 30,000
Maintenance of locomotives	\$ 350,000	175,000
Engine crew expenses	600,000	450,000
Depreciation of trolley system		140,000
Depreciation of locomotives	300,000	130,000
	\$1,250,000	\$925,000

General Motors, principal manufacturer of diesel equipment, has challenged many of these figures. It contends that diesels are constantly being improved and that Raver's statistics on depreciation are weighted in favor of electric locomotives. Wenatchee, Washington, a division point on the Great Northern, is one of the few places in America where the rival claims can be tested. Diesels and oil-burning steam locomotives bring trains in from the East. Electrics take them on over the Cascade Range and down to the forests above Puget Sound.

J. F. N. Gaynor, Great Northern superintendent at Wenatchee, says it costs 22.8 cents a locomotive mile for maintenance under electric operation and 42 cents under diesel operation. One reason for the cheaper electric maintenance, he says, is that a smaller locomotive will attain the same horse-power as a larger diesel. Diesels on the Great Northern with 4,800 rail-horse-power are 196 feet long; electrics with 6,000 rail-horse-power are only 147 feet, 6 inches. The railroad paid \$3,368,338 for eighteen electric-locomotive units totaling 42,300 rail-horse-power. Thus each single electric horse-power cost the company \$80. It is paying \$500,000 apiece for diesel locomotives of 4,800 rail-horse-power, which make each diesel horse-power cost \$104.

Both diesels and electrics have their champions among the gauntleted engineers who wait at Wenatchee to take the control of trains bound east and west. But most of the engine crews agree that the electrics have "a little more soup" when 100 freight cars are strung out on a 2 per cent grade. A survey on the Rio Grande showed that a 196-foot diesel locomotive could haul 29 loaded freight cars from Denver to Moffat Tunnel at a speed of 22 miles an hour, but that an electric engine only 85 feet long could haul 47 loaded freight cars at the same speed.

Yet even with Dr. Raver's 4-mill power rate beckoning to them, railroad executives in the West are hesitant. They are naturally timid—their predecessors had to be browbeaten into adopting George Westinghouse's air brake—and they know they can convert to diesels one piece of equipment at a time. Diesel and steam opera-

tions can be synchronized. The purchase of one diesel locomotive is no Rubicon; the road can always return to mallets. The change-over to electrification, however, must be done at one fell swoop in Dr. Raver's plan. On the most conservative estimate, it would cost \$440,000,000 to electrify all main lines west of Denver. This sum would be divided as follows:

Trolley system and poles	\$160,000,000
Trackside substations	120,000,000
Electric locomotives	160,000,000

Western railroaders look at their skimpy schedules and ponder. Even during a peak war-time year the Southern Pacific carried less than half the tonnage of the Chesapeake and Ohio. The Milwaukee's electrified divisions have not been prosperous—although Bonneville engineers insist the railroad has been milked to pay exorbitant rates to power companies.

In the end the fate of Dr. Raver's program for railroad electrification will probably be determined by the price of oil. Diesel fuel now costs the lines approximately 7.2 cents a gallon at tidewater and is of course more expensive in the Inland Empire and Tonto Basin. With oil at 7.2 cents, the railroads probably will continue to buy diesel equipment. But not long ago oil was considerably less than 7.2 cents. If its price continues to mount, the railroads will be attracted by Dr. Raver's 4-mill electricity. Nor can the possibility be entirely dismissed that diesel oil will become unavailable. A spokesman for one oil company told the railroads to "start putting up poles and trolley wires because we won't be selling you diesel fuel much longer."

Another unknown factor is how long the Columbia River Power Administration can continue selling energy at the present low price. An industrial rate of only 2 mills a kilowatt-hour has proved that the Columbia can produce the cheapest power in the world. But Raver and his predecessor, Ross, have had to be constantly on guard to maintain this rate against the attacks of the private utilities and their spokesmen in Congress. As long as Roosevelt lived, the Columbia River program was safe. Even after his death, it got passive support from the Administration. Now Representative Jensen and his fellow-Republicans will "not vote one red cent for the Columbia Basin project unless there is a sensible increase in Pacific Northwest power rates." Eastern industrial interests, aware that the 2-mill rate in Oregon and Washington contains a threat to their dominance, have long insisted that Bonneville and Coulee charges be increased.

If the Columbia River Power Administration gets the ax in the new Congress, railroad electrification in the West will be only one of the casualties. Perhaps those 200,000,000 gallons of oil burned now along the banks of foaming mountain torrents may be lamented on some future day when "heaven is falling."



AMERICAN housewives have good reason to hope that they will be able to buy more sugar this year without paying a higher price for it provided that (a) rationing and price control are maintained, (b) the government resists the politicians and business men who are pressuring it to make a grab at the world's sugar bowl.

Unless there is new legislation, sugar rationing will end on April 1, and price ceilings will lapse on July 1. Most experts on the subject, including many in the food trades, believe that both controls should continue at least until the end of this year. At recent hearings by the food-investigation subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee, several spokesmen for the sugar industry warned that a premature return to a free market would have disastrous effects. They recalled the wild scramble that occurred at the end of World War I when refined sugar shot from 9 to 26 cents a pound in five months. Since supplies are unlikely to catch up with demand until 1948, the abolition of controls would surely make sugar more costly and probably diminish stocks on the grocers' shelves, for in a free market industrial users would be able to secure a bigger share than at present.

In view of these facts, action by Congress to continue the authority for rationing and price ceilings is imperative. Unfortunately delay may be caused by the current agitation directed towards obtaining for the United States a larger share of world supplies. Some elements in the sugar trade have been putting out misleading propaganda about the way "our sugar" is being shipped abroad and egging on Congressmen to attack the government's arrangements with other countries.

Because there is still a universal shortage of sugar, we are adhering to a war-time agreement to insure an equitable distribution of supplies. Under this scheme the United States keeps its entire domestic production, including that of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Hawaii, and is allowed enough of the Cuban output to give it in all 20 per cent of the total world supply. This adds up to a very fair share, considering that before the war the United States accounted for 19 per cent of world consumption. Moreover, other sugar-importing countries have agreed not to bid for Cuban sugar but to allow the United States to contract for the whole crop as agent for the International Food Emergency Council, which allots shares to the various countries participating. It is not true, therefore, that any "American" sugar is being sent to Europe. The consignments leaving our ports represent Cuban sugar allocated to Europe but shipped here first for refining.

These facts are perfectly well known to those who have been telling housewives that they are being deprived of sugar for the benefit of Europe. The obvious aim of these propagandists is to upset the international distribution

scheme, and as justification they argue that this country has some sort of prescriptive right to the Cuban crop. Thus a circular issued by Lamborn and Company, New York sugar brokers, declares: "Sugar has been dished out liberally by our government to foreign nations who normally do not secure their supplies in the West Indies. . . . The production of the United States and that which it buys belongs to the American people and not to a handful of bureaucrats."

The immediate concern of those who are urging that Americans should hog the sugar bowl is to obtain for this country the whole of the estimated 1,500,000-ton increase in the Cuban crop now being processed. Under present arrangements we shall get a considerable part of this additional sugar, enough to permit an appreciable increase in the ration, but Representative August A. Andresen of the House Agriculture Committee wants us to "take all." It is to the credit of Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that, while asking the international council for an allotment which will give us some twenty pounds more sugar per head, he has refused to agree to a policy of unilateral grab. In a statement on January 7 he said, "The countries that trusted us to act as sole buyers have a right to expect that the crop will be handled as a pool in which they can share as they did in the war years. Our integrity is at stake."

Apart from being a breach of faith, a "take-all" policy would be against the interests of American consumers, although it would no doubt afford a few speculators the chance to make a killing. The purchase contract made by the Department of Agriculture for the 1946 crop provided for a price pegged to the cost of living. It has meant a considerable advance over 1945 but has given Cuba a smaller return than it would have obtained in the open market with all the sugar-hungry countries bidding for supplies. Were the United States now to invalidate the world allocation agreement, both Cuba and the members of the International Food Emergency Council could legitimately claim that the contract had been voided. In the ensuing competitive struggle the weight of its purse might make America the winner, but the cost, in both economic and moral terms, would be heavy indeed. The price of sugar to consumers would be pushed right through the present ceiling, and it would be difficult to maintain either price control or rationing.

While on the subject of sugar I should like to call attention to some remarks of Senator Hugh Butler, who, commenting on the situation, said on Christmas Day, "Possibly what we need is just a plain, old-fashioned tariff to protect this important industry." Unless the sugar program of recent years was changed, he added, less sugar would be produced in the United States, and "we will become more and more dependent on imports." It appears that the Nebraska Republican does not know that American sugar producers have long had the benefit, not only of an old-fashioned tariff, but of quotas and subsidies as well. And that is one of the causes of our present troubles, for although the quota restriction on Cuban sugar has been suspended since 1942, the Cuban growers have had every reason to fear that it would be reinstated as soon as the situation was normal, leaving them with a heavy burden of surplus production. We can be thankful that, despite this discouragement, they have nearly doubled their pre-war output.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

A GROUP of Catholic laymen have approached one and possibly two of the major networks in an attempt to buy a network quarter-hour of prime time on which to present Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen in a weekly program giving "the Catholic viewpoint on world affairs." Sheen converted



Clare Luce, Louis Budenz, and the late Heywood Broun. He would undoubtedly pack a powerful punch on the air. Networks have refused the business thus far, for the entire situation is loaded with dynamite. The riddle is why the request was made in the first place.

The television broadcasters—NBC, CBS, Du Mont, and Philco—joined together to cover the opening of Congress last month, and though it was the high-spot of "video," not a camera carried a name plate. It seems the telecasters fought so over which camera was to carry which name that the only possible solution was to have no names visible.

LaGuardia's program on Mutual is available for local sponsorship, and that includes trade unions, co-ops, and progressive groups. The ex-Mayor of New York has a clause in his contract providing for such sponsorship when available. Farm co-ops in the Middle West have already signed up. If you have been worried about the dearth of liberal commentators, here is your chance to do something about it.

The next time you hear someone panning the Federal Communications Commission, remind him that on a conservative estimate the FCC has saved consumers \$125,000,000 in telephone-rate reductions alone. This year the FCC has asked for a budget of about \$7,000,000; in other words, here is one department that costs the taxpayer nothing.

Du Mont recently demonstrated a device for transmitting television on a beam of light instead of the expensive coaxial cable. The technique has been used by radio hams for years, and is not unlike the familiar heliograph method of communication. Du Mont claims it can set up television transmitters and relay stations using the beam-of-light system for a fraction of what the cable system would cost. The only trouble would be fog, and Du Mont says it has this licked.

It sounds far-fetched, but don't laugh. Westinghouse demonstrated its "stratovision" transmitting facility—using airplanes circling overhead as a transmitting station—and proved it feasible.

One of the big headaches of radio is the annual shift to daylight-saving time and the later return to standard time. Not every community changes its time, and when programs

come through an hour later or earlier local sponsors take away their business. Network stations nearly go crazy trying to reschedule their programs.

A bill now before Congress may ease the situation. Backed by radio stations and department stores and retailers in the District of Columbia, the bill would put Washington on daylight-saving time. The movie lobby is fighting the bill because a longer period of daylight cuts into the evening business at the film houses. If the bill is passed, Virginia and Maryland will be forced to go along since so many people who work in the capital live outside.

If commercial stations drive you nuts and you crave radio without recurrent advertising, then by all means save this column. If you live near any of the schools mentioned below, you may be able to tune into the Intercollegiate Broadcasting System. Programs are sponsored, but the commercial spots are brief and few. Technically you should not be able to hear these stations on your regular set since they have minute power and broadcast over the power lines between dormitories. But when the power load is high, the program seeps through and can be heard two miles away.

Right now there are Intercollegiate stations at the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa; Brigham Young University at Provo, Utah; Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island; Bucknell University at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; Columbia in Manhattan; University of Connecticut at Storrs, Connecticut; Cornell at Ithaca, New York; Hamilton College at Clinton, New York; Harvard at Cambridge, Massachusetts; Haverford College at Haverford, Pennsylvania; MacMurray College at Jacksonville, Illinois; Mary Washington College at Fredericksburg, Virginia; Ohio University at Athens, Ohio; University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; Princeton in New Jersey; Radcliffe College at Cambridge, Massachusetts; Stanford at Palo Alto, California; Stevens College at Columbia, Missouri; Swarthmore College at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; Union College at Schenectady, New York; Wellesley College at Wellesley, Massachusetts; Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut; Williams College at Williamstown, Massachusetts; and Yale at New Haven.

Coming are stations at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Baylor University at Waco, Texas; Bryn Mawr at Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; Carnegie Tech at Pittsburgh; Colorado State College at Greeley, Colorado; Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Georgetown University at Washington, D. C.; University of Idaho at Moscow; University of Illinois at Urbana; Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois; Lafayette at Easton, Pennsylvania; Lehigh University at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; McGill University at Montreal; Miami at Oxford, Ohio; Mohawk College at Utica, New York; Montana State at Bozeman; North Carolina State at Raleigh; University of Oklahoma at Norman; Olivet Nazarene College at Kankakee, Illinois; College of the Pacific at Stockton, California; Rutgers at New Brunswick, New Jersey; St. Lawrence University at Canton, New York; University of South Carolina at Columbia; Texas State at Benton; and Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut.

The best listening is at night when power use is high. Telephone the university and ask for the station wave length, then tune in, and pray you can get it.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Citizen and the Ideal

THE BLUE FLOWER: BEST STORIES OF THE ROMANTICS. Edited by Hermann Kesten. Roy Publishers. \$5.

DOES some large or small prose "masterpiece" of the romantic period exist that has never received its due, shut up in the thorny language of some smaller European country—say, Poland or Hungary? This question often crosses the mind of the person interested in the literature of the romantic period. Hermann Kesten, by gathering together forty-five stories from thirteen countries, including the United States, has helped to answer it. He has arranged his material sensibly—chronologically according to country, so that we can see at a glance where the selection came from and when it was written.

The interplay of literary influence between country and country just before and after the Napoleonic wars was remarkably active. And it was one of the few times in history when prose fiction, or the chronicle of events, influenced poetry. The imaginations of Vigny and Pushkin were ignited by the works of Walter Scott in much the same way that Baudelaire was to be inflamed by the works of Poe. The poetry remains vivid; the prose on the whole does not. The total effect of these romantic tales, short stories, and excerpts from longer works that Kesten has gathered from all corners of Europe is thin and slight. The editor, it is true, has emphasized romantic idealism, as his title, drawn from Novalis, shows. He has almost entirely eliminated, moreover, romantic horror in favor of romantic ardor. The fear and terror, of a semi-religious intensity, which streaked through early romantic writing is only suggested here. This relative lack of romanticism's "night-side" results in an insipidity and minor-ness of tone, particularly noticeable in the English section of the anthology, which might easily have begun with a selection from Beckford's "Vathek" (1797) and finished with a scene from "Wuthering Heights" (1847). Instead, the editor starts out with a damp little graveyard piece by Mary Lamb and ends with a meek piece of sentiment by Robert Southey.

The selection is broader and better in the other national divisions. The level is generally that of "light reading"; but that level was usual, in the period of a new audience and the rise of the periodical and cheap reading matter in general.

It is rather pleasant to imagine the new bourgeois audience reading this fiction; the citizen or, more especially, the citizeness in the newly peaceful atmosphere of the thirties, the period to which about a third of the material belongs; in Louis Philippard or Biedermeyer interiors or, as the illustrator so charmingly depicts them, out in the fresh air, under trees. One superficial hindrance to our enjoyment of these stories—their lack of technical skill—did not trouble those early readers; the skilful *conte* had not been invented, and the only suspense they were familiar with was traditional fairy-tale suspense, several examples of which Kesten sensibly includes. Another, more significant difference between the early nineteenth-century reader and ourselves is the shift

in moral and emotional values which, taking place later in the century, shut us off from these readers and writers as by a wall. Power was soon to become "the moral ideal of the bourgeois age." These tales were pre-power; and the code of their first readers was still medieval, in spite of civil and religious revolutions. In their fiction everything was exteriorized. The tragic scene had not yet shifted from without to within.

The trappings of early and middle romantic fiction have since been degraded to the childish or comic; they are still, however, full of interest if examined from a historical and psychological point of view. The full collision between romantic ferment and industrial vigor has not yet occurred. The naive imagination is still able to wander at will in its day-dream—unhampered by self-analysis or the need for scientific proofs. This is the last generation—we are still in the thirties—which, in the graphic arts, was to come down to us in its own version of itself, for the camera was about to arrive, along with the railroads and the gas-works. It is, as well, the last innocently to expose its simpler and cruder unconscious motives in fiction. In this period of reverie and comparative idealism, between two eras of power and moral earnestness, emotional absolutes could be openly stated and openly yearned for. Absolute love, absolute ideals of honor, absolute hatred of treason, absolute grief, and absolute revenge—personifications of these attributes flash through the pages. The play of mockery and humor comes in, it is true; but for the most part rather late.

It was reassuring as well as thrilling, then, to read of lovers' assignations in the church or in the shadow of the prison, since these two locales had only recently been drained of their power and menace. It was exciting to play with religious symbolism while shuddering at religious "superstition." Or one could give backward glances toward the customs and amorous pleasures of the old regime, reading, say, Gautier's "Omphale" or Pushkin's "Queen of Spades"; or remember, with Vigny, the military virtues of fortitude and self-abnegation; or glance, with Musset, at "Bohemia" and the kind-heartedness of grisettes; or hear, in many stories, "the tones of a piano" or of a violin: those instruments that were already becoming, in the hands of romantic virtuosi, "absolute" romantic symbols. Or one could imagine the secrets of some "insatiable" romantic hero, expressed by "sighs, groans, solitary walks, sudden paroxysms, incoherent speech, lethargic or feverish sleep." Madness, eccentricity, tuberculosis; abduction, rape, murder, poisoning: all these subjects appealed to the citizen reader. And throughout these stories the sound of tears is constant: "Tears streamed down his cheeks"; "Tears started to my eyes." Part of this weeping was fashion, but not all. The ability to describe and to enjoy the description of this open feeling points to hearts more vigorous and more malleable than our own. It is the freshness and exuberant youth of these tears that touch us, for we know ourselves to be incapable of them.

Naivete of this kind soon came up against its correctives.

Flaubert's ruthless insight into his own romantic youth produced the word "Bovaryism." And this citizen audience, even as it reads in its parlor and parks, is being observed—no longer with Balzac's type-casting eye, but with the insight of Turgenev and others. "Delicate pathos and subtle emotional nuance" are soon to replace the high colors and the cloak and dagger. The shift from the outer to the inner scene is about to take place. The search for some exterior symbol of mankind's yearning for justice and splendor, human if not divine, will still exist, but an inner set of symbols will be sought for, and found. Kesten's effort, therefore, in his introduction to draw a parallel between our own and early romantic times is a mistaken one. It is a different *malaise* which now afflicts us, and pure and naive idealism cannot be our cure. It is to Flaubert and Baudelaire that we instinctively turn—toward those later men who first succeeded in entering into the modern consciousness and the modern "scene," to plot out the complicated and terrible dimensions of both. And our questions, if we are sane, are no longer absolute ones.

LOUISE BOGAN

Typical Cartels

CARTELS IN ACTION. By George W. Stocking and Myron W. Watkins. The Twentieth Century Fund. \$4.

TO THE extensive material now available on cartels this adds something that so far as I know is not substantially duplicated elsewhere. There have been attacks on cartels, defenses of them, and attempts to occupy a judicious middle ground. There have been analyses of the cartel problem to support a program. This volume contains a series of case studies of single representative cartels, showing the situation out of which each developed, its history, its methods, and the results achieved. Since the book attempts to offer no judgment or policy—that is to follow in a future publication of the Twentieth Century Fund—there is room for a reasonably full factual account of the cases chosen. The reader emerges with so much the better sense of the setting of cartel action, its place in economic evolution, the way its leaders think and act.

The cases chosen extend all the way from raw products to highly fabricated manufactures—sugar, rubber, nitrogen, steel, aluminum, magnesium, electric lights, and chemicals. They range from controls exercised for the benefit of small, numerous, and nearly helpless competitors to controls imposed to enhance monopoly profits by the practice of the higher stratagems of big business. Though I started to read it in the mood of one learning about economic processes, I found myself again and again fascinated by a record of diplomacy or intrigue. The ingenuity of the human mind in devising schemes for government—that is, for harmonizing the actions of individualists toward common ends—is in itself marvelous, no matter what we may think of the ends. Phoebus, for instance, the international electric-lamp cartel, is so much like a political state that it has not only an arbitration board but a general assembly.

I do not know what the Fund's committee will decide after reading this study, but at least two conclusions seem inevitable. One is that business men, by and large, simply

will not compete if there is any way for them to act in their joint interest. The little ones who may be forced to the wall combine for sheer protection; the big ones do not want to risk their vast accumulations in warfare if they can pool their patents or work out spheres of influence. Cooperation, not competition, is the natural law of private enterprise. It is no wonder, according to the authors' estimate, that of 1939 sales in the United States, 87 per cent, by value, of mineral products, 60 per cent of agricultural products, and 42 per cent of manufactured products were cartelized.

The other conclusion is that the means of monopoly control are so highly varied, and are adapted so peculiarly to special industrial situations, that no general law could possibly be applied in such a way as to force businesses to compete, especially if they don't want to.

What happens to private enterprise in these circumstances? I hope the Twentieth Century Fund will be able to tell us.

GEORGE SOULE

Surrealism in Chile

RESIDENCE ON EARTH. By Pablo Neruda. Translated by Angel Flores. New Directions. \$3.

EXCEPT for some slips, no doubt the result of occupational fatigue, the translations by Angel Flores of these pieces are exactly as good as the original Spanish. They are not extraordinary, in spite of what the publisher's dust jacket tells us, but rather what is known as "faithful." Spanish, unlike other Romance languages, is easily set over into English—unless one is dealing with exceptional writers like Quevedo or Lorca; and the confluence of style in Cervantes's Spain and Elizabethan England has not run dry even today. The Spanish language is beautiful; so far as pure sound is concerned the simplest phrase becomes a melopoeic marvel: "Favor de darme otro vaso de agua," or "Tenga usted la bondad de traerme otra toalla." The danger then, for a Spaniard with the gift of volubility and megalomania, is that he should lack one unscrupulously honest friend possessing a critical cast of mind.

In two hundred closely printed pages, representing fifty pieces Neruda wrote between 1925 and 1945, there are extremely few good poems. Neruda's verse is without form, usually rhetorical in the bad sense of the word. The same recurring surrealist props—"salt," "leather," "onions," "ashes," "sulphur"—make me feel that an elephant has swept his trunk around a grocery store rather than a storehouse of the collective unconscious. *Ut pictura poesis*; but one could wish that Neruda had seen less of Dali and more of Chirico.

The average of his output can only be indicated by quotation—I pick out the worst on purpose because even his best is inextricably mixed up with it:

It is feet and clocks and fingers
and a locomotive of moribund soap,
and a sour sky of damp metal,
and a yellow river of smiles.

or, from a romantic poem:

O Girl among the roses, O presence of doves,
O prison of fish and rosebushes . . .

Unfortunately I have nothing to give you but fingernails or eyelashes or melted pianos . . .

The ghost of Lorca's ghost constantly moves, uneasily and unwilling, between Neruda's lines. More overtly, the "Ode to Federico García Lorca" is a bathetic descant on the "Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías."

Its ending is egregiously condescending:

Thus is life, Federico—
this is all

the friendship of a melancholy virile man can offer.

Already you have learned many things by yourself
and others you will be learning gradually, with time.

Neruda, a Chilean, was in Madrid during the civil war. The middle section of his book consists of political verse:

I have written about time and about water

I have described mourning and its purple metal

I have written about the sky and the apple,
now I write about Stalingrad.

And I'm afraid this about sums it up. The men who did know how to write about the Spanish war—Ramón Sender, Antonio Machado, or André Malraux—are at the other pole of the ineptitude and presumptuous romanticism of:

. . . I have not forgotten your misfortunes, I know
your sons . . .

O mothers transfixed by anguish and death,
look into the heart of the noble day being born,
and know that your dead ones smile beneath the earth
lifting their clenched fists over the wheatfields.

His patriotic verse (General Song of Chile) is woven of the same texture.

Most of this book is a litter of the surrealism of 1924, by Dada out of the First World War. There was potential validity in the *collages* of Max Ernst, in automatic writing, in the *rayogrammes* of Man Ray, the *papiers déchirés* of Hans Arp. Also in the game of Exquisite Corpses played by the original surrealists in Paris, which Eluard called "collectively determined poetry." Five people would sit around a table. Each one wrote on a sheet of paper a substantive which was to be the subject of a sentence. After folding the sheet of paper so that the word written on it was hidden, he passed it along to his lefthand neighbor, who added an adjective. The next person added a verb, and so on. Results: "The exquisite corpse will drink the new wine"; "The dormitory of friable little girls rectifies the vile box"—the similarity of this to a great deal of Neruda's writing is obvious. These games, to be sure, were played by the most intellectual poets in Europe but only as a preparation for their real poetry. "Automatism," André Breton wrote, "is good because it is a sure method for the translation of one's interior irrationality, but it is valid only in proportion as it gives us communicable elements." He also said, "Modern man's reason sets as a goal for itself nothing so much as the continuous assimilation of the irrational."

Neruda seems to me to approach this only in the poetry written between 1925 and 1935, and here the ambience is symbolist rather than surrealist.

To the American reader, because these poems are only now available in translation, they have a historical rather than

an intrinsic interest. In tone and spirit they belong to the Parisian 1920's; yet though they seem to strive after it, they lack the factitious paranoid fury of the early Aragon and the absolute, quiet, anagogic certainty of Eluard.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

BRIEFER COMMENT

. . . Unreal City !

WASHINGTON, that most puzzling, feverish, and unreal of cities, has never been properly set down in words. Such an undertaking requires the talents of a novelist, not of a reporter or historian; and American novelists, for some reason, have never been much interested in politics above the level of municipal corruption. We have nothing in our literature to compare with, say, the Gurau episodes in "Men of Good Will."

Jonathan Daniels has not written a novel, but he has something of the faculty he ascribes to one of his characters, a woman who saw the old Judge, as she saw all others, "not as a figure in history but as a character in the never-written novel about Washington." "Frontier on the Potomac" (Macmillan, \$2.75) is meandering and often purposeless in form, and the style sometimes leans so far backward in the pursuit of casualness that it develops its own preciousities. But Daniels has an eye for character, an eye for significant detail, and a strong sense of atmosphere. Moreover, in an unpretentious way the book manages to pack in a good deal of information and of insight. The chapter on the Supreme Court, for example, is wiser than it seems and a good deal more to the point than most recent liberal comment on the court. Life, even among high officials and eminent politicians, is still basically human in its motivation. "Frontier on the Potomac" catches a good many private nuances in the government as it exists "between the human swarm and the constitutional abstraction."

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Changing Congress

CONGRESS IS LIKELY to receive more public attention during the next two years than it has had for a generation. Dr. George B. Galloway, who was staff director for the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, is fortunate in his timing of the publication of "Congress at the Crossroads" (Crowell, \$3.50). But there is still no evidence that the public has any real interest in modernizing the organization of the federal government.

Although most of the book was written before passage of the La Follette-Monroney Congressional Reorganization Act last summer, and part of it is an argument for reforms which are now law, Galloway's discussion of the way Congress works is not in the least dated. At best, the Reorganization Act is a small step toward bringing the machinery of the national legislature up to date, and it scarcely attempts to attack the fundamental problems of a representative democracy in the twentieth century.

Galloway raises fundamental questions, such as whether a representative should vote according to the will of his con-

stituents or his own conscience, and it is no criticism of the book to say that every reader will disagree with some of his conclusions. It would be encouraging if any considerable number of Americans could be persuaded to think at all about such questions.

There is, however, some reason for the average citizen's lack of interest in the way his government works. Because the Republican and Democratic parties do not differ basically in political philosophy, both parties must try continually to anticipate, or at least to follow, public opinion. And they have succeeded well enough to make the United States almost the only country where practically all citizens are complacently satisfied with their form of government.

But the government machinery creaks more and more under the strains of an unstable world, and Congress in particular is poorly adapted to meet public demands for drastic change. In war or serious depression Congress tends to become a rubber stamp for the executive, and asserts its own authority almost exclusively by obstruction, practically never by initiating useful measures.

The framers of the United States Constitution undoubtedly intended to keep the government conservative by the separation and balance of powers among the Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court. Congress itself has accentuated this tendency by its own rules and traditions, almost all of which constitute additional barriers to change.

"Congress at the Crossroads" makes all of this very clear, with detailed explanations and case histories. But the author is not very optimistic about the possibilities of basic reform. Perhaps his book will help more people to realize that the mechanics of government are important, as well as the personalities,

CHARLES E. NOYES

Scientists at War

FOR THE *NATION* READER the value of "Scientists Against Time" by James Phinney Baxter, 3d (Little, Brown, \$5), will probably lie in the direction it may give to his thoughts about the social utilization of scientific knowledge. It is a well-written and solidly documented history of the work of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. The first group of chapters contains an adequate prefatory account of the race for superiority in new weapons; the remaining five sections cover Development in Weapons, Chemistry and War, Military Medicine, Men and Machines, and the Atomic Bomb.

One cannot escape a certain melancholy in reading Mr. Baxter's description of the patient effort, the brilliance, and the remarkably sensible organizational methods that marked our scientific pursuit of the power to destroy. From time to time, as in the recent case of the synthesizing of penicillin at Cornell, one meets a ghost of the living community that was created but has now vanished. The effort has been virtually abandoned, and our national appropriations for research in peace time are almost nil. Indeed, it is an intolerably bitter thought that almost the only corporate effort being made by our atomic physicists is directed toward warning the nation that they have given us a weapon that may destroy our civilization.

"Scientists Against Time," however, provides a good deal of enlightenment on the problem of the rational exploitation of science. What emerges is the unmistakable necessity of free and independent research within any cooperative scheme of effort. It was not the controlled body of technicians employed by the great industries that provided the dynamism of the national research effort but the university staffs, the "pure research" men. There was friction, overlapping, and some waste, but, considering all things, vastly less than might have been expected. One concludes that neither an immediate utilitarianism nor a rigidly directed plan would be serviceable in a cooperative society, but that in some way the lesson of the war effort must be applied. The fruits of relatively free research must be readily available to the marvelous technological instruments produced by our industrial civilization.

RALPH BATES

Science and Sociology

ONCE AGAIN the desperate hope that there must be some means of applying the scientific method to social problems has led Dr. Kenneth Mees, a distinguished chemist from the Eastman Kodak Company, to publish a book entitled "The Path of Science" (John Wiley and Sons, \$3). Dr. Mees's opening chapters deal with phases of the history of civilization, the growth of the latter being compared to a helix "in which the cyclic structure discernible in the arts is shown in the coils, and the cumulative growth of knowledge [largely scientific knowledge] is shown as the vertical component." Since the rapid growth of science is a matter of the last few hundred years, the helix model must be so constructed as to show coils close together during the earlier stages of history, and farther apart as we approach the present era.

Picturesquely speaking, so far so good. But now the problem: Since the methods of science applied to scientific problems have given us a large vertical component, why not apply such methods to the social sciences? This question has been asked many, many times, even without the help of the helix, and so far the results have been futile. What does Dr. Mees have to add? "Our efforts should be directed . . . so that we can adjust our social conditions continuously as the advance of science makes changes necessary." This is good advice provided Mees will tell us how to put it into practice.

Elsewhere he writes, somewhat sadly, that politics are "controlled by emotions," and political methods controlled by pure reason could only succeed if they involved a dictatorship; which is something Mees doesn't want; therefore, "we must improve the methods of thinking of the public." Again, how?

The chapters devoted to the historical development of the sciences are excellent. Like all good citizens who happen to be scientists, Dr. Mees would like to use his scientific knowledge for the betterment of the world. He is in good company: so far he is one of many first-class scientists who have not succeeded.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Diana Trilling's column, Fiction in Review, will be omitted for the next two or three months; Mrs. Trilling is taking a vacation.

STAGE PLAYS

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd, present

"A NEW HIT."—Morehouse, Sun

HELEN HAYES

— in —

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY"

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST Theatre, Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday 2:40.

"A SURE-FIRE HIT."—Coleman, Mirror

ETHEL MERMAN

IN THE MUSICAL SMASH

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVIN BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON • Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

IMPERIAL Theatre, 45th St., West of Broadway, Evenings 8:30, Matinees: Wednesday and Saturday 2:30.

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — *Ward Morehouse, Sun.*

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEATRE, 45th Street East of B'way, CH 4-4258
Evenings 8:40, Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"Must be seen. . . Warming, charming, chuckling."
—Morehouse, Sun

MAX GORDON Presents

FREDRIC MARCH FLORENCE ELDRIDGE in
YEARS AGO

The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON

Directed by Garson Kanin
MANSFIELD THEATRE, 47th St. W. of B'way, CI 9-9056
Eves. 8:40, Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

JOSE FERRER

CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAM SHERMAN

PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON

ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON

BARRYMORE THEATRE, 47th Street West of Broadway, CI 6-0390
Eves., incl. Sun., 8:30, Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
86th ST.
86th ST. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BROOKLYN

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCK
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILLYOU
Coney Island

QUEENS

ALDEN
Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RKO NOW

"UNEXCELLED IN THE CARTOON FIELD."—N. Y. Post

WALT DISNEY'S
'SONG OF THE SOUTH'

IN TECHNICOLOR

Based on the Tales of
UNCLE REMUS AND BRER RABBIT

— AND —

'CRACK-UP' PAT O'BRIEN
CLAUDE TREVOR

ERROL

ELEANOR

FLYNN • PARKER

'Never Say Goodbye'

— AND —

'THE BEAST with FIVE FINGERS'

Starring ROBERT ALDA

Andrea KING • Peter LORRE

BARRY FITZGERALD

DIANA LYNN • SONNY TUFTS

'Easy Come, Easy Go'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

In Person

PLUS

THE INK SPOTS **ELLA FITZGERALD**

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

COTTIE WILLIAMS

And His Trumpet and Orchestra

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

"★★★½ Breathtakingly beautiful"—News

ARTKINO PRESENTS

7th WEEK **"STONE FLOWER"**

LIFE "ONE OF THE BEST . . . IN EXCELLENT COLOR"

DOORS OPEN 2:45 A.M. *Stanley* 7th AVENUE bet. 42 & 41 STS.

Buy Your Books
through *The Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. Q. D.'s outside of United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation*.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

THE NATION

20 VESSEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of *The Nation's*
SPECIAL CLASS-ROOM RATE:

30¢ MONTHLY PER STUDENT

for orders of ten or more copies to be sent to one address — Desk copy is supplied free.

Address your order to **THE NATION**

20 VESSEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Because

"In his book we have Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson brought up to date in terms of education, soil erosion, freight rates, the Tennessee Valley, and true democracy."

—HENRY A. WALLACE

People are buying

The Shore Dimly Seen

By ELLIS G.
ARNALL

● "You read this book not only with a sense of the excitement of the battles he has fought but with a sense of the exciting days ahead."

—Lewis Gannett

● "Ellis Arnall has written a book not merely about the South for Southerners but about America for Americans. If Claghorn can read, he won't read it. But its reading is imperative for the rest of us."

—Jonathan Daniels

● "The book is marked by the kind of drive and inspiration which Governor Arnall always exhibits in action . . . Inspiration and vision are found on every page."

—Thurman Arnold

3rd BIG PRINTING

At all Bookstores • \$3.00

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
Philadelphia New York

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE concurrent shows of the English sculptor Henry Moore (at the Museum of Modern Art) and of the late American sculptor Gaston Lachaise (at Knoedler's) present a difficult problem to criticism. Both demonstrate in opposite ways that style, finish, and historical relevance do not settle everything in art, and that no amount of facility or awareness can make good the shortcomings of what Croce calls personality.

Lachaise's is the more authentic talent; yet his achievement seems less complete and adventurous than Moore's. The terms he sets himself are narrow, but he fails, apparently, to satisfy even these—while Moore, setting his terms so much higher and wider, seems to fill them completely in an *oeuvre* already resonant with almost everything that twentieth-century sculpture, painting, and construction have had to say. And yet, still, Lachaise is the better artist.

Lachaise's bulbous distortions and his occasional fondness for the fragmentary should not conceal his relative orthodoxy: he was a sculptor in the old line, the one running from Egypt through Greece and finishing with Rodin, Lehmbruck, Despiau, Maillol, and himself. The new, "international" line, which departs from cubist painting under the influence of barbaric art, is an almost completely new kind of sculpture that incorporates and aims at pictorial effects and depends more on draftsmanship than on carving or modeling. Sharp profiles and plane surfaces are offered to a single point of view, in contradistinction to the old classical sculpture, which offers a monolith to be seen from many sides; flat variegated colors, lines and wires, open and sometimes geometric forms circumscribing empty air, in contradistinction to the classical play of light and shadow on unified, monochromatic surfaces; cast iron, sheet metal, and flexible alloys, in contradistinction to wood, stone, and bronze.

Henry Moore's sculpture represents a stage about halfway between the classical and the new—a stage, also, where modern sculpture becomes peculiarly obsessed with the archaic and the primitive. Moore's quintessential impulse is still sculptural rather than pictorial, but he avails himself of many of the stylistic means developed by Arp, Lipchitz, and the constructivists. His use of

string forms and holes and, in his latest work, of flat perforated leaves of metal inclosing smaller and more detailed motifs is altogether in the new vein. At the same time he remains traditional in so far as he restricts his media largely to wood, fieldstone, bronze, and lead, and insists on "fidelity" to the respective natures of these materials. His large figures, invariably reclining and almost invariably derived from the female form, demonstrate his attachment to the past more obviously than do his smaller pieces, and the final effect, even in the latter, somehow discounts the actual presence of modernist calligraphic and detail, to leave one with the impression, hard to define but nevertheless definite, of something not too far from classical statuary.

Moore possesses no mean talent, and some of his later work, from the two reclining figures of 1938 (one in stone and one in lead) and "The Helmet" of 1940 (in lead) to the two bronze family groups of 1945 and 1946, will surely outlast the transient ardors of that informed contemporary taste upon which Moore's art is now making what I feel is an exaggerated impression. But even at best this work is not so original as it intends itself to be. It answers to perfectly the current notion of how modern sophisticated and inventive sculpture should look, without at the same time disappointing the popular demand for the heroic. (Truly original modern sculpture like Brancusi's makes the demand seem irrelevant.) Nor are the expected archaeological reminiscences lacking—Egypt, Central America, Africa, and even Graeco-Roman bronze figurines. The very fact that it meets our taste so ideally banishes all real difficulty or surprise from Moore's art. It is, alas, this subservience to taste that condemns him, along with Calder, Stuart Davis, Graham Sutherland, and sundry Anglo-Saxons, to the category—not as populous as might be thought but very popular just now—of the sincere academic modern.

The first number of a new London art magazine, *The Arts*, publishes photographs of Moore's large elmwood "Reclining Figure" of 1946 in three different stages of progress. Because a few of the possibilities exposed at each stage are taken advantage of in the completed work, with its curvilinear monotony and water-silk surfaces, one might conclude that Moore is a case of the inability to *realize*, of the failure of that nerve which is required to pursue the original sensation in the fac-

of whatever warnings one's own taste may flash. But in the light of Moore's water-colors, which are obviously first-hand notations of feeling, one has to revise the diagnosis and conclude that, in spite of the photographic evidence, the original sensation itself is not very strong and that Moore needs his taste to expand it.

Lachaise's total work is very incomplete, and he never did quite affirm a style. But in his relatively short life he did affirm an artistic personality that has a potency and autonomy not yet approached by Moore's. The set of distortions to which he habitually subjected the female figure sometimes threatens to become a mannerism, and he could stylize along with the worst of modern sculptors—but feeling was always there, some current of emotion always penetrated to the spectator from these over-literal attempts to negate the visual sensations of mass and weight by means of form. We do not see the feeling give out—as only too often in Moore's case—halfway through a piece, so that from a certain point in space on the art becomes nothing but a fumble and a stammer, a helpless fingering of archaeological reminiscences or a supine surrender to the best taste (see Moore before 1935). Where Moore fails because his feeling is incomplete, or because he has not pressed himself to complete it, Lachaise fails only because he cannot organize his feeling to the very last jot and tittle. He hardly ever runs dry—not even in that series of stylized and repetitious women's heads in the first room at Knoedler's.

Moore will probably bulk larger in the history of contemporary sculpture, and for valid reasons, but I feel certain that in time to come there will always be a few people around to discover Lachaise in the corners of American museums and become worked up about him as no one will ever be about Moore.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE difference between Bach's routine exercises of his prodigious craftsmanship and the occasional work in which that craftsmanship served great musical thought can be heard in the arias sung by Marian Anderson in the new Victor set (1087; \$3.85)—in the several arias from church cantatas, and on the other hand the *Erbarne dich*

from the St. Matthew Passion. Of the cantata arias only one, *Jesus schläft, was soll ich hoffen* from the Cantata No. 81, impresses me as having some real musical life in it. Miss Anderson is in good voice, and her singing of *Erbarne dich* and *Jesus schläft* is impressively eloquent; and there are good accompaniments by a little orchestra under Robert Shaw, with solos beautifully played on the oboe and oboe d'amore by Robert Bloom and on the violin by Joseph Fuchs. The performances are excellently reproduced; but surfaces in my copy are poor, and one side with the end of *Erbarne dich* wavers in pitch. And some of the space on the album cover devoted to glib background chatter should have been devoted to the German texts.

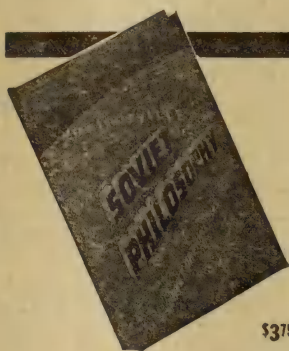
Neither the tones of iron that Richard Crooks produces with appearance of strain nor his crude inflection of these tones makes his singing of twelve songs from Schubert's "Schöne Müllerin" cycle an enjoyable experience (Set 1067; \$3.85). Only English summaries of the German texts are provided—for lack of space on one album cover, we are told. But what about the second cover; and why not a separate leaflet instead of the covers?

Albanese's voice is lovely and her singing expressive in *Ah! fors' è lui* from "La Traviata" (11-9331; \$1), and

she doesn't pull the phrases out of shape as Sayao does on the Columbia record; but in *Sempre libera* she hasn't Sayao's brilliance; and her performance is not as well recorded.

Golschmann's performance of Mozart's Symphony K. 504 ("Prague") with the St. Louis Symphony (Set 1085; \$3.85) is a good one. The sound from the first side of my copy is muffled; and this may be only a defective pressing, for the sound from the other sides is clear, bright, and lustrous, though not as brilliant as what I have heard from recent Victor orchestral recordings. In my set, also, the two sides with the slow movement waver in pitch; and surfaces are not good.

The brilliance I just mentioned is in the recorded sound of the performance of Copland's "Lincoln Portrait" by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1088; \$2.85). Knowing the work only from a couple of performances I cannot tell whether this one is as good as it seems; but again I am bothered by the declamation—this time Melvyn Douglas's—of the passages from Lincoln's speeches. It is hard for me to believe that Lincoln himself declaimed them in that way; and even if it were established that he did I would contend that Mr. Douglas should not—in deference to our present idea of Lincoln



\$3.75

SOVIET PHILOSOPHY

By JOHN SOMERVILLE

Columbia University
Cutting Traveling Fellow
in the U.S.S.R.

"HERE is the book for which all who are worrying about how to get along with Russia have been looking. It gives us fundamental insight into the Russian way of thinking and does so with rare simplicity and clarity. The portrayal is a sympathetic one throughout, and true understanding in this difficult field requires sympathy. Criticism must come too, but it will not be relevant unless it is based on such understanding as Professor Somerville here makes available."

—Prof. E. A. Burt, Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell University.

At your Bookstore, or
Use Order Coupon here
**LIMITED EDITION
ORDER NOW**

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Inc., Dept. N,
15 East 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
Please send me copies of SOVIET PHILOSOPHY.
at \$3.75 per copy. Enclosed are \$.....
Name.....
Address.....

rather than to mere historical fact. And despite Copland's portentous musical build-ups to the passages.

Less good is the recorded sound of the Boston Symphony's performance, under Koussevitzky's direction, of Khatchaturian's Piano Concerto with William Kapell as soloist (Set 1084; \$4.85). There is excellent balance of orchestra and piano that allows both to be heard clearly in fortissimo passages; but there isn't enough bass to balance the treble, so that the sound is brilliant but shallow and thin. On the other hand the sound of the performance of the work on English Decca records (Set ED3; \$9) by the London Symphony under Foulstouli with Moura Lympny has solidity and the depth in space that I spoke of recently; but the orchestra sounds too far back of the piano, which obscures it in fortissimo passages; and there isn't enough treble to give the piano its rich resonance and the orchestra its luster in the upper range. As for the performances, those who like the work—in which quiet interludes separate crescendos that are whipped up to climaxes—will probably prefer the sharper inflection and nervous tension and excitement of Kapell's playing. Surfaces in the Victor set are poor.

The piano is excellently recorded in Victor's set (1082; \$3.85) of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35; but Arthur Rubinstein's performance of this beautiful work carries the traditional distortion of phrase to an extreme that is monstrous, and there is messy execution in

some of the climaxes (e. g., in the development of the first movement). The same mannered style, but less extreme, is heard in Rubinstein's performance of Gershwin's Prelude No. 2, which is a more engaging piece than the dissonant "Saudades do Brasil"—Nos. 5, 9, and 11—by Milhaud that are brilliantly played on the reverse side (11-9420; \$1). The surface of the Gershwin side is noisy.

Stravinsky has recorded for Columbia (Set 653; \$4.85), with the New York Philharmonic, his new augmented version of the Suite from "L'Oiseau de feu." It adds the Adagio of the bird with the prince and the Scherzo of the princesses to the lovely music we are familiar with; but for no good reason I can think of it omits one of the most beautiful passages in the score: the transition from the Lullaby to the finale. It is an experience to hear Stravinsky's own accurate, clear, and powerful statement of the work, which is reproduced by the records with clarity but no warmth of sound. In my copy the side with the Khorovod wavers in pitch, and there are some poor surfaces.

Another Columbia set (651; \$3.85) offers six passages from "Hamlet," spoken by Maurice Evans: *O, that this too solid flesh would melt, the Ghost Scene, O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I, To be or not to be, the Advice to the Players, and How all occasions do inform against me.* They are skilfully framed, so to speak, in music, and excellently recorded.

Letters to the Editors

Not the Same "Nation"

Dear Sirs: On the expiration of my present subscription stop sending me your magazine as I no longer can follow your brand of liberalism. It is no longer *The Nation* to which I first was introduced by the late Carl Schurz on September 11 or 12, 1898.

A. ROUSSELANGE

Hillwater, Minn., January 1

A Generous Offer

Dear Sirs: I have complete, unbound copies of *The Nation* going back ten years or more, which I would like to give to some school, library, or similar group which could make good use of them. I also have available several years of *Harper's* and some incomplete years (1929-31) of the *American Mercury*. Would any group interested in obtaining these magazines write to me at R. F. D. No. 3, Milford, Michigan? I will pay freight charges.

SIPHRA ROLLAND

Milford, Mich., January 4

A Question . . .

Dear Sirs: You have again exposed yourselves as the hypocrites of the day. You are thrown into a funk because a movie cannot show a Catholic priest as evil, money-hungry, etc. But who has brayed longer and louder than you against showing a Jew or Negro in an unfavorable light? So, you believe in tolerance and good-will for everyone but Catholics?

You have endless articles against Franco and Perón but rarely one word against the more oppressive "constructive" dictatorship of Stalin and his fifth column in every country. It must be degrading to have to operate under such a double standard of morals. Why not print this and let your readers judge your crypto-liberal lack of morals and ethics?

JOHN V. HOLMES

Augusta, Ga., January 8

. . . of Hypocrisy

Dear Sirs: In view of your editorial in your January 11 issue regarding the film "The Captain of Castile," I for one promise that I shall refuse to spend my money to see a picture that has been perverted from the original novel solely because of the opposition of the so-called "Legion of Decency."

OF INTEREST TO READERS OF "THE NATION"

THREE COURSES IN LITERATURE

Beginning February 5

ISAAC ROSENFELD

former Assistant-Editor of the "New Republic"—Author, "Passage from Home"

The Art of Criticism Wednesdays, 6-8 p.m.

EDGAR JOHNSON

Author, "A Treasury of Satire"

Satire: A Survey and Analysis Wednesdays, 8-10 p.m.

HENRY NEUMANN

Leader of Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society

Ideas and Ideals in Modern Literature Wednesdays, 8-10 p.m.

REGISTRATION OPEN TO FEB. 14—These and more than 200 other evening courses in literature, the arts, social studies, creative writing, radio, and technical fields are offered in the spring term of the DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY's school for adults. Veterans eligible. No academic prerequisites for admissions. For announcements of all courses, phone or write for Bulletin N, Address

Division of
General Education
New York 3, N. Y.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Spring 7-2000, Ext. 291

Further, until the company that made "The Captain of Castle" into a picture courageously issues its declaration of independence from this legion, and any other legion, and any other church, I shall view with considerable suspicion any pictures it issues from now on.

R. W. PENCE

Greencastle, Ind., January 15

How to Do It

Dear Sirs: You might be interested in the following practical symposium on housing, either G. I. or otherwise:

In the first place, housing for rental income must pay out on six years' rental occupation. The portion of the average person's income for housing rent, or whatever you want to call it, is one-quarter of the income, *not* one-sixth, as you stated in a recent issue.

I have converted large houses into duplexes for rental income during the last fifteen years, and I know what I talk about. You don't go to an architect, you don't get blueprints, you don't figure fireplaces and glass porches; you figure housing only—just plain sleeping and eating accommodations, and if you are especially flush you figure for a plain garage. You get down in the dirt yourself, you help dig the foundation, you chase material for the carpenter, you get dirty yourself. You don't go out for your morning coffee around the corner from the office at 9 a. m. and sit there until 10 a. m. on the boss's time. I worked for years, Saturdays and Sundays—lathing, cleaning up. You don't holler for the government to take care of you—the so-called building trades show up for work, cold or warm, rain or dry, and I wonder if any of the people talking glibly about housing have ever done a dime's worth of hard work. I know they haven't.

You know the way to save expenses is to get busy yourself: mix your own plaster, help the plasterer put it on, lay your own cement floor in the basement and garage. It is simple: you just buy the ready-mixed and take a two by four and flow it on just like the other guy has to do it.

The boloney about the mortgage lender is the bunk. If you are a good upstanding man and not afraid to help and work you can go to any bank and get a loan at 4 per cent per annum which is certainly cheap money. Too much golf, the ponies, and too much talk and bridge.

Hey what? FRANK HOLBORN

Oskosh, Wis., January 10

Building Codes vs. Progress

Dear Sirs: Charles Abrams's three articles in *The Nation* on Homeless America contain many constructive suggestions. My union particularly subscribes to his final conclusion: "The bottleneck in housing production is not the materials shortage but a misconception of the function of government." But we would substitute the word "perversion" for "misconception."

Mr. Abrams, while laying about him manfully, has nevertheless passed over lightly the greatest single obstacle to a rational solution of the problem. This is the mass of building-code laws and ordinances which blankets the nation. As is well known, local codes prevent the use of most of the standardized construction methods and other technical advances which engineers have worked out for improving the quality and lowering the cost of housing.

Nearly fifteen years ago, under the auspices of the Bureau of Standards, a model building code was drafted by experts and sent out to all state, county, and municipal agencies with recommendations that it be adopted. It was scuttled by the same lobbying interests that scuttled all other attempts to ameliorate the housing crises.

Hence it seems obvious to us shipyard workers, who see the dismantling of scores of great shipyards with their productive machinery and the turning off of thousands of skilled workmen who could be used in the production of standardized unit housing, that housing reform is fundamentally a question of political action. When the common people of America become politically conscious and organized it will be possible to do the job.

Until then the fiascos cited by Abrams and his plea for construction by public agencies will have no effect, except in those few instances when "war emergencies" or similar situations lower the guard of the vested interests in housing.

JOHN GREEN, President,
Industrial Union of Marine and
Shipbuilding Workers

Camden, N. J., January 13

Is Good Prose a Crime?

Dear Sirs: I have just read Isaac Rosenfeld's review of "The Wild Flag." Since Mr. Rosenfeld draws upon Yiddish, I hope both he and you will forgive me if I drag another Yiddish word into your columns. The word is *nudnik*. Unlike the teakettle, the *nudnik* defies

translation. But Mr. Rosenfeld will recognize the word and may serve as an admirable example of its meaning.

I am uninterested either in defending or attacking the *New Yorker*. Apparently, however, the trouble with "The Wild Flag" is that its contents first appeared in that magazine. That's a fine critical principle. Of course Rosenfeld is trying to establish a relationship between the publication where White's pieces appeared and the nature of the writing itself. But I have an uneasy feeling that our critic can't get the magazine out of his mind and "The Wild Flag" into it.

Since about 1940 I have nowhere found the argument for abandoning national sovereignty presented so eloquently, so lucidly, so persuasively as in the selections of "The Wild Flag." That the argument must still be carried on seems to me fairly obvious. That White uses rare talents to plead for world government, law, discipline is apparently obvious to Mr. Rosenfeld too. Well, then, is it a crime to use good prose for a desperately necessary message? Are only the ponderous sincere?

JUDAH GOLDIN

Iowa City, January 11

Planning and Paying for Full Employment

Edited by ABBA P. LERNER
and FRANK D. GRAHAM

Can America enjoy both economic security and liberty? Some of our country's most thoughtful economists say yes.

In this book, they show how we can assure full employment without the "serfdom" of any much governmental control.
220 pages, \$3.00

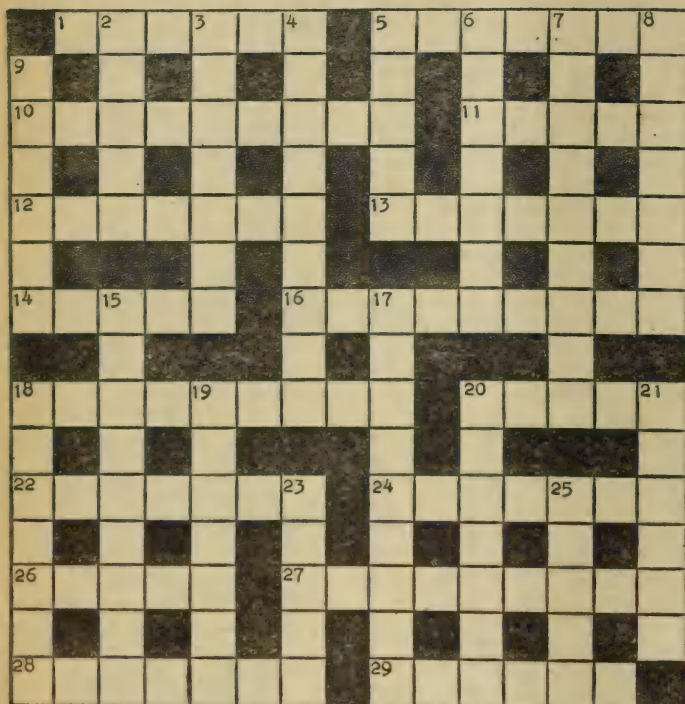
At all
bookstores



PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY PRESS,
Princeton, N. J.

Crossword Puzzle No. 198

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Ghost with long teeth that haunts some Scottish castles
- 5 Soon wed, in the Victorian manner
- 10 Or rather the dunce
- 11 Affected with a teasing desire
- 12 Perhaps the greatest of Italian operatic composers
- 13 Pert, am I? (anag.)
- 14 Brilliant pianist—one of his daughters married Richard Wagner
- 16 Silent sea (anag.)
- 18 We shouldn't care to be struck by either part of this projectile
- 20 Go slow
- 22 Part of a closed car which could be thrown open
- 24 Not 14's instrument
- 26 "Though ----- to all things, for all things unfit; Too nice for a statesman, too proud for a wit"
- 27 Elits
- 28 It is cut to a pattern
- 29 Happiest part of the story—usually

DOWN

- 2 Brief tests
- 3 Feline intoxicant
- 4 To revile pig is a right some people have
- 5 You would be lucky to win him

- 6 "Stiff in -----s, always in the wrong, Was everything by starts, and nothing long"
- 7 The fruit that makes a heavenly drink?
- 8 Sort of battery that doesn't need topping-up (3 and 4)
- 9 All for flowers
- 15 The original amateur? (5 and 4)
- 17 Not a side-line of the pork butcher's for your money (4 and 5)
- 18 These are invariably English in Hollywood films
- 19 Did that woman call up for the stuff to make the varnish?
- 20 Split up into groups
- 21 Jobs, and where they are to be found
- 23 Pending
- 25 He was slain by Diana—or perhaps it was Jupiter

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 197

ACROSS:—1 FRONT DOOR; 11 UNCAP; 9 YAWNING; 10 DRAW OUT; 11 RUM; 12 MINING; 13 STUN; 15 MINE HOST; 16 AMPERE; 18 NATANT; 20 BLOOMERS; 23 HEIR; 24 EGGCUP; 25 ASS; 28 RETAKEN; 29 EPISTLE; 30 ANNAM; 31 SPECTACLE.

DOWN:—1 FOYER; 2 OF WOMEN; 3 TRIUMPHANT; 4 ORGANIST; 5 RED INK; 6 UNAU; 7 CHORTLE; 8 PATENTEES; 14 EMBONPOINT; 15 MANCHURIA; 17 BLACK EYE; 19 TRISTAN; 21 ELASTIC; 22 AGENTS; 26 STELE; 27 SKIM.

FOR SALE

"GOLDEN APPLES"

1st Indian River Citrus Fruit as Gifts or a Treat for the Family

ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT
Full Bushel (55 lbs.) \$4.75
Half Bushel (30 lbs.) 3.00

Express Prepaid • No. C. O. D.

HONEY GROVES
Sebastian Florida

SITUATION WANTED

MEMBER OF COLLEGE FACULTY with extensive group work experience and specialization in psychology and education, seeks position on college faculty outside of N. Y. for summer session. Box 1681, c/o The Nation.

HELP WANTED

WANTED: Agents and Salesmen to sell the sensational leather coin purse—a quality item with instant sales appeal. It's a real quick-action, big-profit seller that sells on sight. For complete details write to I. DeKaiser, 1032 Oak St. N. E., St. Petersburg, Florida.

ROOM FOR RENT

PALM BEACH, Florida, beautiful room with private family, adjoining bath, one block from beach. Miller, 218 Peruvian Ave. Tel. 0526.

SLEEP AID

AMAZING SLEEP AID—\$1. No drug. Stimulates deep breathing—relaxing—scientific. Deluxe Model Insulator—send \$2. RELDAW, 1250 Broadway, N. Y. City.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 R C A Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog 'NA, Free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

BOOKS

OUT-OF-PRINT and hard-to-find books located free of charge. Send list of wants to J. Thompson, 1 Hillside Avenue, Pelham, New York.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 15, 1947

NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

IN BRITAIN A WEEK OF EXCEPTIONALLY severe weather has added to the embarrassment of the Labor government, at present wrestling with the particularly difficult crisis in coal production, and set the Tory opposition to lighting votive candles for just one more week of meteorological proof that socialism won't work. In reality the British crisis is due to precisely those economic factors which the Labor Party has for years declared would overtake Britain. The British mines, ill-equipped with modern machinery, their plants worn out during the war and not yet replaced, have to supply an economy which differs from that of the pre-war period in an important respect. At present there is almost full employment, so that while coal production is up, it is unequal to the industrial demand. In addition, the arctic weather has frozen some pits and has blocked transport in the northern areas. As a result, even severe rationing will not stave off the closing down of a number of factories. The answer to critics, however, is not to return the mines to their owners of six or seven weeks ago but more and quicker socialism. At all costs the mines must be modernized, a task to which private capitalism is utterly unequal. Undoubtedly, the going is rough for the Labor Party. It may not have much faith in votive candles, but it might warm its hands by burning a few of the opposition's speeches and perhaps that of Sir Hartley Shawcross as well, for the histrionic Attorney General's cry that a failure to work miracles at this moment may mean the end of British socialism in our time was a first-class disservice to his party.

✱

WHEN THE RAMADIER CABINET TOOK OFFICE three weeks ago it seemed likely that Communist opposition to the Anglo-French treaty would at least cause postponement of the negotiations until after the Big Four conference in Moscow. Communist opposition has indeed developed, but despite the fact that a Cabinet crisis is brewing over this and other issues, M. Bidault has followed up M. Blum's lead with vigor. The principal obstacles to the making of the treaty have always been differences of opinion concerning the Ruhr and the nature of the future German state. It now appears possible that London and Paris will reach some agreement

on the first point. Apparently the French are still firmly opposed to a strong central German government. However, British support for German unity, which in any case depends upon Soviet policy, may conceivably diminish in the future. At any rate, the Anglo-French treaty is now appreciably nearer realization. To judge by the manifesto of the French Communist Party, M. Bidault is heading for a crisis, for it is certain that Moscow will not willingly consent to the building of anything that resembles a Western bloc. In hinting that the treaty might be converted into a three-power pact by the inclusion of the Soviet Union, the French Foreign Minister may have been trying to sidestep this opposition. It is possible, in fact, that his remark, made in the French Foreign Affairs Committee, was a cautious invitation to Moscow. As such, it may appeal to Mr. Stalin as indicating a solution of the Soviet security problem. While a Russian step in this direction would probably embarrass many who now approve the Anglo-French alliance, there can be little doubt that a three-power pact would contribute to European stability and would lessen European fears of war between the Soviet and the United States.

✱

DR. LEONARDO ARGUELLO HAS BEEN reported an easy winner in Nicaragua's first Presidential election since 1936 as returns filtered in last week. This was foreordained, since Arguello was General Anastasio Somoza's vest-pocket candidate. Just prior to the election the Somoza-dominated congress passed a law which for ten days disarmed everybody in the country except members of the Guardia Nacional—the 7,500-man police force which has been Somoza's chief instrument of power in the tight little dictatorship he has maintained in Nicaragua for over a decade. In great measure it is an inheritance bequeathed to the Nicaraguan people by the United States, for in the twenties we used to shuttle the marines in and out of Nicaragua like Notre Dame backfields, and from them Somoza took inspiration for his Guardia. Under its guns, some colorful electoral procedures were introduced into the recent election: watchers from parties in opposition to Arguello were barred from the electoral tables, and orange cards stamped "I voted

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	169
G. O. P. Saboteurs	171
Palestine Ultimatum	172

ARTICLES

Georgians Have Had Enough by A. G. Mezerik	174
Landlords' Field Day by James A. Wechsler	175
Those Perverse Republicans by Seymour E. Harris	177
Death of Empire in the Pacific by Maxwell S. Stewart	178
Weizmann by R. H. S. Crossman	181
Journeys in South Russia by Alexander Werth	183
Catholics and Hollywood by R. K. R.	185
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	186
In One Ear by Lou Frankel	187

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Philosophy and the Police by Sidney Hook	188
I Have Seen It by David T. Bazelon	190
Perspective on Japan by Harry M. Johnson	190
Drang Nach Westen by Rustem Vambery	191
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	191
Films by James Agee	193
Records by B. H. Haggin	194

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

195

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 199

by Jack Barrett	196
-----------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 29 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

for Arguello" were handed to each person who did so. The value of these cards will become apparent when a bearer applies for a government job or favor. Thousands of Nicaraguans feel that the United States shares moral responsibility for their dictatorship: we have supported Somoza with military and economic aid, and in 1939 he was a White House guest of President Roosevelt. It is time he was disowned. Like many Nicaraguans, we feel that our State Department's condemnation of dictators and concern for free elections might be extended from Europe to our own back yard.

✱

DAVID LILIENTHAL'S DEMOCRATIC CREDO was a fine clean plant to emerge out of the noisome miasma of the McKellar-infested Senate hearings on the Atomic Control Board. And it is good to be able to point to David Lilienthal and say: "This is what we mean by American democracy; the other is a bizarre example of the witch-hunter and bigot that occasionally have plagued a society of free men." But it is not enough to write off McKellar as an obscene anachronism. The defamation to which David Lilienthal and his former associates on the TVA have been subjected is a warning that democracy can be debased and subverted when its privileges are divorced from its responsibilities. We do not believe that the Senate of the United States is to be judged by the character and actions of Senator McKellar. But we do believe its members, particularly the chairmen of its committees, must guard its reputation from the debasement to which McKellar has subjected it. Moreover, we feel that American citizens of the high standing of David Lilienthal should have protection against vilification which, outside of Senate walls, would bring its promulgators into the courts. Democracy must have its watch dogs not only against corruption and subversion but against those who by their acts bring into disrepute the very institutions which give it life and form.

✱

IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY, THE HOUSE of Representatives has voted to limit the President of the United States to two terms. The Senate, we believe, will serve democracy better if it rejects this ill-considered amendment to the Constitution. In the first place, if this country is ever ripe for dictatorship, it will not be saved by such technicalities. A Caesar in the White House would be a sorry specimen of his kind if he failed to rid himself of such legalisms in the first eight years of his power. The chances are that long before the third-term issue arose, the Constitution itself would have gone down the drain. On the other hand, the amendment would at some time or other almost certainly come in conflict with the popular will and work to the serious detriment of the country. Politics aside, there were few

who seriously opposed Roosevelt's fourth candidacy at a crucial point in the war. And Jefferson, repeatedly cited last week as a champion of the two-term limit, opposed a rigid ban, even suggesting at one point that in the face of a dangerous monarchist movement he himself would feel justified in running a third time. In fact, the appeal to precedent and the Founding Fathers by proponents of the amendment seems to us peculiarly inappropriate. The obvious truth is that the framers of the Constitution, not to mention the seventy-nine Congresses that preceded this one, specifically refrained from freezing this sentiment in the mold of constitutional law. The sentiment itself, by and large, is healthy; but rigidity is not. Exceptions to the rule are in order in grave moments of crisis, and we prefer to leave it to the electorate to decide when such crises exist.

✱

IF SENATOR WHERRY'S REESTABLISHED Committee on Small Business means to get down to cases—doubtful in the light of the Senator's record—it will do a thoroughgoing job on the charges contained in the Federal Trade Commission's report on newsprint. Compiled back in 1939 at the request of Homer S. Cummings, then Attorney General, the report has been allowed to gather dust for eight years. Thanks to the insistence of Senator Murray of Montana and a few others, it has now been "cleared." "This report," Murray says, "is by all odds the most valuable collection of facts describing newsprint-industry practices of which we know." It reveals, among other serious aspects of the trade, that prices for paper are fixed at private meetings in Canada, where the collusion is beyond the reach of the FTC or the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department. It shows, too, that fully one-fourth of all the newsprint consumed in this country in the test year of 1929 went to three chains—Hearst, Scripps-Howard, and Patterson-McCormick. With the lifting of government controls, small papers, both daily and weekly, are fighting a losing battle against the exclusive arrangements between the big publishers and the big mills. Here is a grim threat, not only to small business, but to the very existence of a free press. It was Mr. Wherry who, more than any other individual in the Senate, did the OPA to death in the holy name of free enterprise. We will see now whether small enterprise is included, and whether it has been freed from sane government curbs only to be strangled by private monopoly.

✱

POPE PIUS XII HAS JUST "INDICATED HIS displeasure with Sartre's brand of Existentialism," and the Vatican's Academy of the Catholic Religion and of the Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas "will conduct a public examination" of Existentialism, at Rome, during Easter week. What nostalgic memories of Bruno and of

Canossa, of sanbenitos and of Grand Inquisitors, the wording of the announcement calls up! One is lost, in fancy, in those brighter days: one sees Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus—the latter protesting feebly, "But I'm *not* an Existentialist!"—burning like toasted marshmallows outside St. Peter's. It is a shock to have to come back to the world of the Reverend Charles Boyer, the secretary of the Vatican's Philosophy Academy. Deprived of the natural weapons of the theologian, he has found nothing worse to do to Sartre than to say that he resembles Voltaire. This of the philosopher who wrote, "*Le Néant n'existe pas*"!—this of the logician whom the soberest of logical positivists compares to Humpty-Dumpty! The church's second team is getting nowhere—it had better put in Fulton J. Sheen. But it is hard not to feel, about this struggle between Existentialism and the Vatican Philosophy Academy, pretty much as Lincoln's old woman felt about the fight between her husband and a bear: "Go it, husband! Go it, bear!"

G.O.P. Saboteurs

PROSPECTS for the reestablishment of world trade on a comparatively free, multilateral, and non-discriminatory basis—a prime objective of American foreign economic policy—have never been more dismal. This is true even if Senator Vandenberg succeeds in his worthy effort to head off the raging, tearing campaign of the Knutsons and Butlers who want an immediate suspension of reciprocal-trade treaty-making and abandonment of the International Trade Organization conference scheduled for April. For to obtain a partial and temporary respite from the tariff-mongers, the State Department has been persuaded to make concessions to them which will seriously weaken its bargaining power when it begins negotiations with other countries.

For instance, it is understood that the State Department has agreed to include in all future trade agreements an "escape clause" which will permit either party to withdraw or modify any tariff cut which causes undue hardship to any industry. That is broad enough to render an agreement pretty worthless. Almost any industry which has grown up sheltered by a high tariff wall is apt to find the going hard when it is exposed to increased competition; its marginal units may even be forced to close. But if we raise tariffs every time such industries complain they are being undersold we must expect other nations to retaliate by making it more difficult for our most efficient industries to sell in foreign markets. We really cannot work out an escape clause which allows us to vary the terms of an agreement when convenient but holds the other fellow to his bargain.

Unless an escape clause is so circumscribed that appeal can only be made to it under most exceptional circumstances, it is bound to introduce an element of uncertainty

which will rob trade treaties of much of their value. Suppose, for instance, we agree to reduce our tariff on British woollens in return for a British concession on office machinery. To take advantage of these changes, manufacturers in both countries will need to appoint agents, provide for stocks, and perhaps develop special designs for their new markets, but unless they can be sure that the lower tariff rates will remain fixed for some time, it will not be worth their while to take such steps. Even a permanently high trade barrier may prove less disruptive than one whose altitude is constantly changing.

By their successful insistence on escape clauses the Republicans have therefore already struck a heavy blow against freer trade. But far more damaging is the warning they have given to the world that in the event of a Republican victory in 1948 a drastic change in American foreign economic policy must be expected. They have made it clear that if the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act were renewed at all, it would be amended so as to permit the log-rolling which, up to 1933, always disgraced American tariff-making. Moreover, they have given the world good reason to believe that the nation responsible for the whole conception of an international trade organization might in the end refuse to ratify its charter.

In the forthcoming international negotiations, our representatives, therefore, are going to be badly handicapped. They will be attempting to sell the American idea of international trade to nations more than a little skeptical of its virtues, knowing that they may be repudiated by Congress. Under these circumstances it is not going to be easy for them to win concessions. The nations with which they will be bargaining are not likely to forswear their particular protective devices without a firm assurance that the American market will be a lot more accessible to their goods than it has been in the past.

The point which most Republicans, and some Democrats, have not grasped is that no country in the world today stands to benefit so much as the United States from a loosening of the chains that bind international trade. Within a few years American farmers may be in desperate need of markets for surplus cotton, wheat, tobacco, while American manufacturers of investment goods may well find that only a large export trade will enable them to keep their expanded plants operating near capacity.

More than that, no country in the world is so ill adapted to the alternative method of trading which involves barter agreements, long-term bulk-purchase contracts, bilateral deals of all kinds. Nations with planned economies can undertake such arrangements; those which cling to unrestricted private enterprise can hardly do so without seriously compromising their principles. Living in a past era, their eyes closed to the realities of today but their ears ever open to the bleating of protected constitu-

ents, Republican Congressmen are sabotaging an opportunity to promote world peace through expanding world trade. And by so acting they are doing more to destroy the free-enterprise system than all its avowed enemies put together.

Palestine Ultimatum

THE Jewish Agency has naturally and rightly rejected the British demand that it call upon the Jewish community for "cooperation against terrorists," and as a direct consequence of Mr. Bevin's appalling blunder Palestine is on the verge of disaster. It is not merely the "viable" state that is endangered but the whole fabric of Jewish society. The military measures already taken compel the belief that the British government is readying itself to suppress a resistance far more serious than that of the Irgun. Mr. Bevin evidently calculates that martial law will drive great numbers of moderate Zionists into active association with the Irgun. He is right. The ultimatum, which demanded of the Jews that they fight against a mistaken section of their own people without guarantees that British promises would be kept, will have brought many moderate Jews to the point of rebellion. And martial law usually leads to martial lawlessness, as last summer's campaign against Haganah proved. As a consequence of Irgun violence British troops are now in an ugly mood and have become strongly tainted with anti-Semitism. Alarmism and anti-Semitism have also been deliberately fostered by the press in Britain so that public support may be forthcoming for those "preventive measures" and "stern lessons" that are axioms of brass-hat logic. The propaganda of the Irgun shows that it regards its campaign as the beginning of a nationalistic struggle to drive out the occupying power. The macabre irony is that Mr. Bevin is about to justify the Irgun's revolutionary theory.

For what reason? Is it London's desire simply to suborn moderates and extremists alike? The question is a valid one. For surely no one could have been so naive as to suppose that the Jewish Agency would bow to the ultimatum. We cannot, therefore, rule out the suspicion that the whole intent was to rig the scene against the Agency and so to justify the use of military force. Hopes that the Jewish people would be offered an acceptable form of partition before the ultimatum expired have been dashed by the latest news from London. We write before details of Bevin's new plan are available but, according to the *New York Times*, it calls for two semi-autonomous states with a majority in each locality deciding which one it will adhere to. The result would be a fragmentation that would leave all real power to the British administration and make a mockery of self-government. Even though the plan includes provision

for the entry of 100,000 immigrants within two years, the Zionist leaders reject it as worse than the Morrison scheme while the Arab delegation in London will have no part of it.

Procrastination has been the British vice in Palestine. The school of clear-headed betrayal has wanted Britain to surrender to Arab demands as the only way to defend its imperial interests in the Near East. For these people the Balfour Declaration was a mere maneuver, made in the mistaken belief that the now vanished Turkish empire would once again be a threat to the Suez Canal. An eventual showdown with the Jewish people has always been their aim. What may be ironically called the innocent school of betrayal has also dallied for strategic reasons. Since it was never certain that the Arab states would play the game according to the rules, it has tried to keep a foot in both camps by obtaining Arab consent to British promises to the Jews. The feat was clearly impossible, at all events after 1937.

The refusal to impose partition has encouraged the Arab opposition. And since the close of World War II British foreign policy in general has stiffened the Arab leaders' backs, for they have well understood that Mr. Bevin regards them as a barrier to Soviet intrusion into the Near East. The result of all the delays is that at the present time, when Mr. Bevin has swung to the side of the showdown school, not even cantonization stands the least chance of willing acceptance by the Arab League.

As the world is today, no ideal solution for the prob-

lem of Palestine can be reached. That would only be possible in a world of peacefully cooperative states. As things stand today, fulfilment of the British promise, or threat, to throw the whole problem into the lap of the United Nations would simply make Palestine the football of power politics. It would certainly invoke a new Anglo-Russian collision with both sides bidding for Arab support. Only if the question could be raised in such a way as to sidestep this rivalry would appeal to the United Nations offer a way out.

What, then, can be done? In the hope that wiser counsels may be made to prevail in the British Foreign Office Washington should at once declare that partition must be imposed. The United States is the only power that possesses sufficient influence in London. The two countries can well afford to grant economic aid to the Arab state that must also be set up in Palestine and so to win support. There will be costs to Britain. And if this means that the Arab leaders must be warned against resorting to war in Palestine, then let it be so. If this country is to put pressure on Britain, as it already has, then hard logic requires that responsibilities should also be taken. Blunt words might be sufficient to localize the struggle, for, after all, neither the Palestinian Arabs nor the Arab League itself are in any position to undertake a major campaign. That there are dangers in such a course cannot be denied, but unless there is an end to delay, the whole Near Eastern situation may become a peril to the world at large.



Georgians Have Had Enough

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Atlanta, Georgia, February 9

PEOPLE go to church every Sunday in Georgia. On this particular cold, clear Sunday the ministers used a text which came out of the state Capitol. They wanted to speak their minds on the great immoral thing represented by Herman Talmadge's usurpation of power and his insistence on the passage of the white-primary bill. Deeply troubled by the sin that spreads all across the state, ministers incisively declared their right to judge the moral issue involved in this theft of the people's rights, and the congregations were ready. In these last weeks democracy has increasingly shown its vitality until today, in one of Atlanta's biggest churches, a minister in a gesture of historic importance turned his pulpit over to a Negro, and the people understood the symbolism in terms of right versus wrong rather than in those of the old prejudiced contest of right versus left. In the town of McRae, the Reverend Joseph Rathbun, pastor of Eugene Talmadge's own Baptist church, stood up to denounce the white primary.

This Georgia rising, on the moral plane—quite another thing from legal or political argument—has been slowly gathering strength. It was seen when thousands of students marched on the state Capitol, and it was even more apparent when the Councils of Christian Ministers all over the state began to discuss the issues. It appeared in all its power when in towns like Valdosta, "wool-hat" stronghold in the center of southern Georgia, the councils condemned the Talmadge actions just as strongly as they did in Atlanta.

The organized ministers have suddenly emerged as the leaders of a new kind of aroused-citizens' movement. And the Talmadge forces are scared. True, they have the votes to win their victories in the Assembly, but they know they will be thrown out lock, stock, and barrel if the people think, as they most definitely do, that they are being robbed of their ancient rights.

The Talmadge forces have tried to stem the rising tide of indignation by marshaling ministers on their side. But so far they have succeeded in bringing forward only two who would say a favorable word for them. One of these was an aged, retired Methodist preacher without voice, pulpit, or influence, and the other was "Parson Jack" Johnson, who to the shame of many of the ministers of the state is the publisher of a hate sheet called *Militant Truth*. The two added another debit to Talmadge's moral ledger.

Talmadge may still have his wool-hats behind him,

but the evidence piles up that by threatening basic rights he has aroused people in every walk of life against him. The kindled spirit was bright in the state Capitol on Thursday when those who were opposed to the white-primary bill had their day. Sixty-eight witnesses from the hills, the swamps, and the cities demanded to be heard. A veteran said, "We fought this war on the beaches and in the foxholes. We were fighting against this same thing you would now do—and I tell you now, we will fight that battle here and forever if you do this." (No post of any established veterans' group has come out in favor of Talmadge. Many have openly declared against him. John R. Williams, commander of the Georgia department of the American Legion, made a public speech condemning the methods by which Herman took power.)

A young woman spoke as a mother and for other mothers. "You are wise old men," she said to the legislative committee, "but you need to remember that we are not rearing our children just to be big or to be healthy. We are rearing them so that they will be able to vote also. Don't tamper with that right. You have told us that the people demand a white-primary bill. What would you think of a mother who gave her baby a bottle full of poison because the child kept asking for it? This white-primary bill is a bottle of poison, and if you are wise old men, you will know that you must safeguard the vote as mothers do their children." Other women from church councils, from leagues of women voters, and from clubs brought or sent their resolutions.

The old South was there, too. Mrs. Longstreet, widow of the famous Confederate officer, in a small voice charged with emotion condemned the forces of blackness which by disfranchising Georgia's colored citizens would shackle the white people and disgrace a proud state. The grandson of a former governor spoke his mind. Old South and new, men and women from the crossroads and the creeks, from schools, from big city offices, left chores, desks, and kitchens to denounce the violation of personal integrity which Herman Talmadge had inflicted. They came because they wanted to. They were not, in the main, prodded to appear by organized groups. And Georgia's liberals, who had felt so alone since January 15, when "Humman" captured the governorship, suddenly were uplifted and once more knew the pride that had been theirs in the years when Ellis Arnall was bringing progress to Georgia.

"Humman's" tricks were fooling few. They were evoking a resolute determination in the hearts of many.

The hysteria, the panicky feeling of the last three weeks, was giving way to a quiet confidence in the capacity of the people to quash "Humman's" presumption in a firm, orderly way.

On Friday, at McDonough, a village twenty-eight miles from Atlanta, a packed county courthouse listened intently as Talmadge's lawyers began their defense of his actions. The onlookers were the "wool-hats" who have been the backbone of the Talmadge movement and the town and city people who fought him. Neither group was tense; there was not the remotest danger of a fight. Everybody was listening, trying to make sense of the Talmadge attorneys' argument that the court had no power to review the action of the Assembly when it made a man who had received 675 votes governor of a state with 3,000,000 inhabitants. There was an implicit but perceptible recognition of the real issue. After all the talk was over, they would face the question: Could the court protect the right of citizens to choose their governor against a suddenly berserk legislative branch dominated by Herman Talmadge?

When the news came that a judge in Rome, Georgia, had, in a minor case, ruled that M. E. Thompson and not Talmadge was governor, the confidence in the court at McDonough was heightened. By Saturday people were beginning to use "Humman" as a subject for jokes.

"Humman," they said, had gone to a seance and had there communicated with old Gene. "Daddy," Humman said, "how am I doing?"

"All right, son," said old Gene. "But, son, go easy on that white-primary bill. They got a nigger fireman down here."

The humor was a sign that the sky was brightening and indicated no lessening of moral indignation. "Humman" had said he would not respect the decision of the courts, and people did not believe his recantation, made when he realized what a hornets' nest he had got into. The *Cedartown Standard*, a newspaper in the back country of Georgia, expressed the depth of feeling: "My fellow-citizens, if we as Georgians do not rise up and demand a return to a government wherein the people themselves express a choice, then we will have no recourse other than to submit our future to the whims and dictates of a clique that, drunk with power, will stop at nothing to perpetuate themselves in power to the eternal detriment of Georgia and the impairment of the solidarity of a democratic nation."

The editor of the *Cedartown Standard* can be proud of the standard he has raised and of his fellow-citizens. They are rising to a level of moral comprehension of this Georgia steal that promises much for democracy everywhere.

Landlords' Field Day

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, February 9

BACK in November the National Apartment Owners' Association set up a \$250,000 fund for a propaganda campaign against rent control. Shortly afterward George M. Engler, association president, wrote his constituents that the purpose of the drive was to obtain an immediate 15 per cent rent increase. "When this mission has been accomplished, we will be in a position to concentrate our efforts on complete decontrol—to be effective not later than June 30, 1947," he reported. The landlord lobby's program has now been embodied in legislation proposed by top-ranking Republicans, and only a major upheaval can avert its passage.

The Apartment Owners' Association is one wing of the well-organized real-estate lobby. The National Association of Real Estate Boards probably operates the most expensive Washington show; the National Home and Property Foundation, of which Senators Hawkes of New

Jersey and Bricker of Ohio are members, and the Home Builders' outfit have similarly thrown men and money into the great 1947 push to blast the roof off rents. If they succeed, their local representatives may claim credit for a very neatly executed enterprise, though in this class-conscious Republican Congress a landlord lobbyist does not need unusual genius or charm to make headway.

The truth is that the most aggressive and fiery mouthpieces of the real-estate interests are men holding Senate seats. Watching the hearings of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, one frequently finds it hard to identify the players without a score card; whenever a lobbyist falters he is assured of rescue by Cain of Washington, Buck of Delaware, or some other Republican dignitary. Bricker, whose political career has been openly promoted by real-estate interests, nods so often as he listens to the rent-increase clamor that one almost expects him to burst into applause. Except for Senator Tobey, the erudite and earnest chairman, the Republican bloc in the committee has made an indecent exposure of its bias. The C. O. B. R. A. V. Senators seem to be sitting for a leftist caricature of men of property. Tobey opened the hearings with a gentle

JAMES A. WECHSLER is in the Washington bureau of the New York Post.

plea to the committee to heed the inarticulate voice of the people who live in slums as well as the high-paid representatives of the slum owners. This admonition has obviously failed to sway his associates.

Yet the ineptitude and timidity of the Democrats have been as painful as the crude tactics of the Republicans. Apart from its tragic import for millions of people who cannot afford higher rents and face eviction if the landlords prevail, the rent battle has afforded a dramatic case history of the Administration's inability to exploit its minority role in Congress. The Harry Truman who jauntily engaged John L. Lewis in mortal combat shows much less belligerence in grappling with conservative business interests. After the Fleming fiasco the President again declared his own opposition to a general rent rise, but he has signally failed to assume a fighting posture. Not until last Friday, long after the Senate battle had got under way, was a bill introduced calling for the preservation of rent ceilings. The sponsors were two old progressive reliables—Wagner of New York and Murray of Montana. Neither of them can be considered White House representatives. On Capitol Hill Senators who might be disposed to hit back hard at the landlord lobby and its Republican allies are cautiously silent. They confess privately that they don't know whether the President wants to wage a real fight or whether he is just going through the motions.

None of them, of course, took seriously General Fleming's public explanation of the premature order for a 10 per cent increase. Some high White House figures were deeply involved in the deal. The suggestion that the President never heard the rumor until the mimeograph machines were running is utterly implausible. Dr. John R. Steelman—who achieved some renown during the last phase of the stabilization era as the boy who couldn't say no to any economic pressure group—was primarily responsible for raising the landlords' hopes; General Fleming deserved some but not all of the blame, and the President owes him a medal for chivalrously protecting everybody else. The identity of the villain is of less moment than the confusion that the White House has again displayed when confronting a respectable vested interest.

On rent—as on taxes—the Republicans have stepped forth publicly and pugnaciously as legislative agents of wealth and property. There is little camouflage. It is true that the real-estate lobby put on half a dozen middle-aged matrons to testify that the life of the poor property-owner is a difficult one, and six frenetic ladies impersonating the public have shown up faithfully at the hearings each day, to scowl at pro-OPA witnesses and smile benignly at landlord spokesmen. Beyond these rather faded props there is nothing in the scenery that can be described as popular support for the G. O. P. position. But opponents of the rent rise have been demoralized by

the total lack of Presidential inspiration. The counter-attack did not really get under way until the hearings were almost over. The President has not indicated whether or not he will veto the Republican bills. He has not spelled out the issues. And his chief advisers seem deeply engrossed in other subjects.

If the President feels strongly about holding the rent line, his enthusiasm has been neither apparent nor infectious.

On the surface the most persuasive contention advanced by the landlords is that they have been the victims of "discrimination": everybody else, they protest, is now free to boost prices and profits; they alone are "frozen." The implication of the argument is curious. It suggests that a man who has been held up five times owes a moral obligation to submit without dispute to the sixth highwayman. Actually most landlords have done very well. The net income of property-owners has reached record heights as a result of maximum occupancy, curtailed services to tenants, and liberal individual adjustments granted by the OPA. Informed officials agree that the OPA has increasingly tended to act on "hardship" pleas, and it has just made further concessions. Moreover, the only compelling defense for ending control of other products—the theory that supply-and-demand forces would prevent runaway prices—is admittedly non-existent in the rent dispute. Everybody concedes that the housing shortage is no temporary emergency.

One item in the landlords' testimony throws a harsh light on the prevailing political morality of the Senate. Nearly every lobbyist has testified that "thousands" of apartments are being withheld in protest against OPA controls. The assertion is probably exaggerated, but the way the argument is boldly advanced—and treated with sober respect—as justification for eliminating controls provides a pretty grim spectacle. Thousands of veterans have no homes of their own; thousands are living in crowded, inadequate quarters. Now come the landlords frankly proclaiming that a silent "strike" is taking place to force Congress to boost rents—and nobody on the Banking and Currency Committee expresses any anger, nobody points an accusing finger at the strikers. The Senators seem overwhelmed by the unassailable logic of the case: give the landlords what they want and they will put a roof over our head.

There is still a fighting chance to stop the rent grab. Much depends on the swiftness with which protests reach Washington; and much depends on whether Mr. Truman is finally aroused. The Fleming muddle almost gave the landlords their bonus at the Democrats' expense and at no cost to the Republicans. If the Administration makes it plain that the G. O. P. will have to pay the political bill, second thoughts may stir in some cool Republican heads. But at the moment the landlord lobby is having a field day.

Those Perverse Republicans

BY SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

MESSRS. TAFT, Martin, Knutson, and their friends and followers are determined to cut income taxes by 20 per cent. In pushing these proposals they are running true to form. When the economy has too much money, the Republican practice is to give it more—as we shall see—and when the country is starved for money and short of demand, our Republican friends would take money away. It is as if a mountain climber, as he climbs and generates heat, were to put on more and more wraps, and as if when he descends and the pace becomes easier, he were to shed his clothes. He is bound to be killed by exhaustion or exposure.

Republicans are, indeed, about to commit a grievous error. Economists are virtually unanimous that the chief problem of the next three years is going to be one of excess demand. Public policy should therefore be directed to reducing demand—and the way to reduce demand is to take money away from the people through taxation and use it to pay off the public debt. The tax-reduction bill of 1945 was unfortunate, but it had some justification in fears that the economic machine would sputter for a year or two after the war and need tax reductions to stimulate demand. The new Republican proposals will find no such support from economic diagnosticians.

Republicans are always assumed to be sound-money men, and Democrats the supporters of fiat money, greenbackism, inflation, deficit financing, and the like. But the Republicans' record will not bear scrutiny. True, in the years 1921-30 they paid off about \$8 billion of the public debt, and managed to reduce taxes as well. In the first five years of this decade national income averaged \$65 billion and tax receipts about \$5 billion. In the next five years, however, national income averaged no less than \$78 billion, and average tax receipts declined to \$4.5 billion. Was it sound fiscal policy to allow taxes to be reduced by a half-billion dollars, or 10 per cent, while incomes were rising by 20 per cent, while inflation was threatening; and the public debt was still around \$20 billion? The Republicans could easily have raised an average of \$1 billion more in taxes over these years, and thus have paid off \$18 billion of debt and made it easier in the thirties to contend with depression.

Instead of reducing the flood of excess dollars which was swamping security, real-estate, and commodity markets, the Republican Administration, through its policy

of tax reduction, further stimulated demand, thus helping to make the boom bigger and the following depression more serious. The final folly came in 1930, when under the sinking-fund principle in vogue—that is, the principle of paying off debt irrespective of the effect on the economy—President Hoover's Administration paid off a large amount just when it should have been incurring debt to keep the country out of a tailspin.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the case for greenbackism, bimetallism, and monetary expansion was much stronger than the historian or economist of today is prepared to acknowledge. Republicans then were ill advised, and Democrats on the whole were pressing for correct money policies. Bryan was more nearly right than McKinley. For twenty-five years the country had been starved for currency under a monetary system which was unwisely tethered to government securities, and which was proving to be inversely responsive to business needs, as government bonds were being redeemed. When the economic throttle was thrown wide open by the opening up of new lands, unprecedented technological improvements, and the rise in population, advance was substantially slowed by a sacrificial program of *relative* monetary contraction and debt reduction.

It is clear that we should not expect too much from the Republicans. They still refuse to acknowledge that public receipts and public expenditures are to be meshed with receipts and expenditures of the private economy. They still support debt reduction on abstract grounds; but when a policy can be supported for being consistent with the principles both of purist finance and of compensatory finance, the Republicans remain impervious to logic. They do not propose to pay off as much debt as *possible* in periods of excess demand or to incur as much debt as is *necessary* to support demand in a depression.

As a great Republican, Alexander Hamilton, said, "They declaim against a public debt and for the reduction of it as an abstract thesis; yet are vehement against every plan of taxation which is proposed to discharge old debts, or to avoid new." Even late in the thirties the Republicans gave evidence of their insincerity. Leading the fight to cut pay-roll taxes, abolish social-security reserves, and increase the public debt through a process of borrowing from the old-age and survivors' insurance fund were many prominent Republicans, including Vandenberg and Taft. Had they not succeeded, the public debt might be five to ten billion dollars less today.

The Republicans can also be expected to favor other policies tending to increase the debt. In the next ten years

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS is professor of economics at Harvard University.

they will almost certainly try to raise interest rates. Their argument will be that with bonds paying high interest, the public will take them off the hands of the banks. Numerous groups are being organized in this country to get a more "satisfactory" rate of interest on government bonds, and a Republican Administration can hardly be expected to resist such pressure. Mr. Dalton has had to put up a vigorous fight to keep the long-term rate of interest in Great Britain at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Here the high-interest groups are better organized than in England, and they do not have to contend with a Socialist government. It is well for all of us to remember that a rise in the rate of interest of 1 per cent will increase the cost of the debt by about \$2½ billion per year—as much as a rise of debt of \$135 billion.

In short, we should fight all attempts to cut taxes *now*, to increase interest rates, or, in general, to set up a debt-reduction plan for the next fifty years to be carried out regardless of what the economy requires. The Republicans may talk also of reducing expenditures as a means of lowering debt, but unfortunately the area in which expenditures can be pared is very small. Savings on non-recurrent expenditures and some cutting of the military departments will bring the 1947-48 total below that of

1946-47; but to say that the budget can be reduced below \$30 billion is nonsense. Of the proposed budget (1947-48) of \$37.5 billion, \$29.1 billion go to war and defense, veterans, interest on the debt, international affairs and finance, and tax refunds. How much can be cut from the remaining \$8.4 billion? Very little in my opinion. And with their imperialistic leanings and their strong fears of Russia, are the Republicans likely to cut military expenditures to the extent suggested at one time by Senator Taft? A reduction of taxes by \$3 billion to \$4 billion will probably mean a corresponding failure to cut debt. The supposed gain from continuation of the excise taxes (\$1.1 billion) is a gain in the sense that I can consider myself better off by \$100 because I did not buy a suit which I never really intended to buy.

The Republican record is bad. They learn slowly. The ABC of fiscal policy which the Democratic Administration learned in the thirties has never been acquired by the Republican leaders. They are apparently not interested in the effects of government activity on the private sector of the economy. For a hundred years their fiscal policies have tended to be perverse—to accentuate both booms and depressions. Their plans for 1947 follow the same pattern.

Death of Empire in the Pacific

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE peoples of Southeast Asia are pushing irresistibly toward freedom from their colonial bonds. Indo-China has been aflame with strife between the French and the Viet Nam Republic. Negotiations at London have just settled the terms by which Burma is to gain its independence. Malaysians are vigorously protesting against the constitution offered to them by the British. In Indonesia there is controversy over the plan for autonomy which has already been ratified by the Netherlands government—amid a fresh outbreak of fighting between the nationalists and the Dutch.

Although each of the three great colonial powers is striving separately to salvage as much as it can of the advantages it formerly enjoyed, the struggle for freedom in Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia is essentially one struggle. Ethnically and culturally the peoples of all four lands are closely related. It is an accident of history that they have been parts of three different empires. Their common fate in falling under Japanese occupation stirred up the nationalist ferment that even before the war was present in each area in varying stages of development. Also common to all has been the presence of an aggressive Communist minority which has

sought to turn the nationalist agitation into hostility to the West.

An interesting similarity of pattern exists, too, in the measures adopted by the colonial powers to keep as much as possible of the fruits of empire. The British have sought to apply, with the flexibility demanded by varying local conditions, the formula of autonomy within the framework of the empire which they have found so successful with the dominions. The French and the Dutch have quite obviously borrowed the British formula. Although both have shown qualms about using force to retain their imperial advantages, they have not failed to take advantage of any improvement in their bargaining position that has been achieved by their arms.

The broad issues of the colonial peoples' struggle for freedom are reasonably well understood in this country. But inadequate and incompetent day-to-day reporting of events in the press has led to much confusion regarding the immediate situation in each country. Reports of a "final" agreement settling all outstanding questions have too often been followed by stories of renewed fighting, without any explanation being given for the sudden change. It must be admitted that the facts have often

been obscure and difficult to ascertain. Both in Indo-China and in Indonesia headquarters of the nationalist forces have been located in relatively inaccessible spots, and correspondents have been inclined to depend on French and Dutch handouts.

THE VIET NAM REPUBLIC

If we rely solely on dispatches screened through Hanoi or Paris, the current uprising in Indo-China appears capricious and unreasonable. On the surface there seemed to be no reason for the Viet Nam Republic to go back on the agreement of March 6, which recognized its independence within the French Union. Nor have official French statements clarified the picture. Jean Roger Sainteny, Acting French High Commissioner, termed the insurrection the work of an active minority in the Viet Minh (League for the Independence of Viet Nam) which has unscrupulously manipulated the "politically amorphous and ignorant majority." He declared that he did not know whether Ho Chi Minh, President of the Viet Nam Republic, was "an instigator, an accomplice, or a dupe in the conspiracy against France." More recently the French have sought to give the impression that the revolt was Moscow-inspired.

These sensational charges were designed to obscure the basic issues in the dispute between the French and the Viet Name. Although the March 6 agreement, signed under the guns of the French fleet, recognized the Viet Nam Republic as a free state with its own government, parliament, army, and finances, it left its composition indefinite. The wording of the agreement implied that the new state would include Tongking, Annam, and Cochinchina, provided these states indicated their acquiescence by referendum. Cambodia and Laos, which are sparsely populated and little developed, were to have a degree of local autonomy but remain linked to France in matters of foreign policy. The rich Moi plateau was to be placed under a special commissariat which would assure the dominance of French economic interests. At the time the French were apparently reconciled to this arrangement. A few weeks later, however, French policy suddenly shifted with respect to Cochinchina, the colony's richest agricultural area. Demonstrations staged in Saigon displayed the slogan "*Cochinchine pour les Cochinchinois*." On June 1, ostensibly because of their interest in protecting minorities, the French suddenly recognized an Autonomous Republic of Cochinchina, with a Cabinet of nine men responsible to Admiral d'Argenlieu, the High Commissioner. Of the nine, seven were French citizens. The purpose of this action, according to the Viet Name, was to prejudice the promised referendum against union with Viet Nam. The spurious nature of the autonomy movement seemed to be borne out by a statement made by its president, Dr. Thinh, on November 9 just before he hanged himself, in which he

said that he was heartbroken at having led his adherents on such an adventure.

The French maneuver in Cochinchina appears even more significant if one examines the structure of the Indo-Chinese Federation as drafted by the second Dalat conference this fall. The draft called for an "Assembly of States" composed of ten representatives from each of the five native states and ten representatives of French interests. With Cochinchina separated from the Viet Nam Republic, the areas directly or indirectly under French control together with the "French interests" would outvote the Viet Nam forty to twenty. With Cochinchina included in the Viet Nam Republic, as the nationalists insist it should be, power in the assembly would be equally divided between France and the Viet Nam.

Like parallel movements in Indonesia, Burma, and the Philippines, the Viet Minh has social revolutionary as well as nationalist aims. Its program places great emphasis, for example, on the development of village committees elected by universal suffrage. These committees are specifically charged with the task of reducing illiteracy and promoting economic rehabilitation. The Viet Nam regime met the threat of famine in 1945 by a series of radical economic measures, among which were the temporary diversion of all fallow land and agricultural machinery to the use of any would-be cultivator and an unprecedented program of crop diversification. Local French opposition to the republic probably springs more from economic than political conditions. The Viet Name insist that the attitude of the plantation owners and the local French bureaucracy is primarily responsible for French intransigence with regard to Cochinchina.

BURMA INDEPENDENT, MALAYA STILL BOUND

Burma's political aspirations bid fair to be satisfied. Under the agreement reached at London it obtained the right to choose between dominion status within the British Empire and full independence. The decision is to be made after a new constitution has been drafted by a Constituent Assembly which will be elected in April. Serious disagreement has arisen, however, among the various Burmese factions, and there is danger that recent political disturbances within the country may develop into full-fledged civil war. U Aung San, leader of the powerful Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, has come out whole-heartedly for the agreement, but he is opposed not only by the Communists but by Thakin Ba Sein, a member of the Governor's Executive Council, and U Saw, former Premier, whose pro-Japanese sympathies caused him to be arrested by the British in the early days of the war. As in Indo-China the situation is complicated by the presence of hill tribes whose minority interests, according to the British, would be jeopardized by their withdrawal. The chances of independence within

a year, as demanded by a majority of the nationalists, appear to be very slim.

Scarcely any weakening in the ties of empire is discernible so far in Malaya. The new constitution which was made public on the day before Christmas contained no gift of independence for the Malayan people. While the British were forced to abandon the plan announced a year ago for placing the native states under direct British jurisdiction, the structure of the new Federation of Malaya, in which the rule of the native sultans and their British advisers is continued, and the retention of Singapore as a crown colony make it certain that there will be no loss of British influence or authority in the area. The new arrangement disfranchises Malaya's huge Chinese population. Though the existence of large numbers of Chinese and Indians has precluded the development of a nationalist movement comparable to that of Indo-China, Burma, or Indonesia, nationalist sentiment has mounted tremendously in recent years, and if the Chinese were not so fatally divided into left-wing and right-wing groups they would be a far more powerful political factor. It is generally agreed that outright independence is impracticable because of the deep-seated racial and national animosities in Malaya. But the rising demand for some measure of democracy and self-rule cannot be denied indefinitely.

THE DUTCH IN INDONESIA

In some respects the Dutch seem to have made the greatest progress of any of the colonial powers in reconciling their legitimate interests with the demands of nationalism. Perhaps this is because they are so weak militarily that they recognized from the start the impossibility of imposing a solution by force of arms. Although the British and Dutch occupation forces have repeatedly clashed with the Indonesians, they have never attempted to subjugate the interior and have limited their military activities to the areas in which there was a substantial European population.

The Cheribon agreement of November 18 providing for the creation of a United States of Indonesia linked with the Netherlands represented a striking triumph for Dutch diplomacy. The Indonesian Republic, consisting of Java, Madura, and Sumatra, gained complete independence in domestic matters, but the Dutch managed to salvage most of their pre-war economic privileges. The agreement gave them equal footing with the Indonesians in the matter of taxes and civil rights and provided for the restitution of foreign property and foreign rights. Thus the way is opened, legally at least, for a return of the great Dutch, British, and American cartels which dominated the economy of the East Indies before the war.

Borneo and the Eastern Islands have been made autonomous states within the United States of Indonesia,

but as they are relatively backward politically, Dutch influence will probably continue to prevail. This influence, coupled with their direct representation in the proposed Indonesian-Netherlands Union, will give the Dutch a decisive voice in any dispute within the union.

Although the Dutch have on occasion denounced President Soekarno and other Indonesian leaders as "Communists" and "traitors," the Indonesian nationalist movement is somewhat more conservative than its counterpart in Indo-China or Burma. Communists played a fairly important role in building up the movement before the war, but they do not constitute its extremist wing. The extremists, who are strongly opposed to the republican government, are mostly the youthful leaders of local armed bands. A few, notably Soebardjo, who served as Soekarno's first Minister of Foreign Affairs, collaborated with the Japanese and were strongly influenced by their anti-white propaganda. The extremists are interested only in eliminating Dutch influence and have no common social program to advance. Nevertheless, an anti-Dutch policy carries anti-capitalist implications, since most of the plantations and oil reserves were in foreign hands before the war. The more moderate republican leaders have been careful not to advocate too radical economic reforms for fear of prejudicing their campaign for political freedom. In foreign relations they have turned toward the West rather than toward the Soviet Union. Russia seems to have espoused their cause in the United Nations without consulting or informing the Indonesian leaders.

President Soekarno has recently made sweeping changes in the composition of the provisional Indonesian Parliament in an effort to obtain increased support for the Cheribon agreement. Despite the opposition of many Dutch with heavy investments in the East Indies, the Netherlands Parliament approved the agreement by a comfortable margin. It is not at all certain, however, that Soekarno will gain the upper hand over the extremists and secure Indonesian ratification. Many Indonesians are reported to have been angered by the grudging spirit with which the Dutch accepted it, and the recent outbreak of fighting at Palembang has accentuated anti-Dutch feeling. Although both the Netherlands Commissioner General and the Indonesian Premier, Sjahrir, have announced their willingness to sign the pact, they have disagreed sharply over the conditions under which they will do so. If the agreement is not put into effect, the Dutch will find themselves in an even worse position than that of the French in Indo-China. Since the departure of the last of the British troops on November 29 the military situation in Java has seriously deteriorated. Neutral observers doubt whether the Dutch could hold their present positions if fighting again became widespread.

Inasmuch as the Indonesians have increased both their

military and their political strength in the past year, the Dutch would probably have very little chance of regaining a dominant position in the East Indies if the Cheribon agreement were rejected. They might retain their control over Borneo and the Eastern Islands, but they would almost certainly lose their favored position in the fabulously rich islands of Java and Sumatra. If the Dutch were forced out altogether, the French and British would immediately feel the consequence in their territories. A sudden disintegration in the colonial system might occur which would create profound problems for our time. It would cast an immediate and heavy burden, for example, on the United Nations: a number of relatively small independent states would be tempting bait for future aggressors unless an effective security system could be worked out. And long-existing colonial econo-

mies, which have yielded great wealth to the Western powers and provided the basis of much of the world's trade, could not be violently disrupted without far-reaching consequences.

If, on the other hand, the moderates triumph and the Cheribon agreement is accepted, it will undoubtedly set the pattern for colonial settlements throughout Southeast Asia. Though the ties of empire will have been loosened, they will remain sufficiently binding to preserve the balance of power in the Southwest Pacific and to prevent an economic upheaval. Socialist governments in Britain, France, and the Netherlands may then take steps to improve economic conditions among the colonial populations, but the kind of basic economic transformation that is needed will have to await the development of effective self-government.

Weizmann

BY R. H. S. CROSSMAN

London, February 3

IN RETROSPECT the central issue of the Zionist Congress at Basel was not the problem of participation in the London conference but the leadership of Weizmann. Once before, in 1930, he was rejected by his fellow-Zionists, but he soon reasserted his authority. It is almost certain that if partition is imposed he will take the lead again, invigorated by his absence. Certainly he would be desperately needed in a Jewish commonwealth whose first job would be to fight a civil war.

American commentators tend to explain Weizmann too easily as the protagonist of "the British connection" who has been repudiated simply because Britain has broken its word and thereby destroyed the basis of his case. In fact Weizmann belongs, as did Thomas Masaryk, to the last great generation of nineteenth-century liberals. Both men were representatives of that national liberalism which provided the philosophy for the League of Nations. They envisaged a world order in which the rule of law, con-



Weizmann

As seen by Oscar Berger

forming to the interests of civilized great powers, would protect the rights of minorities and foster the independence of small peoples. Speaking each for an emergent nation, they claimed and achieved equality of status in the councils of the League. Because both of them were men worthy to represent a great power, by sheer force of personality they put the little peoples on the map of world politics. If 630,000 Jews living in a few hundred square miles of the Middle East can assert their natural rights today against a great power, it is due above all else to the leadership, the devotion, and the shrewdness of Weizmann.

It is noticeable that Weizmann, like Masaryk, is a scholar as well as a statesman. If he had never become

a Zionist, his name would be remembered as a man of science, and what marks him out from his Zionist colleagues is his peculiar pugnacious detachment. Like Masaryk he will fight for the truth all the more if he sees it to be politically inexpedient to do so, and he will denounce romantic phrase-making even when by so doing he appears to jeopardize the cause. I first saw him in Jerusalem during the Anglo-American hearings. Nearly blind, with cataracts on both eyes, he sat before us like an aged but more magnificent Lenin. One of the Americans, Mr. Buxton, asked him how long it would take to bring in President Truman's 100,000 Jews. He thought

R. H. S. CROSSMAN is one of the Labor Members of Parliament who "rebelled" against the foreign policy of Ernest Bevin. He was a member of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine.

for a moment and then replied, "Two or three years perhaps. . . . I do not know. . . ." I could see perturbation among the Jewish politicians behind him, who were afraid that he had given a point away. But Weizmann was not prepared to say how long it would take unless he knew precisely, and his answer, though it disturbed his followers, immensely impressed the committee, which had been sickened by irresponsible propaganda.

Since then in many conversations I have noticed the same characteristic. He believes that it is the duty of a democratic leader not only to lead but to chastise his followers. At Basel, where he fought his greatest battle, he seemed determined that if he were elected President, it should be in defiance of every cherished illusion and easy compromise. All his life, despite the growing hostility of the British government since 1936, he has opposed every form of activism except illegal immigration, which he can justify because restriction of immigration by the authorities violates the fundamental law of the country. He has known that since 1939 he has been fighting a losing battle with his own people. But in his final speech at Basel he almost seemed to court defeat on this issue. Referring to the blowing up of the Jordan bridges last summer by the Haganah, he derisively asked whether the activists really expected the British authorities to take this lying down; and in another passage he jeered at Ben-Gurion, who has tried to steer a middle course, for asking, like the old Russian woman, "for a warm frost." Once again the superficial critic simply says that he is pro-British. But this is only a quarter-truth. Weizmann believes with all his being that for the Jews of Palestine violence is a crime against the Law, against themselves, and against the Jews of the Dispersal. And he continues to fight it with the intellectual fury of an old lion whose claws are still as sharp as ever.

It says much for the qualities of Jewry that for so long it has accepted the leadership of this intellectual titan who believes so sternly in the chastisement of those whom he loves. Even at the Basel congress, where he provoked the romantics almost insufferably, the delegates at one point in his final speech rose spontaneously and burst into the national song. The Jewish people, like the Russians, have a special admiration for intellectual courage, and that is Weizmann's special quality. For the sake of the truth he will destroy himself.

He first made his mark as a Zionist among the Russian students in Switzerland. At that time all the famous Menshevik and Bolshevik émigrés were there, dominating every electoral scene. Weizmann challenged them all—Lenin, Martov, Axelrod, and the rest—to debate, and for thirty-six hours on end they argued in Berne. "They had to call up Kautsky as a reinforcement from Berlin," he chuckles when he tells the story. After that his little Zionist group grew quickly.

This story is significant. Weizmann's political philos-

ophy grew out of the conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia, and this fact has influenced the political development of the National Home. Even today it is dominated politically by Russian and Polish Jews. Money has come from America, money and technical skill from Germany and Austria; but leadership remains with the Slavs. The only great American Jew who ever challenged Weizmann's leadership seriously was Brandeis, who in the early twenties argued that Zionism need not concentrate on political endeavor. Weizmann fought him and defeated him. Today the real political protagonist of activism is not the American Silver but the Russian Ben-Gurion.

It may well be—I often think it is—that Weizmann's opposition to activism is out of date. If there had been no Haganah, it is arguable that the White Paper would have been successfully enforced by a British government obsessed by the Russian menace. But it is equally true that Ben-Gurion, without the steadying influence of Weizmann, would have led the Yishuv into utter disaster. For Weizmann is not a pacifist or mystic like Gandhi but a statesman who opposes violence on purely rational grounds. More than any other Jew he has a personal feeling for every man, and woman, and orange grove, and collective settlement in Palestine. The Palestinians are his children, and the death of one is a personal blow to him—the loss of one priceless cell in the embryo Jewish nation which he has nurtured with all the care of a scientist. Better than some others, he knows that the National Home cannot afford to waste the life of its children. If he is proud of its strength, his pride never blinds him to its desperate weakness. If he loves its democratic freedoms, he sees with merciless objectivity the corroding effect of secret conspiracy upon free institutions. If he fights for an independent commonwealth, he never forgets that a small nation will always require the protection of a great power and that the great power must be persuaded that its interests conform to the needs of the small nation. Weizmann knows that to cherish the National Home through infancy requires not merely devotion and money but the wisdom of the serpent.

But the National Home for him is not merely another small nation. He repudiates angrily analogies with Ireland and South Africa or with the American War of Independence. He knows that the National Home is unique because its citizens have left millions of hostages in other lands. Everything which happens in Palestine affects the Jews all over the world. He has no illusions about anti-Semitism. He knows the effects in England of the troubles of the past twelve months; and though he blames the British government, he realizes that this does not alter the fact that a murder committed by a Jew is more terrible in its consequences than a thousand Gentile crimes.

"Thank God," he once observed, "that there weren't twenty G. I.'s in the King David's Hotel explosion. That might have caused pogrom."

Often before going to visit him I have said to myself, "He is too old. History has overtaken him. Arthur Koestler is right. This is the political Ice Age, and the revolver is the new Esperanto."

For hours we argue it out, and then, walking home late at night, I realize that I have once again been defeated—intellectually. If this is indeed the political Ice Age, then all talk of a Jewish commonwealth is utopian. And I reflect that the future of the Jews depends upon whether Great Britain can prove that Weizmann is right.

Journeys in South Russia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

1. Rostov and the Spas.

Moscow, January 15

THIS is an account of a tour I made in South Russia and the Caucasus last July and August. A Polish colleague accompanied me; otherwise I was unescorted. Of the main points of the journey I informed the Soviet authorities in Moscow in advance. But between these points I traveled unobserved, as far as I know, and wherever I liked. I traveled on local trains and buses, hitch-hiked, got lifts from army lorries. Only in Georgia, where ignorance of the Georgian language is a serious handicap, did an official conduct me through the rural regions.

Nalchik, in the foothills of the Caucasus Mountains, is the last large town which the Germans captured during their invasion of the area in 1942. They inflicted considerable destruction, though probably less—except for a few cities which were partly or wholly destroyed—than in other parts of the Soviet Union. This was because in January, 1943, they fled from the Caucasus even faster than they had invaded it.

The northern Caucasus is therefore relatively well off, and the southern Caucasus and Trans-Caucasia suffered practically no damage except for casualties. The line between the devastated and—relatively—non-devastated regions of Russia may be said to run somewhere south of Rostov, the gateway of the Caucasus.

Rostov stands high on the right, or northern, bank of the Don. On the other side of the mighty blue river are the immense and lush green fields of the Kuban, stretching two hundred miles to the south, as far as the mountains. All day long ferry steamers scuttle across the river to take hundreds of townspeople to their vegetable plots. Nearly everyone has his individual plot, where he

"grew for victory" when the Germans were not there or grew to keep alive when they were. On the Rostov side is the dingy, half-destroyed dockland of the city, with its cranes, warehouses, and grain elevators.

Although there was little street fighting in any of the four battles for Rostov, the city is about 50 per cent destroyed. But it is a live city. Flying here from Moscow, you feel that you are in the South. The main streets are lined with acacias. There is much singing, laughter, and music in the town; the crowds are noisier, rowdier, gayer than in Moscow; the girls prettier. And though half the houses in the main streets are mere shells, bands play in all the numerous public parks at night, lots of people dance, and ice cream and lemonade stalls do a brisk trade.

The harvest prospects were unsatisfactory. Although south of Rostov in the rich Kuban plains the weather was favorable, in the Don country there was a fairly serious drought. Even so, apricots, peaches, cherries, and plums were plentiful in the market, and so were vegetables and milk. The market is a center of social life in Rostov, as is the badly destroyed railway station. Once a day the great luxury express from Moscow to Tiflis passes through this station—complete with barber's shop, shower baths, dining cars, and wireless. But transport is still at a low ebb in the Soviet Union, and only twelve long-distance passenger trains and fourteen locals leave Rostov each day. The shortage of rolling stock is still very serious and accounts for many economic difficulties.

Rostov had 550,000 inhabitants before the war; now, with only about half the pre-war dwelling space, it has 420,000. Most of the public buildings—among them the immense new theater built in 1935—were destroyed by the retreating Germans. The most important single industry in Rostov was the Rostselmash, the biggest agricultural-machinery plant in the Soviet Union, employing over 30,000 people. It was a very modern plant, producing tens of thousands of tractor plows and thousands of combine harvesters a year, and it prided itself on the social amenities it provided for its workers. I found it

ALEXANDER WERTH is special correspondent in Moscow for The Nation, the Manchester Guardian, and the British Broadcasting Corporation.

a scene of almost utter desolation. Only about one-tenth of the workshops had been restored. These were beginning to produce some new machinery, but the main work was still the clearing of rubble, mostly by German and Hungarian prisoners. The Hungarians, however, were about to be sent home as the Rumanians had been.

The workshops that were in operation had either new Russian machinery or German reparations machinery. A number of conveyor belts were working. But the interesting point, as the director of the plant stressed, was that practically all the labor at the plant was new labor, and that the "old" people, who had been evacuated, with most of the machinery, to the east, would remain there, or at any rate many of the skilled workers would. It is hoped that Rostselmash in the course of time will be "doubled"—that is, a plant in the east will work with the old cadres and the old machinery, while a new Rostselmash will use new workers and new machinery. The expansion of other industries will be obtained in the same way under the present Five-Year Plan. But the shortage of skilled labor is still so severely felt, the director said, that he did not think production would be "back to pre-war" until 1949 or 1950.

For the restoration and rebuilding of Rostov there are vast and ambitious plans. Residential districts will be built between the main street, half a mile from the river, and the new embankment. Architecturally the city will be considerably changed. There will be much "neo-classic" architecture—a reaction against the "constructivist" and purely "functional" architecture of the thirties in the Soviet Union. Domes, spires, and cupolas will give Rostov a new sky line. "How long," I asked the city architect, "will it take to build the new Rostov?" It would be "patched up," he said, in five or six years; the completion of all the new "architectural ensembles," he thought, would take not less than fifteen years. He added that the Don would be deepened so that Rostov, with its potentially great export trade in grain, could become a port for large seagoing vessels. Also—and this is typical of all the planning in Russia today—Rostov was not to

be allowed to grow larger than 650,000. The present tendency is against the "colossal"—in cities, buildings, and industries—and toward decentralization.

It was not easy at Rostov to get a seat on the "spas" train to the four celebrated health resorts in the northern Caucasus—Kislovodsk, Piatigorsk, Zheleznovodsk, and Essentuki. It was the middle of July, and the holiday rush had begun in real earnest—for the first time since 1940. "The crowds at the station in Moscow are incredible," said the woman guard in my carriage. "Permits are no longer needed for traveling, and there just aren't enough trains."

However, through the good offices of the Rostov City Council we managed to get two berths in a four-berth, second-class compartment. The other occupants were a very stout silent woman who was going to Kislovodsk for "a course of slimming" and a jovial little man, a party official from the Siberian town of Kurgan, who had been traveling for nearly a week and was also on his way to a twenty-six-day "cure."

Soviet Kislovodsk, the largest of the four spas, lies in a hollow between four mountains. Whereas Piatigorsk was badly damaged by the retreating Germans, Kislovodsk, with its sixty sanitariums, is almost intact. It is an enormous "health factory," where everything runs like clockwork. Lord Citrine's legendary "bath plug that wouldn't fit," which became for him a symbol of Russian inefficiency, is typical of many things in the Soviet Union, especially since the war—ordinary comforts are not something to which the Russians normally give much time and thought—but spick-and-span Kislovodsk is different. Its sanitariums prove that the Russians can do things as efficiently as any Swiss hotelkeeper if they want to, and have the time and the means. They are also very dull. Every meal, every hour of the day, follows a strict routine: the after-lunch siesta, the cinema show at eight, the glass of sour milk brought to your "ward" by an immaculate nurse at ten, the lights out at eleven. And in the once romantic park of Kislovodsk, round the celebrated Narzan spring where you take the waters, arrows show the paths that fat men are to follow if ordered a morning walk of twenty, forty, or sixty minutes.

These health resorts in the Caucasus are taken very seriously by the government. It considers them an important part of the industrial machine, designed to restore the full working capacity of the more valuable executives and workers. After four years of war many of these people are seriously worn down. They care little about excursions and sightseeing, but I have never known people who enjoyed the scientific boredom of sanitarium life more thoroughly than these patients at Kislovodsk, as they lounge in the sunny gardens under the poplar trees and the ubiquitous plaster statues of young athletes.

While all this affects only a relatively small number



Kislovodsk

of people in the Soviet Union, it is part of the rational organization of holidays which the government includes in its industrial planning. If this year Kislovodsk was able to handle 100,000 patients, it will handle twice that number before long. And soon the holiday-makers here and at other health resorts—some needing "cures," others merely rest cures—will run into several million a year.

Catholics and Hollywood

Beverly Hills, Cal., February 6

THE thread that has held the sword of Catholic disapproval over the film industry appeared to have snapped yesterday when members of Our Lady's Sodality for Southern California announced they were going to boycott all movies for a month in an effort to "clean up indecent films." The boycotters have hopes of enlisting 6,000,000 Catholic students in a national drive to show Hollywood "we mean business."

There have been other signs that Catholic elements in the country have again decided to constitute themselves censors of communications. Several liberal news commentators are said to have been dropped from various radio networks because they dealt realistically with the Vatican in world politics; and the church hierarchy is making an outspoken attempt to impose its censorship on the motion-picture industry.

On January 17 Archbishop J. J. Cantwell, in *Tidings*, the official organ of the Los Angeles diocese, made public the following pronouncement on "Duel in the Sun": "Pending classification by the Legion of Decency, Catholics may not, with a free conscience, attend the motion picture 'Duel in the Sun.' This motion picture, to which the National Legion of Decency was not accorded the usual advance showing, appears to be morally offensive and spiritually depressing." An accompanying editorial by William H. Mooring asserted that the film indicates "the beginning of a new and dangerous Hollywood trend toward screen realism in which no regard is shown either for reticence or appeals to reason."

David O. Selznick, producer of the film, defended himself by saying: "I am particularly surprised at the Archbishop's statement in view of the fact that at all times we worked closely with the Production Code Administration of the Motion Picture Association. All suggestions made by the Production Code Administration were followed to the letter. The result was that we received the Production Code seal of approval without question." He further declared that the only reason the Legion of Decency was not given a print to view was the delay in receiving a color print of the film from the Technicolor plant, where the workers have been on strike for many weeks. No print, he said, was available for

anyone's viewing until he was able to get one for the film's world première in Hollywood on December 28.

The important issue here is not whether Selznick has a moral picture or an offensive picture, but whether a small segment of the population is to impose its standards on all the rest—whether one group has the right to decide for everyone what is right or wrong. This brings up the question of the audience to whom pictures are to be directed. Must Hollywood continue to make pictures on a low intellectual level simply because some subjects are too complex, morally, for the immature who unquestionably form a large part of the audience? If the susceptibilities of children and clerics must be protected, can Hollywood ever make a mature picture, as the European films judged by most critics the best of the year's showing are mature—"The Open City," "The Well-Digger's Daughter," "Brief Encounter"?

Hollywood maintains a strong self-policing organization in the Production Code Authority of the Motion Picture Producers' Association, referred to in Selznick's statement. The authority was formed with the help of the Legion of Decency, the Parent-Teachers' Association, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and other community and religious groups, and well-paid members of these organizations keep a close watch to see that every rule is lived up to. Since the standards of the Legion of Decency were incorporated in the code, the Archbishop's pronouncement appears to be some sort of super-censorship imposed on an adequate existing body, a censorship which will base its decisions on its own whim rather than on defined standards.

The picture made from Samuel Shellabarger's "Captain from Castile" has aroused numerous protests by its distortion both of the novel and of history. The Legion of Decency could not permit people to see a cruel and corrupt priest on the screen or to learn about the evils of the Inquisition. The character of the priest in "The Fugitive" has also been whitewashed. Based on "The Labyrinthine Ways," by Graham Greene, "The Fugitive" is now being filmed in Mexico in both English and Spanish by the distinguished director John Ford. It stars Henry Fonda. RKO-Radio Pictures will release it. The novel presented the priest as a brandy-drinker with a mistress and an illegitimate child. He was none the less a sympathetic character, a meek man continuing to lead the meek to God. In the screen version the priest no longer drinks and the girl is the mistress of the pursuing lieutenant of police.

But as Sam Goldwyn said when he was asked about the Archbishop's pronouncement, "About this particular matter I can only say where do I get off to criticize the church?"

R. K. R.

R. K. R. is a Hollywood resident well acquainted with the motion-picture industry.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Chessie Chases the Fat Cats

CHESSIE, totem of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, appears as a mild-looking tabby kitten in the advertisements, but in Wall Street she has a reputation as a general hell-raiser who delights in chivvying the sleepy fat cats of the railroad and banking world. For, to borrow from the language of witchcraft, she is the "familiar" of Robert R. Young, the Texas outsider who by brains, brass, pugnacity, and publicity has made himself a power to be reckoned with in the fields of finance and transportation.

It is now some ten years since Mr. Young and his associates picked up the Van Sweringen empire at a bargain-basement price and so acquired control of the profitable Chesapeake and Ohio and several other less flourishing lines. It was a very much encumbered empire at that time, and he came very near to losing it before the war-time boom in traffic made it possible for him to restore the solvency of the Alleghany Corporation, its top holding company, and of various operating companies. There were battles in board rooms and law courts and furious proxy-gathering campaigns before Young beat down the opposition of the Morgan crowd. Following the policy of if you can't join them, beat them, he carried the war into the enemy camp by successfully crusading for the principle of competitive bidding in railroad and public-utility financing. Now blessed by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission, competitive bidding has squeezed much of the gravy from the business of underwriting railroad securities, which used to be a practical monopoly of Kuhn, Loeb and the house of Morgan.

More recently Young has set out to reform the most depressed and threatened branch of railroading—passenger business. His advertising campaign to obtain "coast-to-coast" Pullman service attracted a lot of favorable publicity and won a speedy success. His bid to buy the Pullman sleeping-car service, however, has been stymied by the ICC, which, over the opposition of the Justice Department, is backing a plan for its joint operation by forty-six railroads. He is also facing heavy odds in opposing the Bulwinkle bill, which aims to exempt rate-making agreements by carriers from the anti-trust laws and which he sees as making possible "the elimination of competition in the railroad industry."

Currently Young's most spectacular activity is his bid for control of the vast New York Central system. In the past few months Alleghany Corporation has acquired 309,500 shares of Central's stock, or 4.8 per cent of that outstanding. This seems like a very small proportion, but it is nearly twice as large as the next biggest single holding in the company, the 160,000 shares owned by the Union Pacific. Commenting on this situation, Cyrus S. Eaton, the Cleveland financier who has frequently been associated with Young, said recently:

"From now on you can claim New York Central as Robert R. Young property." Young himself does not go so far at present. Testifying at a Senate hearing on February 4, his representative, Robert W. Purcell, was careful to point out that pending ICC approval of the transfer of the New York Central stock the Alleghany group has no right "to vote it." In fact, under ICC instructions, the stock has been deposited with the Chase National Bank as voting trustee, and Chase as it happens, has some rather close connections with the present Central board of directors.

To me, as an outside observer, this whole episode furnishes an illuminating illustration of the comparative ease with which vast enterprises owned by tens of thousands of shareholders can be brought under the control of one man by means of a relatively insignificant investment and so come to be regarded as "his property." Young and his associates actually own only a fraction of Alleghany's capital, but it is enough to give them a working control over that company. Alleghany in turn controls Chesapeake and Ohio through a 6.7 per cent holding of its common stock, and that railroad controls the New York, Chicago, and St. Louis (the Nickel Plate), the Père Marquette, and the Wheeling and Lake Erie. Thus thousands of miles of line and hundreds of millions of dollars of capital are tied together with shoestrings and manipulated by one man. And now another shoestring may link New York Central to his domain.

The question that I should like to raise is: Where do the real owners of these businesses, the ordinary, voiceless stockholders, come in? Are they consulted, or are they treated simply as cannon-fodder in a bankers' battle? For instance there is reason to believe that Alleghany is planning to transfer its New York Central holding to Chesapeake and Ohio. Are the people who own 92.3 per cent of the C. and O. stock being asked whether they want to risk their funds in so speculative an enterprise as New York Central? To the best of my knowledge they are not.

In making this point I am not singling Mr. Young out for criticism but merely using his case as an example of the way in which minority tails wag corporation dogs. There are, in fact, numerous major concerns in which the controlling group has a far smaller stake than Young has in his enterprises. American Telephone and Telegraph, for instance, is managed by a group with an infinitely small investment; its 700,000 shareholders do not have any real voice in its affairs.

Given a system which encourages the divorce of ownership and management, mavericks like Young are a useful antidote to corporate stagnation. Certainly his dictatorship over the Alleghany empire appears to have had beneficial results for the stockholders. He has cleaned up the messy financial structure of the holding company and reduced the debts of the operating companies. And he has introduced much-needed new blood into their management. On his record the small stockholders of New York Central, who have every reason to be dissatisfied with their present board of directors might well welcome Young's capture of their property. Should he achieve that, he has let it be known, he will first "throw the bankers out" and then concentrate on the problem of increasing passenger traffic. Next week I shall discuss his and other ideas on this problem, which is perhaps the most urgent facing the railroad industry today.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THE new series by Norman Corwin, "One World Flight," presented by CBS on Tuesday evenings at 10 p.m., has now been heard three times, and a critical evaluation is warranted. In this series Corwin abandons the production methods he brought to so high a level and uses the technique of the "actuality" broadcast. To Corwin the step may seem a logical one, but to his audience, familiar with



he Corwin use of sound and music and actors, and expecting him to strum their senses as he has done so often in the past, he change is at first disturbing. It is as if the late John Barrymore decided, without warning, to play "Hamlet" in antōmime. His audience would be caught off balance and spend its time wondering instead of appreciating.

That is how people respond to "One World Flight." Waiting to be moved emotionally by Corwin's words, by actors perfectly attuned to their parts, and by a musical background that intensifies the dramatic effect, Corwin's audience find themselves getting reality instead; and reality has many rough edges.

The program, as you probably know, is the result of Corwin's global flight last summer as the first winner of the Wendell Willkie One World Award. With him went a CBS technician and a wire-tape recorder. Everywhere Corwin went the recorder went too, except when it was in the repair shop. (Having lugged a wire recorder to the ETO as a correspondent, I know first hand some of the frustrations that harried Corwin.) Every voice, except the narration by the producer, all the sounds you hear were recorded on the spot. The noise of the Moscow subway, the cries of London flower vendors, the hammering of carpenters in Manila—all were real."

But in itself this actuality is not enough to provide top-notch dramatic entertainment. One misses such tricks as adding the sound of the plane motors into the singing of a group of Arabs, to give a sense of the swiftness of modern plane travel.* Corwin did this at the opening of the program but was never able to repeat it, for with tape recording there can be no rehearsals or rewrites, no "breathing life and feeling" into a scene. What you have on the cold tape is all you can get. So "One World Flight" is not Norman Corwin as we know him from previous performances. It is more like a radio newsreel full of bits and pieces, vignettes linked by the narration, with its recurring themes of peace and oneworldism.

Next Tuesday night listen to "One World Flight" with this in mind, and you will appreciate the ability of Corwin—and his courage too. Norman Corwin is no "tired liberal." He believes in Willkie's One World, and he jumped at the chance to rub elbows with people all round the globe. He resolved to let every working stiff, every white-collar man and housewife and fighting man in America hear just what their opposite number in other countries had to say. That is the strength of the program. From the lips of the people one learns of their passionate desire for peace and their conviction that peace can be attained only through acceptance of the one-world creed.

Unfortunately, the broadcasts lack the peaks and climaxes that tug at the heart and make the pulses beat. Perhaps Corwin is playing it that way on purpose. One of the best bits so far has been the Italian woman, on the first program, who had lost her father, husband, two children, and ten close relatives in the war. She spoke in Italian, but the pathos and hopelessness of her situation came through in her voice. Also good was the Australian stevedore who said bluntly, "I'm one of the aristocracy of labor," and explained without a trace of pompousness, "We lead in matters of progress." Then there was the man of the French resistance who, when he saw Corwin's pocket camera, said, "Many more of us would be alive if we had cameras like that."

Corwin's narration contains some striking phrases. As the plane was flying from England to France, he spoke of the fighting men, "lying beyond view with the English Channel across their chests . . . if those boys could talk they would go for the idea of a world made one."

If you are annoyed with CBS for putting Corwin on at the same time as Bob Hope remember this. In the first place, CBS does not have to go so far overboard on the investment as it would if it canceled sponsored time earlier in the evening. In the second place, it gets a "class" show for a spot that has had few listeners, owing to the competition. Thirdly, if Corwin gets a good rating with this show—which unfortunately he has not had as yet—CBS has a property that can be sold to a sponsor.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE *Nation*

Money-Saving Magazine Combinations

with Harper's Magazine	\$8.50
You Save \$2.50	
with Consumers Union	\$9.25
You Save \$1.25	
with Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union	\$11.75
You Save \$3.75	

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14

☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 a year extra

BOOKS and the ARTS

Philosophy and the Police

SOVIET PHILOSOPHY: A STUDY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE. By John Somerville. Philosophical Library. \$3.75.

AN OBJECTIVE exposition and analysis of Soviet philosophy and practice would meet a genuine educational need. Even a tendentious account would still be serviceable were it based on authentic fact. Unfortunately, in this book Mr. Somerville has written a crude piece of apologetics which would hardly warrant notice save that it treats of some subjects with which not many are familiar. The author pretends merely to report the facts and not to evaluate them, but at almost every point he justifies what he finds, answers in advance hypothetical criticisms, sometimes with derision, and, most culpable of all, suppresses relevant information.

According to Mr. Somerville, it is a mistake to say that freedom and democracy do not exist in the Soviet Union. The Soviet philosophers, scientists, and artists enjoy "freedom," but they define the term differently. Whereas our philosophers understand by freedom the right to follow the lead of intelligence and evidence to reach conclusions in independence of the state—Mr. Somerville calls this the principle of *laissez faire* in culture—the Soviet philosopher enjoys freedom *from* the individual responsibility of reaching critical conclusions about anything on which the state, that is, the Communist Party, has taken a position. The Soviet philosopher, he tells us, "does not want or need the freedom of *laissez faire*; he wants and needs freedom from *laissez faire*, from the consequences of what he considers philosophic irresponsibility." Similarly with respect to artistic, scientific, and political freedom. "The Soviet citizen would not wish to be free from the society in which he lives. . . . He does not want to be let alone by the state." In short, he simply loves his own freedom *from* intellectual freedom as we understand it.

The claim made by fascist dictatorships that their citizens are free in this sense, too, Mr. Somerville disallows on the ground that the two dictatorships are not identical. This is perfectly true, but neither were the dictatorships of Mussolini and Hitler identical. The author is guilty of the elementary logical error of assuming that because two things are not identical, none of their features or relations can be the same. Assuming the correctness of his assertion that this is the kind of freedom Soviet citizens want, what he does not explain is why a secret police is necessary, why the periodic purges, why the absence of free speech and press. After all, if the "vast majority" freely desire the rule of the Communist Party, as he claims, nothing could be easier than to give them an opportunity to accept or reject it.

Before going on to more important matters, I wish to give an illustration of how threadbare Mr. Somerville's apologetics are. He denies that the Soviet Union can properly be called "totalitarian," if we mean by that the rule of a one-

party political system. For, he argues, this is to overlook the fact that the aims of Soviet one-party rule are different from the aims of fascist one-party rule. However, "if the totalitarian means, given to planning, then it could be properly applied to the Soviet Union." But this is false usage of his own principle since fascist dictatorships plan, too. If it is illegitimate to call the Soviet Union totalitarian in the first sense, it is illegitimate in the second. By the same principle could not be called either a dictatorship or a democracy. The principle would render us speechless.

No matter how we characterize the Soviet Union, the essential point is what occurs there. And on this Mr. Somerville is a very unreliable guide. His chapter on the Soviet arts summarizes some of the discussions on the nature of art but says not a word—and *this in a book devoted to Soviet practice*—about the ruthless suppression of any literary tendency considered unhealthy by Communist Party functionaries. The nearest he comes to intimating that the Soviet arts are in effect subject to police control is in this masterful understatement: "In newspapers and magazines, on stage and screen, in the popular and fine arts of the Soviet Union there is a strong sense of ideological direction." But he eloquently silent about what happens to those who stray from this direction, about the fate of a long line of literary men from Pilniak to Zoschenko. Here the official Communist Party press is much more honest than Mr. Somerville. Item from decree of August 14, 1946: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decrees. The editors of *Zvezda* are to correct the line of the magazine . . . while forbidding access to the magazine for the works of Zoschenko, Akhmatova, and others like them. . . . Comrade A. M. Egorin is appointed editor-in-chief of *Zvezda* while retaining his functions as acting chief of the Propaganda Administration of the Communist Party."

It is in the fields of philosophy and social science, about which Mr. Somerville professes to know most, that his distortions are the most flagrant—and this in both theory and practice. According to him, if a Soviet philosopher runs foul of the shifting party line he is sweetly reasoned with until he sees the error of his ways. "Soviet problems and conditions have not been such as to make dissent seem like a value in itself," he coyly observes. He then adds: "The principle acted on in the Soviet Union is not that the holding of incorrect philosophical views by a given individual must result in dangerous political activity. If such were the principle all the philosophers criticized in important controversies . . . would have come under political charges." This is disingenuous in the extreme because the point is, as Mr. Somerville very well knows, that unless they *recant*, like Deborin all who deviate in any field of culture *do* come under political charges and disappear—to mention just a few, Slutski, Riazanov, Sorin, Adoratsky. Mr. Somerville cannot point to a single philosopher or social scientist who has refused to recant who is not either dead or in a concentration camp.

The principle acted on in the Soviet Union is the precis-

posite of the one stated by Somerville. Philosophical deviation, indeed all theoretical deviation, *must* lead to dangerous political activity according to official doctrine. This doctrine was introduced by Stalin himself and enunciated most clearly by Mitin, his leading spokesman, who wrote: "When one speaks of the new phase of development in dialectical materialism one must stress with special emphasis the *Leninist principle of the party character of philosophy, natural science, and science in general*. The principle is a further development of the Marxist proposition concerning the class character of science and philosophy." From the *party character* of philosophy and science, and the view that there is an indissoluble unity between theory and practice, it follows that any philosophical deviation, unless checked by the state, that is, the police power, must lead to anti-party activity. This is of course a political offense—sometimes a capital offense. If there is any doubt about this connection between philosophical deviation and dangerous political activity, the official resolution of the Bureau of the Moscow Institute of Red Professors made it clear years ago: "The smallest deviation from the true Marxist Leninist positions even in the most abstract questions of theory is acquiring today an important political significance, exhibiting a decided class orientation, which is ultimately directed against the dictatorship of the workers."

Needless to say, Mr. Somerville does not quote these passages. What is worse, he remains silent about the slogan for the bolshevization of philosophy," which is still official doctrine. This was launched at the time Stalin discovered that

Deborin was guilty of "menshevizing idealism." The latter recanted in the classic manner of the defendants in the subsequent Moscow trials. "What is demanded of us is a complete and unconditional capitulation. This is also my point of view. We menshevizing idealists must completely disarm ourselves. We must be grateful to the Central Committee and above all to our leader Stalin for having exposed us in time and for having given us an opportunity to correct and get rid of our mistakes."

In fact, it is the party character of philosophy and science which logically explains why there is a party line in all fields of culture from art to astronomy. As late as December, 1938, the denial of the "infinity of the universe with respect to space as well as time" was castigated as "counter-revolutionary bourgeois ideology." And a few years earlier Colman wrote: "It is our party and our leader, Stalin, who directs from the position and in the spirit of Lenin all our sciences, including the physical sciences." The most reliable account of the period in Russian philosophy Mr. Somerville discusses will be found in a series of articles by Jerome Rosenthal, the outstanding American authority on the subject, in the *Modern Monthly* for 1936.

Even where philosophy is free from laissez faire, to use Mr. Somerville's language, great philosophical syntheses have been produced in the past—for example, the works of Aquinas and Scotus. And there is no a priori reason why the Soviet ideologists may not produce something impressive. But on the evidence assembled by Mr. Somerville that day is still far away.

SIDNEY HOOK

Three distinguished new volumes in The Viking PORTABLE LIBRARY

THE PORTABLE D. H. Lawrence

"A perfect introduction to Lawrence."—*The New Yorker*. Here are eight novelettes and stories; complete episodes from two novels; travel pieces, essays, reviews, and 23 personal letters.

Edited by Diana Trilling

THE PORTABLE James Joyce

Four of Joyce's six books are reprinted here complete: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Collected Poems*, *Exiles*, and *Dubliners*. In addition, there are generous selections from *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

Edited by Harry Levin

THE PORTABLE Maupassant

In addition to a complete novel and 24 stories, this superb cross-section of his writings includes a group of little-known and revealing personal letters, translated here for the first time.

Edited by Lewis Galantière

Ask your bookseller for a complete list of these original one-volume editions of the best in modern and classic literature. They average 700 compact pages; each volume is \$2.



THE VIKING PRESS

18 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I Have Seen It

HOW IT HAPPENS. Talk About the German People, 1914-1933, with Erna von Pustau. By Pearl S. Buck. The John Day Company. \$3.

IT IS not very often that a reviewer has the pleasure of offering a full recommendation of a book: it can be said simply that Erna von Pustau's personal, conversational account of the decaying of German society cannot be read too widely, especially in America. "How It Happens" is nowhere uninteresting, and in total it is both revealing and significant.

The informal and intimate method of simple conversation which Miss Buck has chosen is a surprisingly effective one. Its greatest virtue is its absolute lack of pretension. The book is not, and does not pretend to be, a complete story of anything—not even of Erna von Pustau's life in Germany. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to describe concisely just what is contained between the covers of "How It Happens." There is certainly the German woman's autobiography; and a history of the social and political decay of her middle-class family; an accurate description of the milestones along the course of a deathbound generation; a rather close account of the making of a radical in Weimar Germany; a presentation of the facts, personal and objective, of war, inflation, and the rise of fascism. (The failure of socialism is not chronicled with adequate detail or insight—in part, by mistaken choice of the authors, I am sure.) Primarily, perhaps, the book contains just the conversation—the monologue, really—of an earnest, sensitive, well-instructed woman who happens to have something terribly important to say.

(To avoid misunderstanding, it may be important to say that no question of art or literature exists here. "How It Happens" is not even much of a document for historians. Dozens, maybe hundreds, of German refugees could have told a similar story, and with an equal amount of honesty and perception.)

Miss Buck, who happily acts as prompter rather than participant, makes only one point of the German woman's story: this is how it happens, she says—in Germany, and maybe in the United States also. It is a very well-taken point.

Erna von Pustau's account is largely from a bourgeois point of view, and concerns the deterioration—the ripening for fascism—of a normal bourgeois family. In America there is so much prosperity that the process of decay goes on chiefly under the surface; but only the wilfully blind will fail to see the relevance of the German experience. As late as 1928 the official Social Democratic leaders were counting on a continuing period of prosperity in Germany. Hitler possessed no greater weapon than this monumental, criminal innocence of the progressive powers.

Fascism can take up its task of destroying a people only after the left has failed to seize power, or to use that power to introduce the socialist resolution of modern problems. This remains the deepest truth about fascism.

DAVID T. BAZELON

Perspective on Japan

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD. Patterns of Japanese Culture. By Ruth Benedict. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

IN HER latest book, a fruit of her researches in OWI during the war, Miss Benedict shows us once again, in a new field, that the well-founded theory of the essential biological similarity of all races does not mean that "human nature" is everywhere the same.

It would be difficult to imagine a society with a more elaborate code of conventional behavior than that of Japan; the necessity of satisfying countless exacting requirements, which sometimes leads to moral conflicts that can be resolved only by suicide, always imposes the burden of infinite circumspection. The famous Japanese politeness is a mechanism for obviating, as far as possible, the more drastic exactions of the code. Miss Benedict does not give us, however, the usual anthropological description of a society, with a separate chapter on kinship, one on government, and so forth. She seems to be interested in specific-role patterns mainly as data for something else—the exposition of underlying half-conscious premises and patterns of response, patterns connected, to be sure, with the expectations making up adult roles but dependent also on tradition and childhood training; pat-

terns that, once explained, help us understand Japanese responses in new as well as in stereotyped, situations. Not only are the old and familiar contradictions between loyalty and "treachery" between tact and cruelty, resolved for us, but we come to understand better the unexpected cooperativeness with which the Japanese have reacted to occupation, despite their previous, equal genuine determination to fight us to the death.

The peculiar plan of the book, however, has certain limitations as well as great merits. It is not enough to describe the patterns of aggression that are psychologically possible for the Japanese. It is not enough to point out that Japan's war on China was an extension of the ingrained principle of hierarchy, or that aggression against the United States, given the extreme sensitivity of the Japanese to slights and their pattern of avenging insults, was an understandable response to the Exclusion Act. Doubtless these patterns were involved but there is some danger that the reader, if not the author, may commit the "fallacy of misplaced concreteness" and imagine that they were sufficient. By emphasizing common thought and behavior patterns Miss Benedict tends to obscure their unequal effect on different groups. In particular, she pays little attention to the changing structure of situations within which the pattern must "work out." In every country to which the Industrial Revolution has spread it has of course disrupted a traditional social order. The changes always tend to produce new sources and channels of aggression, of which some, such as the "class struggle," are general and others are peculiar to the interaction of industrialization with the particular characteristics of the traditional society in question. This interaction was considerably different in England, France, Germany, and Japan. Veblen remarked in "Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution" (1915) that the disruptive impact of rapid industrialization on the "dynastic," hierarchical social structure of Japan would probably lead to an explosive nationalism similar to what developed in Germany.

In order to understand this process, however, the reader of Miss Benedict's book would do well to consult in addition "Japan's Prospect," edited by

Juglas G. Haring, especially the chapter on social structure. The two books, though they have different purposes and different merits, can be integrated with each other without too much difficulty. In any case, "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword," despite limitations perhaps inherent in the author's intention, deserves the most careful scrutiny of specialists and general readers both. It could be highly desirable to have works of like scope and method on other important nations, such as China and Russia. Not the least merit of such studies is that they give us new, much-needed perspectives on ourselves.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

Drang Nach Westen

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON THE WESTERN WORLD. By E. H. Carr. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

AMONG the select but small group of authors who are neither pro- nor anti-Soviet Professor Carr may claim a prominent position. His new book helps more than any other to lift the "iron curtain" of confused concepts and intentional misapprehensions. But Professor Carr seems to overlook the fact that Western democracy is willing to tolerate attacks against its very foundations, whereas the Soviet Union, at present, has not established any guaranties of civil liberty or of individual freedom. Whether economic planning in England and elsewhere resulted from the economic impact of the Soviet Union is rather questionable. Even the author admits that "capitalism itself paved the way for planning on a national scale" and that by opposing planning "capitalism becomes reactionary and seeks to arrest the natural process of its own development." Two world wars helped make a planned economy inevitable. Today, in order to compete with the Soviet Union's foreign-trade monopoly, forms of state trading will probably be set up in other countries.

Most important of all has been the Soviets' impact on international relations. Fascism and Nazism have imitated their methods, and capitalism has been shaken by them; but the advantage will remain on the Soviet side "if Western civilization fails to develop

ideas which appear equally valid" in their appeal to the masses and in their international character. That Bolshevism "is no mere political program but a philosophy and a creed" is a familiar thesis; but Professor Carr has shown that the Soviets' ideological impact has its roots in their revival of the Christian "common man"—a doctrine which not only inflames the resentments of the underprivileged but saps the faith of the privileged "in the sincerity and efficacy of the principles on which their authority rested."

From the Teutonic knights until Hitler's campaign, there has been a permanent *Drang nach Osten*, the failure of which has opened the way for the *Drang nach Westen*. Professor Carr hopefully believes that some compromise and synthesis will be found between these extremes. Whether or not this optimism is justified, the merit of Professor Carr's book is beyond doubt. He has said more in fewer words than anyone else about the most vital problem of our age, and he has kept equally aloof from the fellow-travelers who praise Russia as the earthly paradise and the red-baiting "scholars" who call anyone a Communist if he fails to abuse the Soviet Union in his morning prayers.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THIS has not been a very good year for "social significance" on Broadway. There is all the more reason, therefore, why "All My Sons" (Coronet Theater) is worth more than passing attention. Written by one Arthur Miller and produced for all it is worth by the new firm of Clurman and Kazan, it strikes with real dramatic force, and it reminds one of a fact that it has been all too easy to forget—namely, that this particular kind of serious play can be, on occasion, more than merely the clumsy statement of a few "important" platitudes.

Neither Mr. Miller's theme nor his central situation is particularly original. As a matter of fact, his story of a wartime manufacturer who passes defective parts and thus becomes indirectly responsible for the death of his own son must have been used scores of times, and it was not notably ingenious to

begin with. But the reader will simply have to take my word for the fact that a really engrossing play has somehow been made out of this unpromising material.

This unexpected result became possible because Mr. Miller is unmistakably gifted with two of the most important talents a playwright can have—an eye for character and real skill in the telling of a story even when, as is almost always the case, that story has been told before. His play begins some time after the war was over, and more or less in Ibsen's manner it unfolds the past at the same time that the contemporaneous action moves forward. Almost from the beginning one knows in a general way what is going to happen. Obviously, the son who is missing but will not be given up for lost by his mystical mother, will sooner or later be proved to be dead; obviously, the father who has sent his partner to prison will be revealed as the really guilty party before the play is done. But this foreknowledge no more destroys the tension of expectancy than it does in the case of a familiar classic, and the spectator remains absorbed in the process by which the inevitable happens.

Even this would not be enough if Mr. Miller's characters did not possess that forever mysterious air of being people rather than puppets. Bernard Shaw once maintained that it was easier to be original than to be imitative, since it involved merely copying the life around one instead of hunting up old plays to see what other writers had done. But there is clearly a catch in this somewhere, and I cannot pretend to know why the father, the mother, the surviving son, and even the background of neighbors in this particular play seem to come from some real back yard like the one in which the action takes place rather than, as do most of the characters in most of the plays one sees, from that equivalent of Cain's storehouse to which dramatis personae are sent after a play closes. Some credit goes to the director, Elia Kazan, who brings back to a theater which needs it some of the skill he

CAN THE U.S. STOP THE WAR IN CHINA?

By JAMES BURKE

In the March Issue of
THIS MONTH MAGAZINE
On Sale at Newsstands or Send 25¢ to
247 Park Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COL SEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
86th ST.
near, Lev.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
RESENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

ROXY

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
WELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

WT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RIKO NOW

"HAS DRAMATIC DEPTH."—N. Y. Herald Tribune
W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM'S

'The Razor's Edge'

Tyrone POWER • Gene TIERNEY
John PAYNE • Anne BAILEY
Cliffen WEBB • Herbert MARSHALL

—AND—

'DANGEROUS MONEY'
SIDNEY TOLER as CHARLIE CHAN

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
RADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
PLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"UNEXCELLED IN THE CARTOON FIELD."—N. Y. Post

WALT DISNEY'S
'SONG OF THE SOUTH'

IN TECHNICOLOR

Based on the Tales of
UNCLE REMIUS AND BRER RABBIT

—AND—

'CRACK-UP' PAT O'BRIEN
CLAIRE TREVOR

STAGE PLAYS

"A smash hit of
enormous pro-
portions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:30. Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"RATTLING GOOD THEATRE."—Athlon, Times

JOSE FERRER IN
CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAN SHERMAN

PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON

ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON

BARRYMORE THEA., 47th Street West of Broadway, CI 4-0390
Eves., Incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

Richard Rodgers and
Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd present

"A NEW HIT."—Morehouse, Sun

HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th Street West of Broadway
Eves. 8:00, 1:20-4:00. Wed. & Sat. 2:40, 1:20-3:00

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Theatre, 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

TO PLACE AN AD CALL BA 7-1066

MOTION PICTURES

SONGS BY GERSHWIN

BETTY GRABLE ★ DICK HAYMES

'The Shocking
Miss Pilgrim'

IN TECHNICOLOR

A 20th CENTURY-FOX MUSICAL

—Plus Big Stage Show—

Peter Lorre Gil Lamb

Now Playing ROXY 7th Ave. at
50th Street

BARRY FITZGERALD

DIANA LYNN • SONNY TUFTS

'Easy Come, Easy Go'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

In Person

FLOS

THE INK SPOTS ELLA FITZGERALD

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

COOTIE WILLIAMS

And His Trumpet and Orchestra

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

'CALL ME MISTER'

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gort

New York—NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Boston—SHUBERT Thea.—with Betty KEAN

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D. outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

developed when he worked with The Group; some undoubtedly goes to an excellent cast, in which the long-experienced Beth Merrill gives a performance as the half-insane but desperately ruthless mother which is, rather surprisingly perhaps, equaled by that of the radio actor Ed Begley as the dishonest manufacturer. But there must be something unusually genuine in the writing, also.

All this is not to say that "All My Sons" is perfect. For one thing, the neat plot is almost too neat. The pieces fit together with the artificial, interlocking perfection of a jig-saw puzzle, and toward the end one begins to feel a little uncomfortable to find all the implicit ironies so patly illustrated and poetic justice working with such mechanical perfection. For another, Mr. Miller seems rather unnecessarily careful to express explicitly his warm respect for all the leftist pieties. Sometimes this leads him to work in sweeping but rather dubious generalizations, as it does, for instance, when he permits one of his characters to explain that anyone who made war profits is, in some manner not made quite clear, just as guilty as those who deliberately made defective equipment. Worse than this, he seems unaware of one fundamental incompatibility between the logic of his story and the logic of his doctrine. The play is a play about personal guilt and personal atonement; and it is difficult to see how either can have any meaning if, as the author seems anxious elsewhere to proclaim, men are not what they make themselves but what "the system" makes them. It is, one is bound to conclude, rather a pity that Mr. Miller's intellectual convictions are so much more stereotyped than his dramatic imagination, but it is also only fair to add that these blemishes are for the most part pretty much on the surface. In any event, those theatergoers who have got in the habit of assuming that leftist plays can be interesting only to those who have sternly disciplined themselves to a point where they are interested in whatever they think they ought to be interested in can get a pleasant surprise at "All My Sons."

Films

JAMES
AGEE

IT'S A Wonderful Life" is a movie about a local boy who stays local, doesn't make good, and becomes at length so unhappy that he wishes he had never been born. At this point an angel named Clarence shows him what his family, friends, and town would have been like if he hadn't been. As I mentioned several weeks ago, this story is somewhere near as effective, of its kind, as "A Christmas Carol." In particular, the hero is extravagantly well played by James Stewart. But as I also mentioned, I had my misgivings. These have increased with time.

One important function of good art or entertainment is to unite and illuminate the heart and the mind, to cause each to learn from, and to enhance, the experience of the other. Bad art and entertainment misinform and disunite them. Much too often this movie appeals to the heart at the expense of the mind; at other times it urgently demands of the heart that it treat with contempt the mind's efforts to keep its integrity; at still other times the heart is simply used, on the mind, as a truncheon. The movie does all this so proficiently, and with so much genuine warmth, that I wasn't able to get reasonably straight about it for quite a while. I still think it has a good deal of charm and quality, enough natural talent involved in it to make ten pictures ten times as good, and terrific vitality or, rather, vigor—for much of the vitality seems cooked-up and applied rather than innate. (The high-school dance floor coming apart over a swimming pool is a sample of cooking-up that no movie has beaten for a long time.) But I mistrust, for instance, any work which tries to persuade me—or rather, which assumes that I assume—that there is so much good in nearly all the worst of us that all it needs is a proper chance and example, to take complete control. I mistrust even more deeply the assumption, so comfortably stylish these days, that whether people turn out well or ill depends overwhelmingly on outside circumstances and scarcely if at all on their own moral intelligence and courage. Neither idea is explicit in this movie, but the whole story depends on the strong implication and assumption of both. Stewart, to be sure, is shown as an "exceptional" man—that is, as a man often faced with moral alternatives who

makes choices, usually for the good and to his own material disadvantage; but it is also shown that the whole community depends on his example and on his defense of the helpless.

Yet at its best, which is usually inextricable with its worst, I feel that this movie is a very taking sermon about the feasibility of a kind of Christian semi-socialism, a society founded on affection, kindness, and trust, and that its chief mistake or sin—an enormous one—is its refusal to face the fact that evil is intrinsic in each individual, and that no man may deliver his brother, or make agreement unto God for him. It interests me, by the way, that in representing a twentieth-century American town Frank Capra uses so little of the twentieth and idealizes so much that seems essentially nineteenth-century, or prior anyhow to the First World War, which really ended that century. Many small towns are, to be sure, "backward" in that generally more likable way, but I have never seen one so Norman-Rockwellish as all that. Capra's villainous capitalist—excellently played, in harsh black and white, by Lionel Barrymore—is a hundred per cent Charles Dickens. His New Capitalist—equally well played by Frank Albertson, in fashionable grays—makes his fortune, appropriately, in plastics, is a blithe, tough, harmless fellow, and cables the hero a huge check, when it is most needed, purely out of the goodness of his heart. Like Stewart, he is obviously the salt of the earth. Some day I hope to meet him.

I am occasionally mystified why the Catholic church, which is so sensitive to the not very grave danger to anybody's soul of watching Jennifer Jones trying to be a sex actress—roughly the equivalent of the rich man worming around in the needle's eye, or Archbishop Spellman as Christ's Best Man—never raises an eyebrow, let alone hell, over the kinds of heresy and of deceit of the soul which are so abundant in

INFORM WITH FILMS

Educational programs are most effective when augmented with

award films

Including the most important recent intercultural, social and entertaining releases. Consult us at no obligation for your next program.

"Easy on the budget" rates.

115 WEST 44th STREET

New York City

CH 4-0640

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of The Nation's

SPECIAL CLASS-ROOM RATE

30¢ Monthly Per Student

for orders of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address—Desk copy supplied free

Address your order to

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

films of this sort—to say nothing of the ideas given, in such films, of the life after death. Fortunately, I don't have to wait for ecclesiastical permission to say that I am getting beyond further endurance sick and tired of angels named Clarence, Mike, et cetera; I am not even sure I want any further truck with Israfel. These John Q. Public, common-man insults against the very nature of the democratic spirit are bad enough, applied to the living. If the after-life is just a sort of St. Petersburg overrun by these retired Good Joes, taking steam baths in nebulae, scratching themselves with stars, and forever and ever assuring themselves and Almighty God that they are every bit as good as He is and a damn sight more homey and regular, then heaven, so far as I'm concerned, can wait indefinitely.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE people all over the country who heard Marian Anderson on the Telephone Hour in January—who, that is, heard how fresh and big and beautiful her voice sounded at close microphone range—had no idea of how different it had sounded the night before in Carnegie Hall. If I had left her recital at the intermission I would have carried away an impression of great deterioration from her singing of Bach, Schubert, and a Tchaikovsky operatic aria, which had been lifeless successions of tones that had lacked their former lustrous beauty and power, had been afflicted with a strong vibrato, and occasionally had even sagged in pitch. Only with the French songs after the intermission did the singing begin to gain in animation, the voice in warmth and volume—until in the aria from Debussy's "L'Enfant prodigue" there was something like the exciting vocal sound and intensity of former occasions.

On the Telephone Hour Miss Anderson sang Brahms's "Sapphische Ode," a spiritual, and an aria from Massenet's "Herodiade"—which the producers of the program seem to have considered so staggering a burden to the radio audience that even after playing a dance from Delibes's "Coppelia" and a little piece by Tchaikovsky the orchestra had to show that "music also can relax" by playing Robert Russell Bennett's variations on "My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean."

Columbia has issued a new recording of Strauss's "Tod und Verklärung" by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Set 613; \$3.85). The performance is good, and is well-reproduced by the records, except for wooden-sounding kettledrum-beats and poor balances that obscure solo instruments on the first side, and a leveled-off climax on the last side. It is certainly to be preferred to the lurid Stokowski performances, especially the one that is atrociously recorded in the older Columbia set.

Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 1 has been recorded for Columbia by Serkin with the Pittsburgh Symphony under Reiner (Set 652; \$6.85); and I have forced myself to listen to a few sides in order to report to those who love this dreadful work as I once did that the performance is good but is poorly recorded—with its sound dulled and confused by the poor balance of piano bass with treble and of piano with orchestra.

Victor has issued a volume of folk songs and ballads sung by Susan Reed (Set 1086; \$3), who is charming when she sings simply, but who often sings artily.

Vox has issued a pre-war Polydor recording of Busoni's arrangement of the D minor Concerto of Bach, played by Alexander Borovsky with the Lamoureux Orchestra under Bigot (Set 162; \$4.05). I have learned to disapprove of Busoni's amplification of Bach's writing, and advise anyone who is interested in this concerto, one of Bach's greatest instrumental works, to acquire either the original clavier version recorded by Fischer or the violin version recorded by Szigeti. Borovsky's playing is straightforward; and the performance is clearly reproduced.

Another Vox set (617; \$2.99) offers Debussy's "Pour le piano": Prelude, Sarabande, and Toccata, performed by Gaby Casadesus. I enjoy the effective writing "for the piano" in the Prelude and Toccata, but don't care for the Sarabande; I also like Mme. Casadesus's more spirited playing better than her husband's; and the sound of her piano is well reproduced, but there is leveling off and limiting of volume at some of the climaxes, and loss of volume also at the ends of sides, and the surfaces are poor.

Still another Vox set (614; \$4.05) offers a number of pieces by Paganini which are occasions for violin-playing by Ruggiero Ricci that is breath-taking in its technical brilliance and its vitality. When Ricci records some better music we will know whether he has developed

into as superb a musician as he is violinist.

Jacques Abram's performances of Chopin waltzes he has recorded in Musicraft (Set 76; \$3.85) haven't a drop of the relaxed grace and plasticity which the pieces call for, but are, instead, hectic and tense, with extravagances and violences that impress me as utterly precious, wilful, and perverse. The sound of his piano is excellently reproduced, but with distortion in some of the fortissimos; and there are also some sides with noisy surfaces and some with wavering pitch.

Twelve of the songs of Fauré that were sung by Isabel French and Olympia di Napoli in the Fauré Festival at Harvard University in 1945 have been recorded for Technichord by the same singers with piano accompaniments by Paul Doguerneau (Set T-7; 3 vinyl records; \$7.93). Rehearing the songs find them no more interesting than did then; and their sameness of style unrelied by the unvarying—though agreeable—color of the voices that are used with musical intelligence at taste. The performances are well-reproduced; the vinylite records have occasional noisy defects which are more noticeable because of their quiet at other times. The French texts and English translations are provided; and there are again instructions for the care of the records that still permit a pickup weight up to two ounces when they should forbid anything over one ounce, and that warn against dust without mentioning that it has to be cleaned out of the grooves of red vinylite records with a soft brush before each playing.

CONTRIBUTORS

SIDNEY HOOK, head of the department of philosophy at New York University, is the author of "The Heroic History" and "Education for Modern Man."

DAVID T. BAZELON is a frequent contributor to *The Nation*.

HARRY M. JOHNSON is assistant professor of sociology at Simmons College.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, former professor of criminal law and criminology at the University of Budapest, has written extensively on the problems of the Balkans.

Letters to the Editors

Compromise on Method

Dear Sirs: I read with great interest Curtis Farrar's article on the Chicago student conference in your issue of January 11. As one of the college delegates to that conference I feel he has given a very mistaken impression of the results of the conference and the activities and motives of the national organizations and the various college delegates. I refer in particular to what he considers an over-emphasis of the differences between the "leftist" groups and the Catholic youth organizations. At no time during the conference was there any evidence that either the American Youth for Democracy or the Catholic groups sought to build up their strength or power in the new organization. The leadership came from the individual colleges, as Mr. Farrar said, and the national organizations accepted his leadership.

It would be foolish flatly to deny that these students who came as representatives of national student groups had the interests of their organizations in mind. However, they also realized that as single organizations they had been unable to solve the many problems of the American student community. They had been unable to cement the student bodies of the United States into an organization which would contribute materially to the enhancement of our present system of education.

This realization was translated into acceptable compromises on specific issues, such as the one on racial discrimination. This was not a compromise of "lip service" or "loopholes," as the author maintains. We must recognize that although it is quite possible in the North to make racial discrimination a criminal offense, it cannot easily be done in the South. Therefore we compromised on method, while not yielding on principle. We, as students, have to adjust our program to suit the conditions under which we must work in various parts of the country. . . .

Out of the conference came agreement on many aims and purposes on which students of all religious faiths and political groups could cooperate and work together. This is a result which will not only make a valuable contribution to America's political life, as Mr. Farrar points out, but one which will add immeasurably to our national

understanding, and greatly raise the level and standard of education in the United States.

EUGENE G. SCHWARTZ,

C. C. N. Y. delegate to the
Chicago Student Conference

New York, February 3

A Distorted Picture

Dear Sirs: In your issue of January 4 you published an article by Carey McWilliams entitled *The Cross and the Circle* dealing with the Social Credit movement in Canada. This article contains a number of serious errors which give a distorted picture of the political situation in Quebec.

First of all, Mr. McWilliams appears to be under the impression that in the past the Bloc Populaire has followed a policy of cooperation with the Social Credit forces, and that it was partly instrumental in the formation of the Union des Electeurs, the latter party being the Quebec version of the Canadian Social Credit movement. This view is quite incorrect. The Bloc Populaire has no more cooperated with the Social Credit movement than it has with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. So far from the Bloc being in any way responsible for the formation of the Union des Electeurs, the facts are that while the Bloc was only formed in 1942, the Union des Electeurs was first organized around the beginning of the war, that is, several years earlier. The Union

des Electeurs, in other words, is an entirely different party from the Bloc Populaire, with different leaders, different program, and different background. Moreover, although this movement has always been an advocate of Social Credit theories, it was originally a purely Quebec party, and not until 1944 did it become associated with other sections of the Social Credit movement in the Social Credit Association of Canada.

The article also states that the Social Credit Party and the Bloc Populaire feed upon the discontents of the lower middle class. This might be partly true of the Bloc Populaire, but it is not of the Union des Electeurs, whose support up to now has come largely from the farming communities and from mining areas such as those in the federal constituency of Pontiac, which the party captured from the Liberals in a recent by-election.

Finally, the writer says that the Catholic church has expressed no opposition to its members joining the Social Credit movement. Actually, in 1941 Cardinal Villeneuve strongly attacked the movement, declaring that its principles did not constitute a true expression of the social doctrines of the church.

In one respect, however, Mr. McWilliams was correct, and that was in his statement that the Social Credit movement, including the Union des Electeurs in Quebec, is strongly anti-Semitic.

HERBERT F. QUINN

Montreal, Quebec, January 31

Next Week in *The Nation's*

Mid-Winter Book Number

"Faustina, or Rock Roses," A Long Poem by ELIZABETH BISHOP

WILLIAM EMPSON's review of "The Selected Writings of Dylan Thomas"

POEMS BY ROBERT LOWELL and WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

WYLIE SYPHER's review of Curt Sachs's "The Commonwealth of Art"

DELMORE SCHWARTZ's review of Kenneth Patchen's "Selected Poems"

NATHAN GLAZER's review of Wulf Sachs's "Black Anger"

CHARLES MORRIS's review of Herbert W. Schneider's

"A History of American Philosophy"

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.'s review of David Martin's "Ally Betrayed"

ALBERT GUÉRARD's review of Charles A. Madison's

"Critics and Crusaders"

B. H. HAGGIN

CLEMENT GREENBERG

SCHOOL

COOPER SQUARE SCHOOL

34 Irving Place (near E. 17th St.) N. Y. C.
LITERATURE OF FREEDOM

MacAllister Coleman
Aaron Levenstein

REVIEW OF THE WEEK
AND OTHER TIMELY COURSES

Starting Tues. Eve., FEBRUARY 4

Write or phone:
303 4th Ave. Room 516, N. Y. 10. GR 5-4582

BOOKS

ANCIENT and
MODERN TRUTHS

IN A NEW DRESSING

Yours for \$1.50, sent to
E. F. LEE

Box 261, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

COLLECTIVISM
CHALLENGES CHRISTIANITY

By Verno Paul Kaub

Challenges every American, Christian or not, who
believes human liberties can be preserved by entrust-
ing them to the state. Dare YOU read it? \$2 from

Authorized Distributor

K & K ENTERPRISES, Dept. N
P. O. Box 7 Madison 1, Wis.

FOR SALE

"GOLDEN APPLES"

Send Indian River Citrus Fruit as Gifts
or a Treat for the Family

ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT

Full Bushel (55 lbs.) \$4.75

Half Bushel (30 lbs.) 3.00

Express Prepaid No C. O. D.

HONEY GROVES
Sebastian Florida

TRANSLATOR WANTED

FROM YIDDISH INTO ENGLISH of
political, economic, psychological, historical
essays. State qualifications (education), lit-
erary experiences, etc. Box 1683, c/o The
Nation.

LANGUAGES

ALL LANGUAGES. Phonograph courses.
Lingaphone, other makes. Sold, bought,
rented. A. Ahn, 475 Fifth Avenue, New
York 17. MU 3-1093.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum
3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid.
Send check or money order. ACE MAIL
ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

CLASSIFIED
ADVERTISING RATES

74c a line (six words)

Minimum Three Lines

Classified Display \$7.39 per Inch

Attractive discounts for
multiple insertions.

THE NATION

20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

BARclay 7-1066

Crossword Puzzle No. 199

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Often washed by tides, and tides re-
cede in them
5 Shaking like a jelly
9 Removed cargo
10 A stage Englishman
11 Crops of a uniform nature
12 If you hope to drink from this cup
you must take it up
14 Firearm with a powerful kick
15 Far-fetched
18 Usually engaged in revolutionary
work
20 Abyssinian official
21 Listen—to little Kenneth
23 Of rural kin
26 Reads aloud a list (5 & 4)
28 Grub
29 Ada live here? She can be made
use of
30 Giver of only one gift to charity?
31 Ordains (anag.)
32 Book bag
- 6 Sort of crossing landmen prefer
7 He won't feel at home by the seashore
8 One who looked for an honest man
in a tub (an odd place to look)
13 "Who overcomes By force, hath
overcome but half his ---"
16 After this it's too late (4 & 5)
17 Nature's sole mistake, W. S. Gilbe
called him
18 One of the five civilized Nations
19 I drag all into an old dance
22 Being in the state he is, he'd have
no use for gold diggers
23 Interments
24 Brings sex into everything
25 Receptacle for bread, biscuits or beer
27 System of which Boston is the hub

□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 198

ACROSS:—1 REDCAP; 5 SWOONED;
LEASTWISE; 11 ITCHY; 12 ROSSINI;
PRIMATE; 14 LISZT; 16 ESSENTIAL;
BOMBSHELL; 20 CREEP; 22 TONNEA
24 PIANOLA; 26 EQUAL; 27 TURNSTILE
28 STENCIL; 30 ENDING.

DOWN:—2 EXAMS; 3 CATMINT; 4 PRIV
LEGE; 5 SWEEP; 6 OPINION; 7 NE
TARINE; 8 DRY CELL; 9 FLORAL;
SIMON PURE; 17 SILK PURSE; 18 BU
LERS; 19 SHELLAC; 20 CLASSED;
PLACES; 23 UNTIL; 25 ORION.

DOWN

- 1 A punch below the belt
2 Batty place
3 Floral dress—"all silver-white," said
Shakespeare
4 An indirect attack
5 Man-o'-war's boat

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 22, 1947

NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

WE ARE ON THE POINT OF SQUANDERING our birthright of world leadership for a mess of partisan pottage. The rejection of David Lilienthal as head of the Atomic Energy Commission would mean a sell-out to the meanest forces in American life today—to the pork-barrel politician, the private-power lobbyist, the anti-Semite, the Hoover-era obscurantist, the we've-got-to-keep-the-bomb militarist. And out from under their protecting stones would come creeping the isolationists. Carl Levin on page 202 supplies the gloomy facts in the case. There is one man who could stop this sell-out—Robert Taft of Ohio, boss of the Republican majority in the Senate. So far he has publicly sat on the fence but privately he appears to have given comfort to that "little group of wilful men" who would once more lead this country stumbling blindfolded down the road to isolationism, abandoning the great role that history has cast for it in world affairs. For the fight on Lilienthal—as squalid as any that has disgraced our democratic record—is much more than a conspiracy against one of the few great men the United States has produced in the last decade. It is, in fact, a reckless gambling with destiny. Any American schoolboy today sees with greater clarity than most of our Senatorial simpletons that atomic energy will determine for better or worse the future of our world. He knows that the United States, of all nations, has the awful responsibility of saying how it shall be controlled and to what uses it shall be put. That schoolboy's chances of reaching manhood may have been appreciably lessened by the work last week of McKellar, Bridges, White, Wherry, Brooks, O'Daniel, and the rest. If this gang is allowed to say how American atomic policy is to be determined, then Senator Austin at the United Nations may as well fold up his papers and pack his briefcase. And Gromyko will have a right to smile when we insist that the United States is irrevocably committed to the world control of atomic energy through a United Nations Atomic Development Authority. For the United States Senate, the maker of treaties, will have thrown to the dogs the chief author of the Lilienthal-Acheson-Baruch report. Better think hard, Robert Taft. You've got a bigger destiny even than that of the Republican Party, pressing down on your shoulders.

RIGHT-WING COLUMNISTS AND CARTOONISTS have been fairly gloating over the British fuel crisis. It just goes to show, they maintain, what happens when a country turns its back on free enterprise. As David Lawrence puts it in the *New York Sun*, "The impact of the first socialistic government on the British people has developed a major crisis." The only thing wrong with this argument is the fact emphasized by Aylmer Vallance in a London dispatch on page 203 that the current trouble in Britain has been caused not by too much planning but by too little. Last fall, coal production was increasing, thanks to the improvement in miners' morale following the passage of the Coal Nationalization Act, but consumption was rising still faster. It was clear that the margin of safety needed in case of a really cold winter was very slim. Nevertheless, the government gambled on the weather and refused to institute any drastic rationing scheme. No doubt its decision was influenced by memories of the terrific uproar created by the Tories when John Strachey, declining to take chances on the harvest, decreed bread rationing last summer. That move turned out to be as farsighted as it was unpopular, and it is a pity that the Labor government did not deal as boldly with coal. As a result it is open to attack for forgetting the rugged individualism of British weather. But the moral, surely, is not that socialism has failed but that in so vital a matter socialists shouldn't depend on laissez-faire methods.

★

DURING ITS FIRST MONTH IN OFFICE, THE French government has weathered a number of sharp squalls without much damage, but now the barometer indicates that something like a political typhoon lies ahead. With Communist Party support, the C. G. T. (General Federation of Labor), pointing out that prices have risen 50 per cent since last June, is demanding wage increases that average 20 per cent. All other parties oppose general wage increases as certain to nullify the government's price-reduction campaign. Tempers are rising in what is really a three-cornered fight. The trade unions have fact on their side in declaring that the price-reduction program has had almost no effect on living standards. The government, able to show that January

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	197
China's Time Bomb	199
Why Teachers Rebel	200

ARTICLES

Gamblers with Destiny <i>by Carl Levin</i>	202
Britain's Emergency <i>by Aylmer Vallance</i>	203
A Faith to Live By. I. The Dilemma of Modern Man <i>by Reinhold Niebuhr</i>	204
"Let the People Eat Chops" <i>by G. E. R. Gedy</i>	209
The Spanish Republican Crisis <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	211
In One Ear <i>by Lou Frankel</i>	212
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	213

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Faustina, or Rock Roses <i>A Poem by Elizabeth Bishop</i>	214
Death and Transfiguration <i>by William Empson</i>	214
The Cycles of Style <i>by Wylie Sypher</i>	216
The Red or the Black <i>by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.</i>	218
Her Dead Brother <i>Two Poems by Robert Lowell</i>	218
"I Feel Drunk All the Time" <i>by Delmore Schwartz</i>	220
The Slaves <i>by Nathan Glazer</i>	222
Labrador <i>A Poem by William Carlos Williams</i>	224
The Bear and the Eagle <i>by Bernard Brodie</i>	224
Our Own Philosophers <i>by Charles Morris</i>	225
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	226
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	228
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	229

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

231

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 200

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	232
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music: B. H. Haggin*

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editors:

Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.*

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

was the first month since the war in which prices have not risen, argues that new measures to be applied in March will insure what amounts to a wage increase. The C. G. T. is obviously skeptical. The Employers' Federation has declared that a 10 per cent reduction in prices, unless matched by increased output, will abolish profits. Whether the Cabinet will be torn apart will depend upon the outcome of a conference between the ministries concerned and the C. G. T., to be opened on February 21. The calling out of the Paris police surely indicates that the Communist Party is little inclined to compromise, while M. Schumann, M. R. P. Minister of Finance, has threatened to resign if a general wage increase is granted. Evidently M. Ramadier will have the greatest difficulty in keeping both parties within his government, which would be brought down by the defection of either one of them.

★

WE ADVISE THOSE WHO ARE CALCULATING tax savings in the light of the \$6 billion reduction in federal expenditure recommended by the House-Senate Legislative Budget Committee to restrain their excitement. This global cut, forced through the committee by its large Republican majority, may turn out to be little more than a global gesture. Even its most fervent proponents admit that it will not bind the Appropriations Committee when it gets down to its task of fixing expenditures for the various departments. Moreover, the recommendation has yet to be indorsed by Congress, and while the House is expected to approve it, a real fight is shaping up in the Senate, where some members realize that a big-stick foreign policy cannot be properly backed up with a swagger-cane. Economies on the scale advocated by the Budget Committee cannot be made solely at the expense of civilian governmental activities; they must mean deep cuts also in service appropriations. Senator Bridges, in fact, has admitted tentative plans to reduce navy expenditures by \$750 million and to lop a cool billion off War Department appropriations. In addition, the army's civil activities—namely, administration and food supply in occupied areas—are threatened by a 50 per cent cut. Little wonder that the service chiefs are protesting vociferously. We shall be surprised if their cries are unheeded. And equally strong protests are to be expected from interests the Republicans are bound to placate, such as the farmers, if and when Congress gets down to the job of translating its \$6 billion aspiration into actual savings. The G. O. P. is still a long way from reconciling its twin pledges to reduce taxes and balance the budget.

★

NOT IN A LONG WHILE HAS THE SUPREME Court come up with a ruling as vulnerable as its recent decision that public moneys may be used to provide free bus service for parochial schools. In presenting the majority opinion Justice Black appeared to be extremely

sensitive to the prospective charge that the court was jeopardizing the integrity of the First Amendment, which rules out any law "respecting an establishment of religion." Repeatedly he went out of the way to uphold the principle of separation between church and state and even cited favorably another court's decision that "no tax . . . can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions." Yet in spite of these qualms, he and four of his colleagues decided that Ewing Township, New Jersey, was warranted in providing buses for the pupils of Catholic schools as a matter of "public welfare," just as it provided fire and police protection for such institutions. The First Amendment, they ruled, did not "prohibit New Jersey from extending its general state-law benefits to all its citizens without regard to their religious beliefs." The reasoning here appears to be shockingly loose. The free transportation is available to all who care to use the public-school system, regardless of religion. But if the state is to extend such service to the parochial schools on the ground that they are entitled to equal treatment, then why not provide them with free books too? Indeed, why not, as Justice Rutledge asked in a cogent dissent, support them entirely, as the public schools are supported? Nervously, haltingly, but surely, the court majority has breached the wall of separation so carefully built up by Jefferson and Madison. We will hear more of this matter as other communities take their lead from the Ewing Township case. We can only hope then, that the court will reverse itself, as it has on other occasions when its decisions have clearly misfired.

✱

MAYOR O'DWYER OF NEW YORK HAS BEEN bitterly attacked in the press for his conduct of hearings on the ten-cent subway fare. He staged the proceedings, it is charged, purely in order to create a propaganda background for a plea by the city authorities for additional aid from the state. Undoubtedly that was one of the motives inspiring the Mayor's action, but we believe that he was also anxious to counteract the rabid campaign for a ten-cent fare which local newspapers, apart from *PM* and the *New York Post*, had been carrying on for months. That campaign has been designed to prove by damnable reiteration that New Yorkers were really anxious to double their daily traveling costs, recognizing that this was the only way to dig the city out of the financial hole into which it had tumbled. Despite an impressive array of legal and financial talent mustered by the real-estate interests in support of this thesis, the three-day hearing in the City Hall proved fairly conclusively that a ten-cent fare would do little to solve New York's fiscal problems and that the *New York press* did not reflect its readers' opinions on the subject. The real point at issue is who shall provide the additional revenue which the city needs—the wage-earners for whom a ten-cent

fare means the equivalent of a 10 per cent rise in rents, or the real-estate interests. Opponents of the ten-cent fare, says the *New York Times*, editorially, "want owners of property to subsidize the subways still further." We suggest that this complaint stands the situation on its head. The subways have brought an enormous unearned increment to the real-estate owners of the city. If that increment had been captured for the benefit of the community, as it should have been, New York could have had a debt-free transit system.

✱

WESTBROOK PEGLER SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN tripped by his own semantics. He and other publicists of the same kidney have long devoted themselves to giving the word "Communist" a thoroughly opprobrious connotation. How well they have succeeded is shown by a ruling of the United States Circuit Court that in Illinois "it is libelous *per se* to write of a man or a corporation that they are 'Communist' or 'Communist sympathizers.'" As the decision points out, "the label Communist today, in the minds of many average and respectable persons, places the accused beyond the pale of respectability and makes him a symbol of public hatred, contrary to the statute." The immediate effect of this ruling is to return to the District Court for trial a \$6,000,000 libel suit brought by A. N. Spanel and the International Latex Corporation against Westbrook Pegler, the King Features Syndicate, and the publishers of the *Chicago Herald-American*. Whatever the outcome of the case, the Circuit Court has given a salutary warning to those who have formed the habit of denouncing as Communists anyone to the left of Harry Truman.

China's Time Bomb

THE immediate cause of the inflationary crisis that threatens China's economy with disaster was an American consul's statement that the United States government did not approve of T. V. Soong's export subsidy program. It was simple and undramatic advice, but following upon Secretary Marshall's withdrawal of military support it has apparently demolished an already dwindling faith in Nanking's reconstruction plans, which depend in great part upon the acquisition of dollar credits.

As usual the Communist Party has been blamed for the present crisis. The truth is that the guilty persons are Chiang Kai-shek and his associates. It may be admitted that the Chinese economy was in no shape to sustain an exhausting war effort, but that prices rose about 700 per cent during that period was due to the fact that a sincere effort to control them was never attempted. Such an effort would have involved sharp struggle with the military cliques, the great landlords, and the industrial mo-

nopolists who were themselves the government. The printing press has been the favorite financial weapon of the Kuomintang, with the result that since 1936 the volume of paper currency has been multiplied only a little less than a million times. An honest and competent civil service, the prerequisite of sound effort, does not exist in China, and cannot in present circumstances.

That is why Chiang's drastic new decrees aimed at currency and food hoarders, speculators, and black marketeers will almost certainly prove ineffective. The worst offenders are entrenched in the government itself, and Chiang cannot liquidate them without sacrificing his chief support. Once again Acton's aphorism—absolute power corrupts absolutely—is being illustrated. UNRRA aid, military support, the granting of dollar credits, everything that was done in pursuance of the common struggle against Japan, has served to tighten the grasp of an incompetent dictatorship. There lies the reason for the Kuomintang's embittered opposition to communism and liberal democracy alike. The fact is well known to the Chinese people, and that is why the most cautious reversals in American policy would have touched off a trigger mechanism at any time since the close of the war.

To counter the corrupt Chinese diehards a party with teeth must be included within a new government; in no other way will it be possible to resist the Kuomintang machine and compel fulfilment of reforms in the countless towns and villages of China. Today the only group that so qualifies is the Communist Party, but it will have no truck with the present sham coalition, and with reason, for the honest men who have consented to serve in the central government are impotent. Moreover, the economic crisis strengthens the position of the Yen-an leaders, to an extent, indeed, which might tempt them to overplay their hand were Chiang willing to reopen negotiations.

Unfortunately, it is hardly worth while to discuss the possibility of negotiations, for the crisis has not rendered the Generalissimo one whit less intransigent. Reports from Nanking state that he is bitter against President Truman and General Marshall for refusing to give unconditional and unlimited support to his war against Yen-an but still determined to smash the Communist armies, although publicly he talks merely of protecting communications. China, desperately in need of peace and reform, faces therefore the prospect of a prolonged civil war which is likely to end in stalemate and common ruin. Can the United States do anything to avert such a disaster? It can, we believe, only hold fast to its policy of non-intervention while making it plain to both sides that it will offer generous assistance for China's reconstruction when a stable and representative government capable of undertaking that task has been established.

Why Teachers Rebel

SIX thousand American schools have closed their doors in the past twelve months. This year 75,000 American children will have no schooling whatever. Five million others will go to school either to sit idle for the most part, without instruction, or to endure the attentions of sub-standard teachers, 60,000 of whom have no more than a high-school diploma by way of qualification and some of whom have gone no farther than the fifth grade. And this is only the beginning of a catastrophe that has befallen the public schools of the United States—that system of free and compulsory education which Americans rightly think of as the bedrock of their democracy but which they allot only 1.5 per cent of their income. (Britain allows 3 per cent, Russia 7.5.)

The appalling deterioration of the American public schools, which has been worrying only a handful of people for the past few years, is now apparent to anyone who takes the trouble to study the remarkable survey prepared for the *New York Times* by its education editor, Benjamin Fine. Six months' time, extensive travel from coast to coast, and hundreds of interviews have gone into Mr. Fine's excellent series of articles and into his conclusion that although our schools did not suffer a single air raid, "they are being wrecked just as surely as though they had been blasted by heavy bombers."

Lack of physical facilities—plant and equipment—is serious, with more than four billion dollars needed to provide the country with adequate buildings. But this is far less important than the devastating loss of personnel. Since 1940, teachers have been abandoning the schoolroom at the rate of 70,000 a year. In the state of Missouri only 2 per cent of the teachers who served in 1940-41 remain on the pay roll today, and for the country as a whole only half of the 1941 staff is still in action.

Among those who have been rushed into the breach, incompetence of the grossest sort is commonplace. Everywhere Fine heard the same story. "We need more teachers," said a Georgia school superintendent. "Some of the teachers we now employ just call the roll. They can't teach." In Colorado high schools fully a fourth of the instructors are teaching subjects for which they do not hold licenses, and in hundreds of schools major subjects like physics, chemistry, and biology have had to be dropped altogether. High-school girls have taken over classes in Chicago, and one state education commissioner remarked with little exaggeration, "We no longer ask whether an applicant can read or write. If she looks as if she is able to stand up we take her."

What makes the situation doubly desperate is the fact that as the demand increases, the number of prospective teachers continues to drop. In 1920 more than 22 per cent of all college students were enrolled in teachers'

colleges. By 1930 the percentage had slumped to 17. Today not more than 7 per cent of college students are preparing to teach. Of the million veterans who have flocked to the campus, only 20,000—2 per cent—are in teachers' colleges. At this rate of production, it will take ten years for the schools to turn out the 500,000 new teachers who will be needed in three years if even adequate standards are to be restored.

A glance at the tabulated salary figures in the Fine report go far to explain the crisis. The average weekly pay of teachers in the United States is \$37.02 or \$3.37 above the average wage rate for garbage collectors in the city of Washington. Driving a taxi affords a man a better living than educating the young, and in most states requires somewhat less extensive training. So does tending bar, as many teachers have come to know from practicing that profession in their off-hours. Detroit starts its dog-catchers at \$2,485 a year, its teachers at \$2,094. Below the national average the figures drop to appalling lows. Some 200,000 American teachers draw \$25 a week for their services, and 10,000 get as little as \$12.

It is no accident that the state that sends Rankin and Bilbo to Congress is the state that pays its educators an average of \$15.47, less than a self-respecting office boy will accept in New York. The correlation is obvious: democracy cannot be made to work with an illiterate population.

The extreme gravity of the problem is beginning to penetrate the public consciousness, with action promised in thirty-two states. But the measures proposed are picayune in proportion to the need. California is in the vanguard of enlightenment with a proposal to establish a minimum of \$2,400 a year for its teachers.

Naturally enough, teachers have been flocking into their trade unions, and in many cities militant action is in the offing. Albany legislators have been threatening dire penalties against teachers who strike, but the teachers, we believe, have the last word. They can always abandon the children and try lions or bears. After all, a second-grade zoo-keeper in New York starts at \$2,100. The work, they say, is less demanding—and it appears to be more highly regarded.

Gamblers with Destiny

BY CARL LEVIN

Washington, February 15

RARELY have thinking men and women been so depressed by any development in Washington as they have been this week by the sordid fight against David E. Lilienthal's confirmation as chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

Sinister and unfair as is the fight against a man who has won national acclaim as a servant of the people, the storm now raging in Washington has more important implications. It is seen here as an assault against the entire commission, against the nationally enacted policy of civilian control, and against the painstaking effort of the United States to turn its new killer into a force for world peace and the enrichment of humanity. Other members of the commission feel that they will not be able to function in their great task if the Senate fails to hold out against the types of pressure being brought to bear against the chairman-designate.

How far the rejection of Lilienthal would set the United States back in atomic development when other nations are forging ahead was pointed out this week by Dr. Harold C. Urey, the Nobel prize winner who played a major role in the creation of the atomic bomb. Not even considering the possibility that the nation might lose the entire commission, he warned that if the chairmanship of the commission were changed at this time, atomic-energy work in the United States would be crippled for several years.

Last week the opposition, centered in the embittered senior Senator from Tennessee, had been like an easily excisable cancer in the body politic. It was expected to spread to a small handful of McKellar's Southern friends but not much farther. This week, however, to the amazement of men who thought it was under control, it came to the surface in places where it could well be fatal. Its seriousness now cannot be exaggerated, for it has infected the bulk of the leadership of the new Republican majority in the Senate. The opposition now includes majority leader White, Republican whip Wherry, Appropriations Committee Chairman Bridges, and Republicans Brewster, Moore, Kem, and Brooks, as well as McKellar Democrats like Overton of Louisiana, Pappy O'Daniel of Texas, and Stewart of Tennessee.

As this is written, the two leading Republican Senators are still silent. Robert A. Taft, chairman of the party's Senate policy and steering committees, is apparently in the McKellar camp, though he has not openly taken a stand. Arthur H. Vandenberg, president *pro tempore* of the Senate and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has shown repugnance for the bigotry with which his colleagues have aligned themselves. By the position these two men take the nation and the world will know whether the Republican Party intends to use its new power to wreck efficient, strong-handed control and development of atomic energy, which can make or break the world, or whether under Republican control, Congress is

to remain responsive to the will of the people and serve the people's interests. Already the Republican leadership has rendered the nation a supreme disservice by dragging



Caricature by Sellgson
Senator McKellar

a matter of such transcending importance as atomic energy through the mire of partisan politics. It is doubtful whether any commission now confirmed will ever get rid of the stains.

It was perhaps naive to suppose that the fight was over when last year's prolonged controversy over military versus civilian control ended with

Congressional and Presidential approval of a strong civilian bill. Last October, when President Truman named the commission after a difficult three months' quest for the five best men to do the job, his selections received practically unanimous support from the people and the respectable press, but between then and now pressures have been brought to bear which have caused some queer flipflops. Consult, for example, the files of Cissy Patterson's Washington *Times-Herald*. This week the *Times-Herald* found editorially that "the reasons why Mr. Lilienthal is not the man to command the atom bomb are plain." But on October 29 the *Times-Herald* expressed strong approval of Mr. Lilienthal's appointment. In an editorial also printed in the New York *Daily News* it said:

The nomination looks good to us, on the strength of Lilienthal's record. He is the man who has been in charge of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the last thirteen years. In that job Lilienthal could have yielded to the ambitions of Senator Kenneth McKellar (D., Tenn.) to turn the TVA into a big patronage machine for the political welfare of McKellar. Or Lilienthal could have knuckled under to a horde of idealists, doctrinaires, Socialists, and Communists who have long wanted to use the TVA, primarily as a device for hurrying this country toward collectivism. Lilienthal did neither of these things. He has run TVA on business-like principles, thereby thwarting the radicals, and he has kept it from becoming a political football, to the great and continuing rage of Senator McKellar, who says he will fight this nomination. We need a man of Lilienthal's character to head the Atomic Commission. He is further recommended by the fact that he led the group which got out the atomic-energy report utilized by Bernard M. Baruch in formulating the Baruch plan for eventual

international control of atomic energy and development. The Baruch plan is the one the Russians don't like. . . . With a Baruch plan sympathizer as chairman of the Atomic Commission, we should be much safer for the next few years than if the chairman was a Wallace-minded gent. . . . All in all, we don't know of anybody we'd rather have seen nominated to this enormously important post than Lilienthal.

When the joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee opened its hearings on the fitness of Mr. Lilienthal and his associates, McKellar, of course, although not a member of the committee, was there to press his fight. Lilienthal, he insisted, was a Communist, notwithstanding the testimony of those arch-foes of communism, the *Times-Herald* and the *News*. The first surprise came when the committee began to press the chairman-designate on his interpretation of the relation between the commission and its military-liaison committee. Had he sought the help of Major General Leslie R. Groves, war-time commander of the War Department's Manhattan District, since the commission, under interim appointment, took over the Manhattan District's functions and facilities on January 1, pursuant to the law? Did he intend to allow members of the military-liaison committee to sit in on all meetings of the commission? One did not have to be a shrewd analyst of the Washington scene to see where the committee members obtained the information reflected in their questions. The military obviously was still at it, although, as it was later shown, without the approval or support of Secretary of War Patterson. It may have been more than a coincidence that at the same time General Groves, who had retired entirely from the atomic picture, was quietly being worked back, as an unheralded replacement for another army representative on the military-liaison committee, and also, with bigger things in view, as a member of a new army-navy atomic board now in the formative stage. Was he being prepared for a possible call to head the commission, which Congress had decided was to be civilian?

That was only the start. The hearings were but a few days old when the bigoted isolationist fringe started packing the hearing room and bombarding members of Congress with denunciations of members of the commission. They even managed to get one of their firebrands into the witness stand.

More subtle and self-effacing but working hard in the background are the power and oil interests. They are afraid Mr. Lilienthal will not turn over atomic power to them soon enough and that he might not be as free as some army officers or weaker administrators with atomic patents vested by Congress in the new commission.

Finally the Republican leadership in the Senate swung into action. Senator Bridges of New Hampshire got out the first statement. He would oppose Mr. Lilienthal because Senator McKellar's venom had exposed the Chair-

man-designate to suspicion; no man under suspicion should be confirmed to the high position. Moreover, the Senator said, Lilienthal was an "extreme New Dealer." Senator Taft told newspapermen he agreed with Senator Bridges.

The steady outpouring of Republican statements all during the week reached a climax when Senator Brooks of Illinois spoke. He set forth a new concept of American justice. "No man . . . accused of encouraging or condoning Communists and communism should be placed in this important position," he declared.

A worried Republican leadership, however, tried desperately to channel the party's opposition away from the Communist issue and to define it clearly as stemming primarily from dissatisfaction with Mr. Lilienthal's "dictatorial tactics," his lack of respect for Congress, and the belief that such important jobs should no longer go to New Dealers.

Is the Republican leadership expressing the will of the people? Secretary of War Patterson has said it is not; Bernard M. Baruch, President Conant of Harvard, Dr.

Compton, Dr. Vannevar Bush, Dr. John Sloan Dickey, president of Dartmouth, have all testified that it is not. The Catholic Committee of the South, which last year named Mr. Lilienthal its "man of the year," and which is not given to supporting Communists, has spoken in Lilienthal's favor for all Roman Catholics in the South. The American Farm Bureau Federation, representing more than 1,100,000 farm families, has taken the same stand. So have the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Southern Regional Council, the Union Theological Seminary, and spokesmen for numberless institutions and organizations.

But McKellar says Lilienthal shall not be confirmed. He is joined by two or three disgruntled former TVA employees, by a Birmingham police detective, by the bigots and isolationists, and by the unseen power and oil lobbies.

The Republican Party, holding the power in the chamber which must confirm the nominees, will judge whether they or their opponents are the more representative Americans. On this judgment it must stand or fall.

Britain's Emergency

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, February 10

CANUTE, impotent, confronted by a rising tide of political and economic troubles, calling for aid not upon his own divided courtiers but on those of another king—such is the picture of Mr. Attlee which is being sedulously spread about by Conservative headquarters and the faithful columnists of the Tory press. Inspired as they are by the Opposition's desire to discredit the Labor government, to whose "indecisions and doctrinaire intransigence" everything from world food shortages to the arctic weather and the electricity shut-down is ascribed, current rumors of a coming National Coalition might be summarily dismissed as Tory wish-fulfilment or just plain nonsense. Indeed, at the moment there is no shadow of evidence that Mr. Attlee or any of his colleagues has yet given a moment's serious thought to such a political expedient. Nevertheless, tongues have been set wagging; and the coalition hypothesis has even become the subject of widespread speculative discussion within Labor. It seems worth while, therefore, to try to discover the basis of the conception. Under what conceivable circumstances could Mr. Attlee be persuaded to invite the history of 1931 to repeat itself

—especially since he enjoys in Parliament the overwhelming majority denied to Ramsay MacDonald?

To this question one answer is the supposition that there might arise within the ranks of the parliamentary Labor Party a rebellion on foreign policy so serious that the government would be threatened with actual defeat in the House. As matters stand, there are no signs of such a situation. The critics of Ernest Bevin, who now number about 150 recalcitrants, are by no means appeased. They adhere as strongly as ever to their opinion that, at the cost of making Britain embarrassingly dependent on the military and material resources of the United States, the Foreign Secretary is pursuing a conventionally imperialist policy which Britain cannot afford. They blame Mr. Bevin bitterly for the part he has played in the latest discussions on Palestine with the Jewish and Arab delegations in London. It is an open secret that when the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones, evolved, and actually sounded the Jewish representatives on, a plan whereby, under a continuing British mandate, a semi-autonomous Jewish province would have an unrestricted right to accept immigrants and would be entitled to vote itself out of a partitioned Palestine in five years' time, the proposal was brusquely and publicly disavowed by the Foreign Secretary. On his insistence the Cabinet, moved by his plea that military considerations forbade any action likely to alienate the Arab states, finally in-

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's London correspondent.

dorsed the quite unacceptable plea for a patchwork quilt of demi-semi-autonomous areas, with immigration limited to 96,000 in two years and no ultimate goal of independence in sight. But though the rebels constitute a guerrilla fringe ready to snipe at the Cabinet on all suitable occasions, they have not the power, much less the intention, to create a serious parliamentary crisis.

This being so, the only question which merits attention is whether the inevitable economic crisis is likely to be of a severity which might persuade Mr. Attlee that only a National Government on the lines of the war-time coalition, but with the internal balance of power shifted, naturally, in Labor's favor, could cope with it. How imminent is the crisis? Here the views of economists differ. Some hold that last year's rate of drawing on the dollar loan need not be exceeded and that, on this assumption, the loan can be relied on as an adequate cushion against the impact of crisis until the summer of 1949. Others, less sanguine, forecast increasing drafts on the loan from now on. Britain's exports, they argue—apart from the temporarily catastrophic effects of the electric shut-down—are likely to fall in 1947 and still more in 1948, partly through shortage of raw materials and partly through increasing American competition. Some portion, at least, of the sterling balances due to India, Egypt, and other British creditors will have to be unblocked in freely convertible currency. The dollar requirements of the British zone of Germany are another heavy commitment. And there is the further danger that if, as these economists expect, opinion abroad comes round to the view that sterling will have to be devalued as a stimulus to exports, purchasers abroad will hold off placing contracts for British goods until the price in foreign currency becomes cheaper. All these expectations add up to the conclusion that by the end of this year Britain's balance of payments will be so out of gear and its stock of dollars so diminished that even if all imports of non-essentials are cut to the bone, unemployment may loom as the result of failure to obtain raw materials.

The date of the crisis does not perhaps bear on Mr. Attlee's probable attitude toward inviting the Tories to form a coalition. This would obviously depend upon his weighing of a set of fairly obvious factors. On the one hand, it is suggested, he might be tempted toward a coalition not only by the electoral advantage of getting the Tory leadership to share the responsibility for a further dose of unpleasant austerity in the shape of curtailed supplies of American films, tobacco, and so forth,



Emanuel Shinwell, British Fuel Minister

As seen by Oscar Berger

but also by the knowledge that the government's task in calling for a really national effort to meet the emergency would be enormously facilitated if it had the entire press with it; and that would be possible only for a coalition government. On the other hand, he would have to face the fact that a coalition could be formed only on terms. As the price of their support the Tories would certainly insist that there should be no more instalments of nationalization; the present experiment of socialization by slow degrees would have to be put into cold storage. This would split the Labor movement from head to heel: the rank and file would be

unable to understand how a government with a socialist mandate and an overwhelming majority could feel obliged to come to terms with the enemy. Mr. Attlee would deal his party a blow even more deadly than that delivered by Ramsay MacDonald in 1931.

This analysis of the coalition hypothesis leads most observers who are friendly to the government to the conclusion that Britain would have to face an economic crisis much more violent than anything yet foreseen before the desperate expedient of a National Government could be seriously considered. The real question today is whether the next White Paper, scheduled for publication shortly, will contain sufficiently concrete proposals. The goal, increased production, is clear enough; that was stated forthrightly, albeit in general terms, by the first White Paper, published last month. But it is widely known that the Cabinet is by no means of one mind on how production is to be increased. By cutting down the armed forces and other services so as to release more pairs of hands for civilian industry? This would involve a radical modification of British foreign policy, to which Ernest Bevin, who still dominates the Cabinet by his personality, and Mr. Alexander, Minister of Defense, are resolutely opposed. By importing foreign labor on a large scale? Against this solution Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labor, adduces strong opposition from the Trades Union Congress; Mr. Chuter Ede, the Home Secretary, is believed to be arguing against a large infiltration of "aliens" on political grounds. The housing situation offers another difficulty, even if politically desirable entrants possessing trade skills could be found. Higher wages and greater mechanization in the unpopular and backward industries? Mechanization will take time—only a sadly small 5 per cent of the dollar loan has so far been spent on importing machinery; and higher wages, unless rates in other industries can be frozen, a difficult

thing to put over, contain an inconvenient inflationary threat.

There remain two possible courses of action. One is that the government resolutely ignore popular objections to cutting down all non-essential imports and reduce the already meager British rationing scales. The other is that Britain give notice now that it is compelled by *force majeure* to admit its inability to honor the obligations of the dollar-loan agreement with regard to multilateral trading and methods of seeking a settlement with its sterling creditors. For the Cabinet neither of these courses is attractive. Already it is clear that the Tory press is succeeding to some extent in discrediting the government with its continuous references to it as the "architect of austerity," and it will be much more difficult now to call for further tightening of belts than it would have been when the American loan was being argued.

As for admitting British inability to carry out the terms of the loan, "repudiation" is an ugly word and quite a sizable section of the Cabinet still believes that Britain must continue indefinitely to rely on American aid. The belief is therefore growing that the White Paper will reflect the Cabinet's reluctance to make up its mind and that it will take refuge once again in somewhat nebulous appeals to the country to "do more." That the country is prepared to do, but it wants to have the lines of action—Socialist lines it hopes—clearly marked out. The dog must be shown the rabbit.

February 14

The effect of the present acute freeze-up, which has created chaos in transport and paralyzed industry, has been the complete disappearance of coalition rumors from the pages of the Tory press. The explanation is probably that the Tory leadership has realized that the immediate reaction to the crisis in the Labor movement has been a visible strengthening of the left-inclined elements in both the party and the unions. There has been some criticism of Attlee for undue delay in broadcasting the facts to the country, but the only serious complaint from Labor is that the Cabinet, which knew the coal-stock situation last summer, failed to face up to the unpopular but essential task of restricting non-essential trades. The consensus of Labor opinion is that the temporary emergency caused by the weather proves that the underlying crisis in production and balance of payments can be solved by nothing less than socialism. Significantly enough, the initial inclination of the Cabinet to yield to Tory newspaper pressure and sack Shinwell evoked violent protests from the miners and other militant unions. Hence, shrewdly inferring that a coalition move would be repudiated by a large section of the Labor Party, capable ultimately of capturing the party leadership and launching a definitively Socialist program of economic reconstruction, the Tories have pigeonholed the coalition idea. They are not inclined to upset a gradualist Cabinet at the cost of swinging Labor farther left.

A Faith to Live By

I. THE DILEMMA OF MODERN MAN

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

WE ARE living in an age in which our social and historical imperatives may be fairly simply defined but not easily achieved. Our task is to create and re-create community within the terms set by a technical civilization. The constant elaboration of man's technical skills has created a potential world community, but this community cannot be actualized as easily as modern men had hoped. The same technical skills have created abundance in modern industrial communities; yet these communities all suffer from great social insecurity because they find it difficult to distribute the new wealth equitably enough to guarantee harmony and stability.

In such a historical situation the average person still interprets the faith by which he lives primarily in socio-political terms. He has faith in this or that social objective. Usually in the United States and in the Western world generally the objective is defined as "the democratic way of life." I do not believe that such a purely political objective constitutes an adequate "faith." It may define our primary moral obligation, or at least the social dimension of that obligation, but it does not define the meaning of our existence. Any adequate sense of the meaning of life must be able to comprehend not only what we ought to do but what we are. It must explain why we are creatures who do not find it easy, or even possible, to fulfil our highest obligation.

At the present moment the popular definition of our political ideal as the "democratic way of life" hides a very great dilemma, which is also a part of the total

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, a staff contributor of *The Nation*, is professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary and author of *"The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness."*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
Union Theological Seminary

human situation. For the world is divided between different types of "democrats," between those who would sacrifice freedom, or have already sacrificed it, for the sake of an equalitarian and collectivist democracy and those who would make no sacrifice of any freedom in the interest of justice. In the international community this cleavage may result in a world conflict between two cohorts of world-savers holding contradictory views of democracy. In national communities it may still lead to the most tragic internecine conflicts. The truth obviously lies somewhere between these two creeds; but it is difficult to find, precisely because political creeds have been invested with a religious aura by a supposedly irreligious age. This whole development rather refutes John Dewey's hope, expressed some years ago in his "Common Faith," that men of good-will would agree on social and moral objectives, once modern culture had dissolved the irrelevant loyalties of historical religions. We have, as Americans, a particularly embarrassing position in this debate or conflict between contradictory conceptions of democracy. For America in general, and the American plutocracy in particular, has a more uncritical confidence in the organic relation between "free enterprise" and democracy than any other nation; and this type of bigotry may do more damage to the world community and the cause of justice than any religious bigotry ever did.

PROGRESS NOT REDEPTIVE

Even if this contradiction in the definition of our democratic objectives did not exist, it would still be impossible to define the meaning of human existence purely in terms of some social and political objective—partly because no human life can be completely contained within the bounds of the social and historical dimension of life, and partly because we do not either individually or collectively move as easily or surely toward ideal goals as past generations have assumed. Our age is secular, either non-Christian or anti-Christian, in the main outlines of its basic creed. It has disavowed the historical religious faiths partly because their symbols seem outmoded in an age of science but chiefly because modern men find the tragic view of life implicit in religion unacceptable and the old theories of redemption irrelevant. A message of redemption which offered men and nations life only through death and declared that men could be saved only through repentance seemed completely irrelevant to an age which saw history moving forward to ever more impressive elaborations of human power and freedom. There was nothing the matter with human life which historical growth could not cure.

The implicit faith of the past two centuries has hardly prepared us for the kind of frustration through which we must live in the next century or two. For we have been given the task of creating community in larger dimensions than any one or two centuries can accomplish.

The frustrations of our age become pathetic rather than tragic when we have no means of either anticipating or comprehending the character of our present experiences. The one unifying element in all strands of modern culture was the idea of progress. We had faith in a redemptive history. This faith, which supposedly made all other interpretations of life completely incredible, is now progressively disclosing itself as the most incredible of all interpretations of life. This refutation of the culture of modern man by contemporary history may be regarded as the real spiritual crisis of our day.

When the atomic bomb fell upon Hiroshima it brought more than one chapter in both political and cultural history to a symbolic conclusion. It particularly concluded that chapter of Western spiritual history, beginning in the Renaissance, which regarded history as a kind of God and time as a kind of Christ. It was an age which assumed that technical progress, which continually increased man's power over nature and freedom from natural limitations, would inevitably contribute to human welfare and happiness. It was an age which assumed that man's increased mobility and the wider range of his eyes, ears, and voice, transfigured by microscope and telescope, telegraph and radio, would inevitably lead to the enlargement of the human community. Actually mechanical advances have only created a potential, and not an actual, world community, and have meanwhile destroyed many of the organic forms of community which gave life sanity and stability in older cultures.

We have had to learn that history is neither a God nor a redeemer. The real fact is that while history solves many problems, it aggravates rather than mitigates the basic incongruities of human existence. Man is a finite and contingent creature, with some sense of universal value transcending his own existence but unfortunately inclined to endow the contingent values of his life or culture, of his truth or loyalty, with an absolute significance which it does not deserve. He thereby finds community with his fellow-men as difficult as it is necessary; particularly since his fellow-men are engaged in the same idolatrous process. Man can neither live alone, not being self-sufficient, nor easily come to terms with his fellow-men. The same instruments which extend the range of possible community also extend the range of man's impulse to domination over his fellows. Thus history pitches the drama of life on continually higher levels, but the essentials of the drama remain the same.

THE ILLUSION OF "SCIENTIFIC" POLITICS

The fact that history is endlessly creative but not redemptive might have been more apparent to modern man had it not been for another illusion in modern culture. This other illusion is closely related to the idea of progress and is indeed frequently the basis for it. It is the illusion that the so-called "methods of science" or "im-

partial scientific inquiry" or "scientific objectivity" are actually the instruments by which mankind rises to higher and higher degrees of perfection. There are forms of the idea of progress which trust primarily in the extension of the evolutionary process of biology into the realm of history. But more frequently historical progress is assumed to depend upon the ability of man gradually to rise from his position as a creature of natural and historical forces to become their master. The instrument by which this is to be accomplished is science. By scientific impartiality man presumably rises from finite to universal perspectives, from interested to disinterested appraisal of problems of justice, from prejudice and passion to god-like serenity and impartiality. Science will not only unlock the mysteries of existence which have remained closed to the poetic and religious imagination and to the speculations of philosophy but will redeem man from the fragmentary and partial character of his life and actions and guarantee actions of universal validity.

Sometimes it is assumed that the methods of science will make men moral merely by making them rational. Sometimes it is believed that science should be used to control the dark and irrational forces in human nature, "that the same science which has altered the face of nature can change the habits of men." Sometimes the continued egotism and irrationality of individuals are assumed, but it is believed that a "scientific" politics will be able to manage social forces as readily as man now manages the forces of nature. The end product of these illusions is the type of rationalism which dreams of setting up a world government containing scientifically tested constitutional instruments for equilibrating all the vitalities of a community of nations and for arbitrating or, if necessary, suppressing every political conflict.

A simple fact has been obscured by this cult of redemption through science. Man is a creature whose rational and vital processes are in organic unity, and there is no "scientific method" by which he can escape from the hopes, fears, ambitions, and anxieties of his own individual existence or those of his nation, civilization, or ethnic group. In all problems pertaining to the security or the meaning of his own life or the justice of his conflict with some competing life or vitality, he is never the disinterested observer but an interested participant. In so far as impartiality is possible, it is a moral and religious as much as a scientific achievement. A contrite recognition of the interested character of our views and actions must always lie behind the achievement of relative disinterestedness. The achievement involves the whole of the personality and is therefore not purely intellectual or scientific.

Modern culture has wittingly or unwittingly followed the thought of Comte, who believed that the history of the world could be divided into three ages—the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific—and who

saw the possibility of solving all human problems in the third and final stage of human development by the application of the scientific method to man's social existence. Actually the ability of science to achieve impartial and universally valid judgments rests partly upon the sharply circumscribed fields of inquiry in which science looks for causal relations and partly upon the fact that a natural science, which investigates the determined sequences of nature, is under no temptation to weigh evidence or make hazardous judgments on such imponderables as human motives.

But the wider the field of inquiry becomes, the more plainly will even the natural sciences betray themselves



Drawing by Golden

to be under the guidance of presuppositions, implicit or explicit metaphysical assumptions, which are not the consequence but the basis of the inquiry. If it is historical rather than biological or geological sequence which is under inquiry, there is no strictly "scientific" method of judging the motives which prompt human actions or of comparing competing vitalities in history. Every judgment of fact is also a value judgment, presupposing a norm. The norm is itself historically conditioned, and the application of the norm to the stuff of history is twice conditioned.

This fact does not invalidate the social and historical sciences or prove that they ought to be reduced to statistical proportions in order to become purer sciences. Both the logical and the analytical powers of reason remain instruments by which partial and particular points of view are corrected, and the whole stuff of historical reality is brought under examination. We must continue to seek to understand what things are and how they came to be what they are in history as well as in nature. But there is no magic in either logic or the scientific method which will coerce men or nations to subordinate the particular to the universal interest or to correct the partial by a more universal insight. Reason in history remains permanently ambiguous, being both the servant and the master of all of history's vitalities.

HISTORY A VITAL, NOT A RATIONAL, PROCESS

There is, for instance, no "scientific method" which could guarantee that statesmen who must deal with the social and political consequences of atomic energy could arrive at the kind of "universal mind" which operated in the discovery of atomic energy. Statesmen who deal with this problem will betray "British," "American," or "Russian" bias, not because they are less intelligent than the scientists but because they are forced to approach the issue in terms of their responsibility to their respective nations. Their formulation of a solution is intimately and organically related to the hopes, fears, and ambitions of nations. They must deal with history as a vital and not a rational process. As a vital process it is always something less and something more than reason. It is less than rational in so far as the power impulses of nations express themselves as inexorably as the force of a stampeding herd of cattle. It is something more than rational in so far as human beings have aspirations and loyalties transcending both impulse and prudence. Man is a heaven-storming creature whose highest ideals are curiously compounded with his immediate and mundane interests. The Marxist dream of a universal classless society, mixed with the power impulses of a Russian state and the anxieties of a precarious dictatorship, is a nice symbol of what historical reality is like. Our so-called democratic world is a little more rational; but the mixture of democratic idealism and the quest for profits of a vast American economic machine must be almost as bewildering to the outside observer as the Russian mixture.

The collective mixtures of ideals and interests are more vivid than individual expressions of human spirituality, but every individual life is governed less by prudence and rationality and more by what lies below the level of reason and rises above the level of rational calculation than a scientific culture understands. One may be grateful for the fact that poets and novelists continued to bear testimony to these dimensions of life even in a scientific age, if they dealt at all authentically with the human scene. Because man in his grandeur and in his misery, in his high aspirations and in their egoistic corruption, is and always will be a more complex creature than modern culture has understood, his history is more tragic and his redemption from self-seeking, whether individual or collective, more difficult and always less final than we have assumed.

Old cultures and civilizations, reigning oligarchies and traditional social systems and structures do not quietly yield to the logic of a new historical development. They refuse to die in bed. They take the field, ostensibly to defend their "ideals" against some new barbarism, but also to preserve established interests against new vitalities. That is why we must march through any number of world wars before we can achieve world community; and why the world community which is within the grasp

of human powers will be less stable and secure than our calculating world planners can realize. History presents us with constantly enlarged responsibilities. We must meet these responsibilities if we would remain human. The Nazis have shown us the perverse consequences of any effort to turn the clock back and "return to the womb" of tribal primitivism. We must move on. But there are neither securities nor fulfillments in history in which the heart can rest.

FULFILMENT ONLY THROUGH FAITH

Since we are free spirits who transcend the historical process, as well as creatures who are involved in it, we crave for some ultimate security and fulfillment. But since history remains as fragmentary and as full of contradictions as our individual life-adventures, we can have such security and fulfillment only in an ultimate sense and only by faith. The kind of faith which adequately completes the temple of meaning will also reveal that our own egotism, and that of our nation, and not merely the egotism of competitor or foe is responsible for the tragic aspects of history. Thus contrition and faith go hand in hand.

In Christian piety the devout soul always beholds itself in a double relation to Christ. The perfect love, of which the Cross is the symbol, is regarded as the final norm of human goodness and defines what man ought to be. But man also knows himself to be the crucifier of the Christ. This expresses our understanding of the fact that life can only be brought to completion by a love in which the self is not concerned for itself but only for its fellows. But we also know that as individuals and as groups we seek our own. The justice we have achieved in history is a compromise between these two impulses; and the compromise is not achieved simply by calculation and prudence. Such pity and mercy as are insinuated into the cruelties and inhumanities of human life are the fruits of the contrition, which recognizes that the egotism we abhor in others is in us also. Fanaticism is always the product of self-righteousness. Religion has produced as much fanaticism as contrition, because religion is never a good force per se, but merely the final conflict between human self-esteem and divine mercy. And the one is as frequently victorious as the other.

A secular age imagined that it could exorcise fanaticism by disavowing religion. But an age which prides itself upon its scientific objectivity has actually sunk to new levels of cruelty, for the man who knows himself to be absolutely right through the benefit of science is as cruel as those who achieved this fanaticism by religious revelation. Not only Marxist fanatics are involved in the cruelties of our age, but democratic idealists also. The ancients were certainly not more merciless to their foes than we; no one has been so merciless to a vanquished foe as we since the Assyrians. We are pitiless because we do not know ourselves to be pitiable.

A secular age thought it would be sufficient to disavow the other-worldliness of religion in order to achieve a consistent and humane sense of responsibility for the commonweal. But the disavowal of an incredible heaven led to the avowal of incredible utopias; incredible because they defined an unconditioned good amid the conditions of nature history. This persistent utopianism has generated fanatical furies of our day, for if the heaven of a classless society could be established on earth, would it be worth the price which the Communists are ready to pay? It is also responsible for the alternate fits of illusion and disillusion which distract us from our historic responsibilities.

Life is never completed, either individually or collectively; and it is never completely freed from chaos or from contradictions to its essential meaning. An adequate faith must understand this quality of life; but that is impossible without an explicit or implicit belief that a

divine mercy can complete what we cannot complete. Such a faith may of course be corrupted and may beguile men from their pressing responsibilities; but the alternative secular idealism also leads to deep corruptions. It tempts men to seek in others, and never in themselves, the root of human misery. And if they finally find it in themselves, their optimism gives way to despair. The mood of this century compared with the optimism of the nineteenth century looks very much like the despair which all false optimism generates. Perhaps it is significant for the spirituality of our day that one of the most brilliant journals in our nation runs utopian editorials championing world government on its editorial pages, and fills most of the other pages with little bits of fiction and descriptions of contemporary life, the unifying mood of which is a pitiless honesty in the dissection of human motives that hovers continually on the very brink of complete cynicism.

"Let the People Eat Chops"

BY G. E. R. GEDYE

Bucharest, Rumania

THE night after I arrived in Bucharest I was awakened at 2 a.m. by a knocking on the door of my room in the Athenaeum Palace, the leading and only clean hotel in the capital. The night porter came in full of apologies, carrying the shoes which I had put outside the door. "Ring in the morning for them to be cleaned," he said, "but don't leave them out overnight if you want to see them again."

For breakfast I was given almost uneatable dark bread made largely of maize flour, a pale fluid brewed apparently from blackberry leaves, and a glutinous cube of jam substitute—but also as many fresh eggs as I wanted and a plateful of cold ham. For lunch I was offered a choice of such delicacies as *pâté de foie gras*, grilled mushrooms, and woodcock, with huge pork chops or beefsteak to follow. But there were no vegetables or salads. When I asked for beer, the waiter was amused—Rumanian breweries had seen no barley for months. But drinkable wine was cheap and abundant.

It was not, of course, a new experience in liberated Europe to find luxuries available for people with foreign currency—and for the rich—while the masses were near starvation. Budapest, before the introduction of the new

currency, was the classic example of a city in which such conditions obtained, despite the fact that the Communist Party controlled the government. The peculiar characteristic of Bucharest is the increasing scarcity—even for the rich—of some products combined with the temporary abundance of others. A hotel can serve Lucullan meals but no good bread, tea, or vegetables. And one must watch one's shoes. Rumania's economic set-up almost makes sense of Marie Antoinette's advice to the populace starving for bread—"Why don't they eat cake?" Lacking bread, cheese, and beer, the people of Bucharest today might well try pork chops and wine.

Food difficulties arose for the first time in the history of this fertile land when war reached its territory in August, 1944, and it was obliged to feed the Red Army and then, under the armistice convention, to send food to Russia. But the present crisis is primarily the result of the past two years of unexampled drought. Meat and poultry are abundant because the drought burned up the crops and left the country almost devoid of fodder. The soil was so parched that only a quarter of the autumn sowing was possible. Often the starving peasants used their scanty issues of seed to make bread. No sugar has been issued since April, and sugar on the black market costs nearly \$4 a kilo. Many districts go without their ration of bread for two or three days and then get no back rations.

Bread on the black market costs about 40 cents a loaf, six times the price of rationed bread; this is a day's wages for a well-paid charwoman. Jassy was recently

G. E. R. GEDYE is correspondent for Central Europe of The Nation and the London Daily Herald. His book, "Betrayal in Central Europe," was widely discussed a few years ago.

without any bread at all, rationed or black market, for ten days running. Similar conditions prevail in most towns and villages in Moldavia. Some of the peasants still have wheat and maize that they hoarded for their own use. Others crowd into Bucharest in search of food. An acquaintance told me of two young men who asked him for work but whom he found to be too weak from starvation even to lift a bed that he wanted shifted. In this country of forests there is a great shortage of wood for fuel owing to lack of transport. To heat a single stove throughout the winter with wood bought on the black market costs \$26.

Estimating the real value of wages is complicated by a system of canteens—"Economat"—at which people in employment can buy essential foods at minimum prices. Without them the workers simply could not eat during the present wild inflation. The day I reached Rumania the pound sterling was valued at 165,000 lei; a fortnight later it stood at 208,000 lei. Averaging out the exchanges, an unskilled worker earns about \$7 a month, a skilled worker \$10 to \$12; both get in addition one pair of boots and one suit of overalls a year. A commercial clerk earns about \$16, a civil servant even less than an unskilled worker, a magistrate or a schoolteacher a little under \$18 a month. All have access to their "Economat," where prices are very low. If his family is to be properly nourished, a married civil servant needs to spend practically his whole pay on food and has almost nothing left over for rent, fuel, and clothing. The way out for him is the classic Rumanian one—"baksheesh," corruption. Since the government came to power in March, 1945, it has done nothing toward accomplishing the first point on its program—reduction of the cost of living and abolition of profiteering and the black market.

Russian reparation claims are of course a heavy burden on the country's economy. The Rumanian army was responsible for much destruction, not all of which was "legitimate" war damage. Naturally there is a heavy bill to pay; \$875,000,000 had been paid by April, 1946. But reparations obligations constitute only one of the ways in which the Rumanian economy is under tribute to Russia. The cost to the country of its subsequent participation in the last phases of the war against Nazi Germany is estimated at \$302,000,000. Reserves of livestock have been reduced by 131,000 horses, 137,000 head of cattle, 528,000 sheep, and 122,000 pigs. Nearly 50 per cent of the motor vehicles in Rumania have been handed over to Russia.

From 80 to 85 per cent of the country's sea, inland-waterway, and overland transport is now working exclusively in Russian interests—commercially, on reparations deliveries, or for the Red Army. Rumania is practically cut off from any trade with the West; it is estimated that in 1945 over 90 per cent of its exports went to Russia, and the proportion today is still very high. According to

Rumanian oil experts, 3,471,000 out of 3,525,000 tons of oil went to Russia in a single month, either as reparations or exports. The output of foreign oil companies is treated in the same way: part is taken as reparations, part as exports. The compensation paid by the Rumanian government in inflated lei is so low that representatives of foreign concerns say they will be bankrupt in two years. One would expect foreign oil men to be incensed by the export of their oil to the Soviets, but there seems to be considerable foundation for their complaint that their companies are being bankrupted so that they can be acquired later by Soviet-Rumanian concerns.

Soviet-Rumanian trusts already dominate the economic life of the country. "Sovrombank" is a vast financial concern to which Rumanian banks have contributed their share capital and Russia the formerly German shares which it obtained after the armistice. By last summer some 50 per cent of Rumanian banking was in the hands of "Sovrombank." Russian oil interests are handled by "Sovrompetrol," through which, it was expected, Russia could control one-third of the country's total oil reserves of 6,500,000 tons. If the Belgian and French companies, however, are given back the share they claim under the Teheran agreement, the Soviet Union will control only 12 per cent.

"Sovromtransport" owns all the installations in the principal ports—Constanza, Braila, Galatz, and Giurgiu—and has a thirty years' lease of nearly all quays and wharves. The four principal shipyards of Rumania are leased by "Sovromtransport." It controls all Rumania's Danube shipping which was not ceded to Russia as reparation. Rumania is thus dependent on "Sovromtransport" for economic relations with other Danubian states. Road transport is largely controlled by a subsidiary of "Sovromtransport." "Tars," the Soviet-Rumanian civil airlines monopoly—its chairman is a Russian citizen—will hold all Rumanian civil airfields for the next thirty years. No foreign airline may use Rumanian airports without the consent of "Tars." The Rumanian government is under an obligation to grant to "Tars" sites for any new airfields which may be demanded. As to rail transport, the rolling stock of the Rumanian state railways has been divided as follows: 535 engines and 4,800 trucks ceded to the Soviets; 1,855 engines and 27,258 trucks left with Rumania. From the armistice to April, 1946, 80 per cent of all railroad transportation served Russia's interests. "Sovromlemn" controls 25 per cent of Rumania's timber production; the Red Army absorbs another 30 per cent. On "Sovromlemn's" board of directors are seven Soviet citizens nominated by Russia, four Rumanian citizens nominated by Rumania, one Hungarian, and two representatives of private Rumanian concerns.

Rumanian business circles reckon that if things go on as at present, within six years the Rumanian economy will have been practically absorbed into the Soviet system.

The Spanish Republican Crisis

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, February 13

THE Spanish Republican crisis precipitated by Prime Minister Giral's resignation has been brought to an unexpected and dangerous climax. The choice of Rodolfo Llopias as head of the new government can benefit only Franco. Llopias is secretary of the Toulouse Socialist group and until now has been known for his capitulationist leanings. The Cabinet he has announced is in every respect weaker than the Giral Cabinet, itself no model of strength. The main weakness of Giral's government was the presence in it of two ministers representing the Prieto position—in favor of the dissolution of Republican parliamentary institutions to clear the way for a plebiscite that at best would result in a reactionary Franquist regime only without Franco. It was illogical and confusing to bring diametrically opposed forces—the resistance and the capitulation—together in the same Cabinet; but at least in Giral's Cabinet the Prietist ministers, De Francisco and Trifon Gomez, were in the minority. Now the minority has become the majority and controls the government. This incredible situation could arise only in an "emigration" where the normal discipline exercised on parties and organizations by popular opinion is non-existent and a handful of unscrupulous politicians can settle a crisis according to their own selfish interests. These men work as they please in a kind of dark chamber hermetically sealed off from the Spanish masses, for whose feelings they have little regard.

The crisis began with the resignation of Prieto's two ministers. When discussions opened on a new Cabinet, all parties and groups except of course the Prietists expressed themselves in favor of at once forming a strong government on a broad foundation. Indeed, their position was stated in such unequivocal terms that the Right Socialists, who advocated outright dissolution, were compelled to change their tactics; now they too declared they wanted to continue the Republican institutions. Obviously they were hoping to obtain a victory on two fronts. Outside the government Prieto would continue his propaganda against the Republic; inside they would intensify their fifth-column activities, especially if they succeeded in capturing the premiership.

Confronted with these double-crossing tactics, the true Republicans to a man urged President Martínez Barrio to form a representative Republican Cabinet. At no point was it a question of imposing one leader as against another; of insisting, for example, on a Cabinet headed by Negrín that would give new life and impetus to the entire Republican movement. On the contrary. Since Negrín

is unpopular with the old-line politicians because he represents the very antithesis of their cacique philosophy, the Republicans were ready even to throw their support to Barcia if he would agree to resolve the crisis by rallying around him the representatives of the resistance and not of capitulation. The President was informed that on this basis all groups, including those who had refused to participate in the Giral government, were willing to join the new Cabinet and share its responsibilities.

En route to Paris I had stopped in London to see Negrín. His attitude was that at all costs the formation of such a Cabinet must be facilitated. He asked his own group not to advance his name for the premiership.

Martínez Barrio had an opportunity to choose a regime that would have cleared the political air. Instead, by naming Llopias he has further complicated the situation. The new Prime Minister is an audacious man, capable of a volte-face whenever expediency dictates. Though relatively young in years, he is the prototype of the old provincial politico. Julio Just, to whom he has intrusted the key portfolios of Interior and War, is a nonentity who defies description; Franco's propaganda service will be quick to point up the humorous aspect of this appointment. Llopias has justifiably kept the Cabinet small. But, unfortunately, the smallness is also qualitative.

What impelled Martínez Barrio to select Llopias? He cannot argue lack of support from the other groups, for as I have indicated, they were ready to join a genuine Republican Cabinet. Nor can he pretend he had no inkling of the reaction to this choice in Republican circles. When news came that he had sent for Llopias, the leaders of the various parties and groups got together and drafted a respectful but strongly worded letter. They called the President's attention to the enormous responsibility he was taking and advised him that, were a Llopias government formed, they would be obliged to combat it openly and energetically. For two days he still had an opportunity to change his mind, since Llopias in his search for ministers was meeting expected difficulties. But he stuck to his guns. The explanation offered by one of his closest friends is that the President acted with Machiavellian statecraft in selecting an ambitious Prietist, who had never dreamed of such high honor, in order to play him against his master. Llopias may well have pulled a dirty trick on Prieto to become Premier. But he is capable of a similar trick in reverse to regain his favor. In any case, Trifon Gomez, who was Prieto's real choice for the premiership, is once more a minister.

In line with their general policy of participating in any

Spanish government in exile, the Communists have entered the new Cabinet. It will certainly be difficult to explain this move to their followers. Until three weeks ago the Communist press was strongly attacking Llopi, and at a recent public meeting Communist leaders denounced him as an intriguer and an enemy of the Republic.

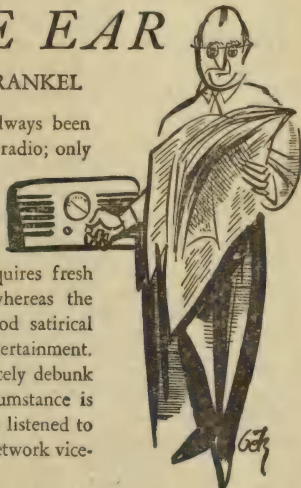
Unquestionably the Republican cause has suffered serious damage. But Spanish Republicans are not easily discouraged. Already first steps have been taken to form a new organization, *España Combatiente*, whose purpose will be to keep alive the indomitable spirit of resistance that made the Spanish war an unforgettable chapter in the fight against fascism. The creation of such an organization in no way implies a break with Republican institutions or withdrawal of recognition from them. It bears no resemblance to the old *Junta Suprema*, created two years ago and now defunct, which opposed the idea of forming a government in exile. Nor is it in any way similar to the committee now proposed by Prieto, which would dissociate itself from governmental responsibility and thus be free to negotiate any sort of compromise. *España Combatiente* is a movement aimed at rallying all Republicans regardless of party who are for a policy of resistance against any attempt at capitulation and against a plebiscite, which Prieto advocates. It is nothing more or less than a movement in defense of the Republic.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

GOOD satire has always been difficult to find in radio; only the keen-witted Fred Allen has provided it consistently. One obvious reason for the dearth is that radio requires fresh material each week, whereas the stage can offer one good satirical routine as a season's entertainment. That radio satire can nicely debunk modern pomp and circumstance is clear to anyone who has listened to Fred Allen needle the network vice-presidents.

Now Henry Morgan has brought his particular brand of satire to the American Broadcasting Company network on Wednesday evenings at 10:30 (E. S. T.), and adult listeners are delighted. Before the war Morgan's banter about Adler Elevator Shoes made his WOR spot a popular one on the dial. He is back with much more pungent comments which get very cleverly under the hide of various political and social figures. Recently he said, "Everything is O. K. K. K. in Georgia, where Herman is the champion of squatters' rights." And in a condensed version of what he called "The Mikado by Gil and Sull," which de-



molished the complacent concert annotator, he ribbed the flamboyant MacArthur by having the Mikado introduced as "MacArthur's best friend."

The secret of Morgan's success, I think, is the way he sinks his harpoons without any preparation. The insults begin flying at once; Morgan commits mayhem without hesitating. He has also a first-rate cast of stooge voices and a competent orchestra.

If his target is the oh-so-intimate radio commentator who knows everything that is going on anywhere, Morgan first states his theme: "You know, I've been thinking about radio, that's even harder than listening. I've heard a lot of programs, and I often wonder if radio is really true to life, or vice versa." Then he shows the honey-voiced announcer at work selling a hair lotion to the ladies, and being something quite different when he gets home from "a tough day's work over a hot microphone." Finally we hear Mr. Morgan H. Dreary, radio commentator, at work.

Good evening, everyone, how are you this evening? Watch Georgia! I have it from unofficial but usually reliable sources who tell me their most intimate secrets which I tell everyone . . . that Herman Talmadge, one of the latest governors of Georgia, was elected by a tremendous upsurge of more than 600 write-in votes, which proves conclusively that he has won the complete confidence of almost a fraction of the voters. The Governor spent a very busy day today, attending luncheons, addressing meetings, breaking into various offices.

Now comes the final ironic touch. Morgan looks at Morgan H. Dreary, radio commentator, at home:

Girl: What's the matter? You look depressed.

Dreary: I've been worried all day. . . .

Girl: About what?

Dreary: Did I or did I not feed the canary this morning?

Girl: Of course you did. By the way, you were very good tonight, dear. Tell me, who was your unofficial source?

Dreary: (Startled.) You ask me? Why your own kid sister!

Girl: Oh, you shouldn't, she's only twelve. And where did you get that other confidential item from?

Dreary: C'mere . . . shhh.

Girl: Yes?

Dreary: You won't tell anyone?

Girl: No.

Dreary: I heard it on Gabriel Heatter's program.

If you don't like commercials, then by all means listen to Morgan. He may say, "Here is Ted Husing, the world's best announcer and the world's worst commercial." Or, "Tonight the sponsor has kindly consented to reduce the length of the commercials by between one and two seconds." Or, "There's a pretty long-winded commercial coming up, so if you'd like to tune out, I'll wait a second. . . ."

Unquestionably network radio has a brash new talent in Henry Morgan. He has proved that he can do it every week; and he sells such huge quantities of his sponsor's Eversharp Shick Injector Razor that he will be left alone by the network, the advertising agency, and the sponsor's business office. Even if Morgan never gets any better, I'll be satisfied. But he will, and by the time Fred Allen retires to Dr. Rockwell's front porch down in Maine, Morgan will pick up where Allen left off.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Reform or Bankruptcy

THE railroads no longer have the monopoly of inland freight carriage which they once enjoyed. Trucks and pipe-lines have both diverted a large volume of traffic, and now the airplane is taking over most of their mail business and threatening to cut heavily into express revenues. Even so, the economies of locomotive haulage for bulk freight are such that the railroads seem likely to maintain their pre-eminence in the goods-transport field for many years to come.

When we turn to the passenger department, we find a much more clouded future. All through the twenties and thirties the number of train travelers steadily diminished. In 1923 the railroads chalked up 38.3 billion passenger-miles; in 1939 but 22.7 billion. Over the same period, it is estimated, the passenger mileage of private automobiles rose from 120 billion to 495 billion and that of buses from 4 billion to 20 billion. Domestic airline travel, not yet begun in 1923, accounted for 678 million passenger-miles in 1939, or about one-eighth of the Pullman car business.

With the war came an astounding increase in travel. Soldiers and warworkers, business executives and officials shuttled across the country, and in the peak year, 1944, railroad passenger travel piled up to 95 billion miles, more than twice that of the pre-war record reached in 1920. It was money for jam for the railroads, whose ancient coaches and Pullmans, packed sardine fashion, probably earned enough to make possible their retirement to the junk yard, where most of them properly belong.

The cost in good-will, however, while difficult to measure, was certainly very large. Some effort was made to cheer disgusted travelers by offering them wondrous pictures of a streamlined post-war era when they would be whizzed to their destinations in technicolored comfort. But after eighteen months of peace these draftsmen's dreams remain dreams for the most part. A few showy new trains have made their appearance, and some roads have placed substantial orders for coaches and sleepers. But as Robert R. Young, the unorthodox chairman of the Chesapeake and Ohio, has pointed out, at the present rate it will take twenty years to replace existing passenger rolling stock, and at the end of that period most of it will again be obsolescent. According to the same authority, 6,000 new sleeping-cars are urgently needed. As of June 1, 1946, only 764 had been ordered by 25 of the big roads; 30 other companies operating sleeper services had not ordered a single one.

The lackadaisical attitude of many railroad executives in regard to their passenger departments may be due in part to the fact that while they hope for improved freight business in the next few years, they are resigned to a sharp decline in passenger mileage. Their experts in the Association of American Railroads tell them to expect no more than 50

billion passenger miles this year and a fall to 35 billion by 1950. Even this last figure represents an enormous improvement over pre-war business, and personally I am inclined to question the possibility of its attainment unless the railroads heed the red lights ahead.

Mr. Young, who is reported to believe that New York Central's passenger business could be doubled or tripled by an aggressive and imaginative campaign, is now trying out some of his ideas on the Chesapeake and Ohio and its affiliated roads. He has ordered replacements for all main-line coaches and sleepers, taken steps to make diner service both more attractive and cheaper, introduced a credit-card system for travelers, and started showing movies on express trains. Possible results are illustrated by the experience of two Père Marquette streamliners which Young placed in service last summer between Detroit and Grand Rapids. Making three trips each way daily, these fast trains carried 102,031 revenue passengers in their first three months, or almost double the number on the same runs in the same period of 1945. And they have been earning a handsome return on the investment involved. This is the kind of thing railroads must do if they are to hold their own against the lower fares of the buses and the greater speed of the airlines.

Improved express service, however, is only the beginning of reform. Even more urgent, perhaps, is a complete overhaul of local services, which on many lines are so bad that nobody travels by train if any alternative mode of transport is available. I have no space here to discuss this and other passenger-department problems but would urge readers to study an article by Roger E. Tornell in the current *Harper's Magazine*—A Railroad Man Thinks Out Loud.

Mr. Tornell urges almost revolutionary changes in equipment, service regulations and attitudes, stations, and fare policies. He does so in the interest of the railroads themselves, for he believes that without drastic reforms the industry is heading rapidly toward trouble. Speaking of the handicaps suffered by railroad management in meeting "the new passenger competition," he stresses "acceptance, subconsciously if not consciously, of the idea that passenger service is something like a kept woman—useful in her best finery for giving an appearance of prosperity and dash, and as a means of dazzling important shippers and others, but useless for adding to net income. The conception and the attitude toward service which it breeds are bad. Whether passenger service can make money is debatable; but it is a certainty that if it is not well managed with the idea of making money, it can lose an appalling lot of money."

It is important to emphasize this last point because only when railroad management becomes fully alive to its implication are we likely to get action. As common carriers the railroads cannot expect to be allowed to cut losses by shutting down all but a few heavily traveled main routes. Nor can they hope, indefinitely, to subsidize unprofitable passenger departments by increasing freight charges. Even if the Interstate Commerce Commission proved complacent about that, competing forms of transport would enforce the law of diminishing returns. For many roads the real choice, in fact, is between the expenditure of money and thought on their passenger departments and another painful sojourn in the bankruptcy courts.

BOOKS and the ARTS

FAUSTINA, OR, ROCK ROSES

Tended by Faustina
yes in a crazy house
upon a crazy bed,
frail, of chipped enamel,
blooming above her head
into four vaguely rose-like
flower-formations,

the white woman whispers to
herself. The floor-boards sag
this way and that. The crooked
towel-covered table
bears a can of talcum
and five pasteboard boxes
of little pills,

most half-crystallized.
The visitor sits and watches
the dew glint on the screen
and in it two glow-worms
burning a drowned green.
Meanwhile the eighty watt bulb
betrays us all,

discovering the concern
within our stupefaction;
lighting as well on heads
of tacks in the wall paper,
on a paper wall-pocket,
violet-embossed, glistening
with mica flakes.

It exposes the fine white hair,
the gown with the undershirt
showing at the neck,
the pallid palm-leaf fan
she holds but cannot wield,
her white disordered sheets
like wilted roses.

Clutter of trophies,
chamber of bleached flags!
—Rags or ragged garments
hung on the chairs and hooks
each contributing its
shade of white, confusing
as undazzling.

The visitor is embarrassed
not by pain nor age
nor even nakedness,
though perhaps by its reverse.

By and by the whisper
says "*Faustina, Faustina . . .*"
"*¡Vengo, Señoral!*"

On bare scraping feet
Faustina nears the bed.
She exhibits the talcum powder,
the pills, the cans of "cream,"
the white bowl of farina,
requesting for herself
a little *coñac*;

complaining of, explaining,
the terms of her employment.
She bends above the other.
Her sinister kind face
presents a cruel black
coincident conundrum.

Oh, is it

freedom at last, a lifelong
dream of time and silence,
dream of protection and rest?
Or is it the very worst,
the unimaginable nightmare
that never before dared last
more than a second?

The acuteness of the question
forks instantly and starts
a snake-tongue flickering;
blurs further, blunts, softens,
separates, falls, our problems
becoming helplessly
proliferative.

There is no way of telling.
The eyes say only either.
At last the visitor rises,
awkwardly proffers her bunch
of rust-perforated roses
and wonders oh, whence come
all the petals.

ELIZABETH BISHOP

Death and Transfiguration

SELECTED WRITINGS OF DYLAN
THOMAS. New Directions. \$3.50.

YOU always look captiously at a
selection when you are fond of
the original material. I think "Before I
knocked and flesh let enter" and "Light
breaks where no sun shines" ought to
have been in from the first Dylan
Thomas volume, and more of the son-

net sequence from the second; the last
sonnet is in, but there does not seem
enough build-up for its magnificent
ending:

... that Day
When the worm builds with the
gold straws of venom
My nest of mercies in the rude, red
tree.

As to the prose selections, the two from
the "Portrait of the Artist as a Young
Dog," though they are smashingly good
numbers, leave an impression that it is
horror and self-pity all through, which
is not true of that jovial book. However,
I confess I think the selection well done
otherwise. The smart title-page is very
ugly, but the rest is decently printed.

Mr. J. L. Sweeney, in a well-informed
introduction, says that "since 1940 and
the air-raid poems Thomas has turned
from the womb and the grave to the
world of light; from the contemplation
of the flesh and its declension to a meta-
physical vision of resurrection." There
is obviously some truth in this, but I am
not sure that the change need be de-
scribed so rosily. Anyone who starts
bang off with a highly original and
within its limits perfect technique is
bound to have trouble in getting out of
the limits; Dylan Thomas has been
courageous in refusing to repeat his
successes, and I expect this will pay in
the end as it deserves to. But so far I
like the earlier poems better. They have
such concentration that they seem to be
constructed of exploding bombs; and I
think the secret of these brief passages is
that Dylan Thomas has maneuvered
himself for them into a strategic point,
like a mountain range from which the
rivers flow opposite ways. Thus in the
lines quoted above (from the 1936 vol-
ume) the Christian ideas are taken seri-
ously and not denied; one cannot call
it merely a picture of "the flesh and its
declension"; but they are crossed with
something else. The *worm* (where you
would expect birds) seems to stand for
low-grade but undefeatable parts of the
psyche which could make you a cosy
home even in disaster and agony. It
could *build* perhaps out of the poisons
of hatred involuntarily let loose by the

renunciation, not out of any noble aspect of the renunciation itself. Yet these materials are *gold*; Moses could make bricks with them; they are a witness to the strength and pleasure of your life as well as its indifference to your purposes. The twist is that the religious mind would not want to accept from God this appalling type of mercy, which yet he appears to use. In this kind of way Dylan Thomas has a large mind, and one working almost entirely within these echoes of metaphor, which are given a sort of incantatory power. A pantheistic assumption is kept up by which events inside his skin are magically correlated to larger events outside it, so that the themes are not as narrow as they look. It is very much poetry you can live with, because it opens on you gradually; I found it excellent stuff to have when wandering about China, where one was short of books. There is a certain nervous strain in it, because of the range of vision which has to be packed into each phrase; and a good deal of horror, which is after all required as one of the endpoints of the range. But it is a magnificent invention, and it does not seem to me all about "the declension of the flesh."

When in 1940 Dylan Thomas was presented with the actual theme of children burnt to death in air raids the horror did not need rubbing in, though it was expressed firmly. The surrealists in rather the same way, I think, had been partly prophesying the war, and when it came felt that there would be no point in work which might be mistaken for the realism of an official War Artist. The later religious poems pointed out by Mr. Sweeney, such as "Vision and Prayer," are I think as much within reach of horror (though perhaps not as much concerned about it) as the earlier sonnet sequence was: "I shall run lost in sudden/Terror and shining from/The once hooded room/Crying in vain/In the caldron/Of his Kiss." What one can say about other later poems is that the pressure, as if of hallucination, has been reduced; they are more reflective and perhaps more intelligible than the early ones, partly because the sentences add up to a more coherent poem. In the first volume (1934), and even more in the second (1936), the thought is so packed that



A frankness unusual even in
unprofessional diplomats

COMPLACENT DICTATOR

by Sir Samuel Hoare

(Viscount Templewood)

Britain's wartime Ambassador to Spain here tells the extraordinary story of his struggle to keep Franco from becoming an active Axis belligerent—a story that will be of special interest to readers of our Ambassador Hayes's *Wartime Mission in Spain*.

"One must say of this book: first, it is essential reading for anyone pretending to real interest in current Spanish problems; second, it is an able . . . summation of a first-rate job of wartime diplomacy."—C. L. SULZBERGER, *New York Times Book Review*.

"It will prove both entertaining and rewarding for any American who is trying to get an intelligent grasp of what has been happening and is likely to happen on the European stage."—JOHN WILLIAM ROGERS, *Chicago Sun Book Week*.

This is a Borzoi Book,
on sale at all bookshops at \$3.50
and published in New York by

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

the mighty lines are very detachable; I do remember the context of "The two-a-vein, the foreskin and the cloud"—a line I was sorry not to meet here—but you do not need any context before reflecting on this impressive puzzle. It would have been tempting and fatal to get stuck in the mighty-line technique, and now that Dylan Thomas has gone beyond it he has the ball at his feet for further development. "Fern Hill" for example is a direct and enchanting description of the child Dylan on the home farm, the kind of thing that he had hitherto done only in prose; and the technical invention of an elaborate but unrhymed stanza form is just what it needed. But I am not sure about "turning towards the world of light"; it is a lament for lost youth, and it ends:

Oh as I was young and easy in the
mercy of his means
Time held me green and dying
Though I sang in my chains like
the sea.

The change is one of technique rather than of mood.

I hope very much that he will consolidate the new conquests, all the same. "The Winter's Tale" looks on the first page as if it is going to be a wonderful piece of story-telling, with the description of a farm working up to

He knelt, he wept, he prayed,
By the spit and the black pot in the
log bright light
And the cup and the cut bread in the
dancing shade,
In the muffled house, in the quick of
night,
At the point of love, forsaken and
afraid.

Only then instead the thing goes off into an ecstasy; turning to the world of light to be sure, as much as you could wish, but what I wanted was to hear one of the grinding Welsh anecdotes given this intensity of form. We may get it yet.

WILLIAM EMPSON

The Cycles of Style

THE COMMONWEALTH OF ART: Style in the Fine Arts, Music, and the Dance. By Curt Sachs, W. W. Norton and Company, \$5.

TO find the rhythms within the arts, to disclose their affiliations and record the life of forms, is a venture that has engaged some of the most tempera-

mental philosophic minds—Santayana, of course, not to mention Nietzsche, Spengler, Faure, Focillon, and the sensitive, painstaking Wölfflin. For his epigraph Mr. Sachs has chosen Friedrich Schiller's opinion that only pedants will seek to partition the arts into special learning; the philosopher will seek to interpret their unity. Sachs's own philosophic synthesis would demonstrate that styles in the visual arts and music move concurrently with great tidal impulses between ethos—"serenity, strictness, and moderation"—and pathos—"freedom, passion, and exaggeration." Even if this ethos-pathos vocabulary is hardly more advantageous than the classic-romantic vocabulary he discards, Sachs has worked out his basic dualism over very wide areas in separate arts and through many stylistic contrasts, particularly in music.

Reviewing what happened in the arts generation after generation, he first offers a synoptic history of changes in style from the primitives to 1946. This survey leads to the conclusion that the arts alternate between poles of the "eternal antithesis" of ethos and pathos, a dualism expressed in such oppositions as limitation and boundlessness, essence and appearance, close and open structure, density and size, plain and picturesque, line and color, addition and unification. Having found his language of ethos and pathos, Sachs distinguishes three gigantic cycles in which this dualism unfolds: the cycles of Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Later Ages. The phases within these cycles swing, in turn, from ethos to pathos by smaller and smaller vibrations. If, for example, the Later Ages are predominantly pathos, their minor phases of Renaissance and Romanticism move from ethos to pathos, and so on indeterminately. The visual arts dominate the opening of any cycle; the close of any cycle is music.

This sounds more schematic than Sachs might wish, since he, most of all, recognizes the danger of misinterpreting facts for the sake of theory. Yet to establish his case he need not have concerned himself with his impressive synopsis of the arts at thirty-year intervals. No "strictly methodical analysis," no accumulation of chronological evidence will interpret the spirit of the forms, the configurations of ethos and pathos. No matter how diligently we qualify or

subtract counter-forces, no theory will easily accommodate Wagner and Brahms as contemporaries, or LeNain and Inigo Jones, Zola and Renoir. The philosophic synthesis may be only a pedantry unless one is bold enough to deal with ethos and pathos as a generalization no more likely to be historically true than Nietzsche's violent opposition of Apollonian and Dionysian impulses, Spengler's distinction between Apollinian and Faustian cultures, or Elie Faure's proposal, so feelingly and densely elaborated, that the artistic intelligence passes "everywhere through almost similar phases of organic integration, harmonic equilibrium, and critical dissolution which give to its appearances surprising analogies of structure, rhythm, and accent." Faure's interpretation is poetry, not history. Sachs's caution is, in this event, unwise. When he neglects chronology and speaks his language of ethos and pathos—contrasting the Doric temple with the Gothic cathedral, the rondo with the toccata, comparing Palestrina with Palladio, insisting that "Parsifal" is illusion, denying that the improvisations of the *castrati* are a negation of form—his oversimplifications are, critically, well worth the risk. It is easy to take exception to his chronological "evidence"; but his division of absolute from descriptive music is unquestionable.

If his cyclic view of the arts lacks the impartiality that in Spengler appears so inhuman, Sachs firmly repudiates the misconception that the history of styles is an organic "forward" evolution and that certain styles are "transitional" instead of being, what all styles are, a special momentary equilibrium with a validity of their own. Sachs is also aware that styles occur by discontinuities, atavisms, leaps. He correctly accepts any style as "the effigy of a certain will and emotion." His analyses of musical forms—fugal, orchestral, operatic—are always stylistic in this sense.

In defining ethos and pathos Sachs seems to have transposed the daring categories of Wölfflin into a dualism that is necessarily more general and therefore coarser and more superficial. His contraries of limitation and boundlessness, disjunction and conjunction, tectonics and atectonics, essence and appearance are really extensions of



Discovery of Europe

EDITED BY PHILIP RAHV

\$5.00

"Some of the sharpest observation and writing about Europe has been done by U. S. visitors—diplomatic, literary or merely attentive to the ancestral scene. This big, intelligently edited book contains a selection of the best of it, from Benjamin Franklin to Gertrude Stein . . ."—*TIME Magazine*

"An anthology with an idea, for a change . . ."—*New Yorker*

The Third Way

BY STUART CLOETE

\$3.00

We appear to be confronted with two alternatives—one of reaction, the other of revolution. Cloete tells us how to find and maintain the third way of moderation and democracy through understanding the way in which our routine decisions serve to push us politically right or left. This book is a study of the thought and actions of men in the light of their inner political significance.

At all bookstores

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY • PUBLISHERS



Wölfflin's distinctions between close and open composition, linear and painterly, multiplicity and unity, and absolute and relative clarity. Sachs evidently accepts picturesque as a phase of baroque; whereas picturesque is essentially a denial of the inherent baroque illusion of apparent immensity within strict limits. Nor, since Fiske Kimball's explanation, must we speak of rococo as a style of freedom and profusion.

Rococo, like all the styles, is a technique; and Sachs's balance of imagination against structure, symbol against craft, inspiration against rule, as well as the very alternation of pathos and ethos, the great cycles and tides of style, actually conceals a "law of technical primacy"—the operation of accepted forms and skills on the artist's will, the control of iconography over the artist's vision. For Sachs, the Renaissance is pathos; but long ago Emile Mâle showed that the iconography decreed by the Council of Trent determined this "pathos." Lately George Kernodle proved that under the same law of technical primacy the nature of the drama changed when the processional techniques of the medieval stage were modified by the pictorial, illusionistic theater of the Renaissance. Style is an effigy of a certain will and emotion. It is also ritual: the dance, the theater, the poetry, the music of the Greeks were originally *techné*, skill, craft, the ceremonial *thing done*. The very word ethos as used by Aristotle implies an external-mindedness—ethos is bearing, behavior, the thing one does. One might argue that pathos is a failure of ethos, ritual, iconography. Sachs considers that the Gothic developed toward pathos, as indeed it eventually did. Yet the façade of Chartres is not pathos; the formalism is iconographic. So also is the formalism of the walled and trimmed garden, the medieval cosmology, the illuminated manuscript, the rose window, the troubadour lyric, the cult of courtly love. It is a pity that Sachs has usually excluded literature from his evidence: the consummate formalism of Dante, of Aquinas, of the idyllic secularism in Chrétien de Troyes's romances is not pathos. It is, again, iconography. The instrument, as Sachs knows and shows better than anyone else, is the condition of music. And if one is not to consider the instrument, the ritual, the iconog-

raphy, the law of technical primacy, then one had better not appeal to history at all but seek to intuit, with Elie Faure, the spirit of the forms.

WYLIE SYPHER

The Red or the Black

ALLY BETRAYED. The Uncensored Story of Tito and Mihailovich. By David Martin. Foreword by Rebecca West. Prentice-Hall. \$3.50.

DAVID MARTIN'S passionate apologetics for General Mihailovich raises certain questions of general import in political interpretation. The book presents one of several recent arguments criticizing war-time military decisions on retrospective political grounds. The broad form of the indictment is the contention that Roosevelt, with the re-

luctant acquiescence of Churchill, sacrificed vital democratic interests at Teheran and Yalta by not insisting on *quid pro quos* in exchange for aid to the U. S. S. R. "Ally Betrayed" reduces this general bill to the specific item of the decision to back Tito instead of Mihailovich.

The question to which the historian must address himself is not whether in the fulness of time the decisions turned out right; it is whether in the light of the evidence available when the decisions were made they constituted allowable judgments. So far as one can reconstruct the picture, these decisions seem not only allowable but almost the only possible judgments—and in the case of Yugoslavia they were taken by persons, such as MacLean, Deakin, and Churchill, who had no discernible sym-

HER DEAD BROTHER

I

The Lion of St. Mark's upon the glass
Shield in my window reddens, as the night
Enchants the swinging dories to its terrors,
And dulls your distant wind-stung eyes; alas,
Your portrait, coiled in German-silver hawesers, mirrors
The sunset as a dragon. Enough light
Remains to see you through your varnish. Giving
Your life has brought you closer to your friends;
Yes, it has brought you home. All's well that ends:
Achilles dead is greater than the living;

My mind holds you as I would have you live,
A wintering dragon. Summer was too short
When we went picnicking with telescopes
And creaking leather handbooks to that fort
Above the lank and heroned Sheepscot, where its slopes
Are clutched by hemlocks—spotting birds. I give
You back that idyll, Brother. Was it more?
Remember riding, scotching with your spur
The four-foot milk-snake in a juniper?
Father shellacked it to the ice-house door.

Then you were grown; I left you on your own.
We will forget that August twenty-third,
When Mother motored with the maids to Stowe,
And the pale summer shades were drawn—so low
No one could see us; no, nor catch your hissing word,
As false as Cressid! Let our deaths atone:
The fingers on your sword-knot are alive,
And Hope, that fouls my brightness with its grace,
Will anchor in the narrows of your face.
My husband's Packard crunches up the drive.

pathy with communism. One must never forget that it was a war against Germany which was being fought. Killing Nazis was the desideratum in those by-gone days, and it did not matter a great deal where they were killed or by whom. The proper aim of our leadership was to maximize the killing of Germans. The calculation as between Tito and Mihailovich in Yugoslavia was a simple one. No responsible statesman in 1943 could base his policy on the premise that Britain and America were fighting Russia.

Mr. Martin's book is detailed and, in considerable part, documented. It establishes beyond cavil that an immense amount of press agency and sleight-of-hand went into the propaganda build-up for both Partisans and Chetniks. No one need doubt his conviction that post-

war Yugoslavia is an intolerable dictatorship or that Soviet Russia has betrayed the world revolution. Yet the bitterness of tone, the inaccuracies, and the internal inconsistencies do not make his grandstand quarterbacking any more convincing.

On the important question of resistance strategy Mr. Martin appears to argue that Mihailovich was correct in practicing a policy of waiting instead of fighting—though he weakens his case by also appearing to argue that Mihailovich was, in fact, doing most of the fighting and that the Partisans were getting unjustified credit. The first Martin thesis is of course correct; but the Mihailovich notion that he could maintain an organized army somewhere in the hills in preparation for future Allied landings was, as the British perceived,

untenable. All the experience of underground warfare contradicted it; the sequel in Yugoslavia disproved it. If you wanted to resist, you joined a fighting organization; if you didn't want to resist, you stayed home. Tito's army grew while Mihailovich's disintegrated. Mihailovich had good reasons perhaps for objecting to an activist policy, but they were not calculated to appeal to an Allied command which wanted to kill Germans.

On the two major issues concerning Mihailovich—the nature of his collaboration and the nature of his political backing—Mr. Martin, in the mind of this reviewer, fails to establish his case. His discussion of Chetnik collaboration, while it admits all manner of local accommodation by subordinate commanders, denies Mihailovich's complicity. This denial does not answer the material available during the war in intercepts of German Foreign Office communication or uncovered since by American interrogations of Dr. Neubacher, the German Foreign Office representative in Yugoslavia, or of Major General Gottlieb Berger of the S. S.

Even more important is the failure to substantiate the repeated assertion that "the movement on which Mihailovich based himself . . . was essentially a democratic peasant movement embracing the vast majority of the most independent and uncompromising peasantry in Europe." Mihailovich himself appears to have been a decent and straightforward military man without clear political ideas. But he was surrounded in Yugoslavia and represented overseas by a clique of pan-Serb reactionaries who had no interest at all in setting up Mr. Martin's "peasant democracy." Mr. Martin, whose sympathies are evidently with the Serbs, gives a somewhat distorted picture of the Serb-Croat rivalry, and he is able to turn calmly to so notorious and violent a pan-Serb as Lieutenant Colonel Zivan Knezevich as a reliable source. The statement that Tito's movement, "even at its height, was a minority movement which had won for itself the active hostility of the mass of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene peoples" is unhappily extreme.

The recent liberal agitation over the execution of Mihailovich revealed an unfortunate tendency to advance boldly for the most generous reasons into prob-

II

The ice is out: the tidal current swims
Its blocks against the launches as they pitch
Under the cruisers of my Brother's fleet.
The gas, uncoiling from my oven burners, dims
The face above this bottled *Water Witch*,
The knock-about my Brother fouled and left to eat
Its heart out by the Boston Light. My Brother,
I've saved you in the ice-house of my mind—
The ice is out . . . Our fingers lock behind
The tiller . . . We are heeling in the smother . . .

Their sails, marconi, leg-o'-mutton, tell
The colors of the rainbow; but they flap,
As the wind fails, and cannot fetch the bell . . .
His stick is tapping on the millwheel-step,
He lights a match, another and another—
The Lord is dark, and holy is His name.
By my own hands, into His hands! My burners
Sing like a kettle. My decanter mirrors
The Stygian Landing—lights to starboard. Brother,
The harbor! . . . the torpedoed cruisers flame,

The motor-launches with their searchlights bristle
About the targets . . . You are black . . . You shout,
And cup your broken sword-hand . . . Yes, your whistle
Across the crackling water: *Quick, the ice is out.*
A boy's face . . . always as it is . . . a part
Of death. O Brother, a New England town is death
And incest—and I saw it whole. I said,
Life is a thing I own. I race my heart
Against your stop-watch—they are running dead.
Brother, I hurry. I am out of breath.

ROBERT LOWELL

ably untenable positions. The trial was certainly unfair, Tito is certainly a dictator, Mihailovich is certainly anti-Communist; but this equation does not make Mihailovich a peasant democrat. Nor does the pseudo-democratic façade which Mihailovich gave his movement in its declining days eradicate the Fotichs and Knezevichs in the background. Nor is Miss Rebecca West at her most persuasive when she concludes in her foreword: "That we were not wrong who upheld Mihailovich is proved by the last sentences of his speech: so honest, so wise, so mild." However honest, wise, or mild, speeches *prove* very little about facts.

Tito has turned out a despot, but that does not mean that Mihailovich would have turned out a great agrarian reformer. Liberals must guard against accepting the view that democratic professions combined with opposition to Soviet totalitarianism are ample proof of an honestly democratic purpose. It is discouraging to see people who should know better rushing today to an all-out defense of the Kuomintang because Chiang Kai-shek dislikes the Communists and has gone through the motions of adopting a pretty new constitution. (Even the U. S. S. R. has a pretty constitution.) In so doing, they play straight into the hands of the Communists. For the central Communist effort has been to impose a false definition of possibilities—to convince the world that there is no middle ground between communism and reaction. By indorsing the Pan-Serbs and the C. C. clique certain liberals are going dangerously far toward proving the Communists right and thus toward reducing the world to a choice between two equally vicious tyrannies.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

"I Feel Drunk All the Time"

THE SELECTED POEMS OF KENNETH PATCHEN. New Directions. \$1.50.

ANYONE who does not like a book of poems—but likes poetry—has to ask himself a humble question about the book: what is it which made at least one person, the author, think that these poems were good? Kenneth Patchen has many admirers, not just one, and although most of them do not seem to be interested in much poetry very much, nevertheless when one does not share their enthusiasm, one owes it to oneself to find out what others enjoy. Otherwise one may be missing something, or one may be in error again, as often before.

The readers who enjoy Patchen's poetry and the poet himself possess a real sensitivity to language, and they delight in the thrilling eruption of excited emotions such as social indignation, sexual passion, and drunken laughter. Patchen and his admirers probably like most of all eloquent language which is profound in sound. And when they do not understand this language, they are probably impressed by their own mystification. This is not because they are really full of humility before the mystery and richness of existence, but because they enjoy being impressed, like tourists at Niagara Falls; and when they do not understand what impresses them, they do not want to try to find out whether a hoax, a mirage, a nightmare, or a genuine mystery has been in front of them. Look for instance at this beginning of a poem:

These of living emanate a formidable light
Which is equal to death and when used
Gives increase eternally
What fortifies in separate thought
Is not drawn by wind or by man defiled.
So whispers the parable of doubleness.

Risky guesswork in which one has no confidence whatever can impose some meaning on these lines, but there are far too many possible readings, and the most persuasive one is that the passage has no denotative meaning at all. Yet the poet evidently thought well of the passage, for it is the beginning of the title poem of his fifth volume, and it is reprinted in this volume of selected poems. Perhaps the author and his admirers thought that the first line was

profound in connotation and liked such words as "living," "emanate," and "light" in combination. And perhaps these readers did not feel they had to know how the living emanate a light, how the light itself is formidable, how the emanation of light is equal to death, and how this extraordinary light gives increase eternally. Anyway, the reader who admires a different kind of poetry is left with only one choice—to invent a metaphysics or mystical system which will tell him what these lines mean, or to relax and enjoy a sonorous vagueness which seems to be optimistic, affirmative, and God knows what else. Toward the end of the poem the poet himself seems to be perplexed, and he asks unanswerable questions such as "What is necessary? What is inseparable to know?" queries which would tax the combined talents of Kant and Sherlock Holmes. As Marianne Moore says in one of the poems which one can admire only if one does not admire Patchen's abuse of language, "it is not that one is daft about the right meaning, but this familiarity with the wrong meaning puzzles one."

Patchen's gifts are various, however, and when he is not being profound, it is often possible to find out what his poems are about and what has motivated them. He frequently dons the mask of the tough guy who is full of tenderness and pity. This tough guy hates wars, loves children, admires naked girls, and does not care for death. Thus,

You're a bastard Mr. Death
And I wish you didn't have no look-in here
he writes in a poem entitled *I Feel Drunk All the Time*, an excellent title. By examining this quotation one can see how literary and derivative a poet Patchen is precisely when he is trying his hardest to be one of the boys in the back room. For he is weakly echoing a famous poem by E. E. Cummings about Buffalo Bill ("Jesus/he was a handsome man/and what i want to know is/how do you like your blueeyed boy/Mister Death"). And he is literary and derivative in the further sense that his use of slang is false in tone. He says, "you didn't have no look-in," like an Englishman saying, "let's be full of 'Pep,' honey."

Patchen has a real poetic talent. It comes to nothing because he has no

"The resolution of conflict in self is like the making one of opposites in art"

Aesthetic Analysis Publications by Eli Siegel

1. THE AESTHETIC METHOD IN SELF-CONFLICT
2. PSYCHIATRY, ECONOMICS, AESTHETICS

Eli Siegel won the *Nation* Poetry Prize in 1925 with *Hot Afternoons Have Been in Manana*. This fiercely discussed (and misunderstood) poem foreshadowed the present *Aesthetic Analysis*.

For copies of Pamphlets, at 50¢ each, and for information as to the *Aesthetic Analysis* Poetry Group and lectures, write to Martha Baird, 67 June St., New York 14, New York.



MARQUIS JAMES writes the fascinating life-story of a world-famous institution...

"The story of the Metropolitan is as significant an American romance as the stories of Sam Houston and Andrew Jackson, biographies of whom won Mr. James two Pulitzer Prizes."—LEWIS GANNETT, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*. Illustrated. \$5.00

The METROPOLITAN LIFE

A Study in Business Growth

Is America turning from its ideal of a separate church and state?

V. T. THAYER has written an invaluable and disturbing book for all who cherish freedom of religion, for he reveals the accelerated and insidious trend towards sectarian religious training in public schools, and the increasing pressures for state aid in private and parochial schools. \$2.75

**RELIGION in
PUBLIC EDUCATION**

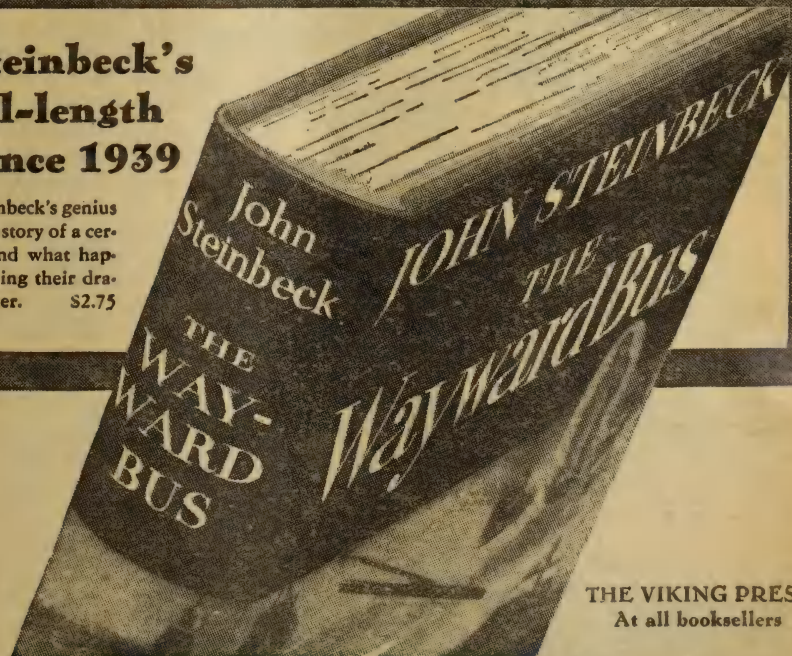
The neglected story of Africa's important role in world history

W.E.B. DuBOIS, in a challenging and revealing book, gives us new perspective on Africa's major contribution to civilization. Here are little-known facts about a continent that helped make western culture possible, a continent and people that the world cannot afford to forget or exploit. \$3.00

**The WORLD and
AFRICA**

**John Steinbeck's
first full-length
novel since 1939**

A new facet of Steinbeck's genius is displayed in this story of a certain few people and what happened to them during their dramatic hours together. \$2.75



THE VIKING PRESS
At all booksellers

EASY TO LEARN

- RUSSIAN ● SPANISH
● FRENCH ● PORTUGUESE
● ITALIAN ● GERMAN

480 BASIC WORDS IN EACH BOOK

See a Picture! Learn a Word!

LEARN A LINGO

only \$1.00 ea.

Build a vocabulary through visual education. Express simple thoughts in a few hours. Endorsed by leading educators. Complete instructions for study.

Send me copies of LEARN-A-LINGO (as checked below) @ \$1 each:

- ☐ RUSSIAN ☐ SPANISH ☐ ITALIAN
☐ FRENCH ☐ PORTUGUESE ☐ GERMAN
I enclose \$..... ☐ check ☐ M.O.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

ROGER STEPHENS - Publisher, Inc.
119 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

respect for poetic form, no concern about the meaning of words, and no way of judging the value of his emotions. You can get the real thing in Cummings:

it may not always be so; and i say
that if your lips, which i have loved,
should touch
another's and your dear fingers clutch
his heart, as mine, in time not far away.

You can measure Patchen's version by comparison:

Do I not deal with angels
When her lips I touch
So gentle, so warm and sweet—falsity
Has no sight of her

You can wonder and try to be sure what Patchen means by falsity, or you can decide that it would be better to labor with the real but rewarding difficulty of "Finnegans Wake." In fact, the only justification for objecting at length to Patchen's writings is the likelihood that those who are repelled by this kind of writing because of its obscurity may confuse it with "Finnegans Wake" and other works by our poor dead king.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

The Slaves

BLACK ANGER. By Wulf Sachs. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

THIS book appears at just the right time. The debate on South Africa in the General Assembly of the United Nations has reminded us of the conditions under which 8,000,000 South African Negroes live—conditions such that these Negroes can become lyrical about the "high place" achieved by Negroes in America. The biography of a Rhodesian medicine man written by a psychoanalyst of Russian-Jewish origin, "Black Anger" supplies what debate cannot—the concrete feeling of what it is like to be a Negro in South Africa. That is, not only to be treated as less than human—after all, so are American Negroes—but to be legally restrained and frustrated in any effort to better one's condition through education, business, or any of the other channels American Negroes have used with some success; and—perhaps cruellest—to feel one's deepest beliefs and most cherished institutions crumbling under contact with omnipotent and incomprehensible strangers.

John Chavafambira, scion of a family of distinguished medicine men, left his native village in Rhodesia as a young man to work in the Union of South Africa. Through his experiences there we are gradually made aware of the steel net of restrictions inside which South African Negroes live their lives. His first sight in the great city of Johannesburg was a gang of Negroes being herded through the streets on their way from the courthouse to forced labor. The crime of most of them was to have lacked passes—Negroes in South Africa must carry passes when on city streets after dark; these passes certify that one has permission to be away from one's native village and to reside in such-and-such a city, give one's place of work, certify payment of the poll tax, and so on. Chavafambira soon found out that Negroes cannot use most means of transportation, even though their "locations"—the ghettos in which they must live—are usually miles from the city. They can be forced out of their "homes" at any time to permit the white city to expand. They cannot vote; they cannot gather in groups of more than ten; of course they cannot carry weapons—even the possession of a bicycle chain given to him by Dr. Sachs was enough to send Chavafambira to jail for six months.

The Africans are often forced into reservations too small to provide subsistence, just as our American Indians were. For the whites must find ways of crowding Bantus out of the native villages and into the urban slums where they can furnish cheap labor for the mines. Since the threat of starvation on the land proves an insufficient goad, South African white men—as do other British "empire-builders"—impose a special poll tax on natives.

Professional studies have told us of the natives' meager diet—mostly meal and tea—their high tuberculosis rate, their miserable "housing," and so forth. Under similar conditions many New World Indian and other native groups have simply died out. Negroes, like Caucasians, have proved harder. They fight back where they can and wait where they must. Here, certainly, is a wide field for the kind of psychoanalytic speculation and investigation into cultural differences that has recently been initiated by American psychoanalysts and anthropologists.

But finding the political and social situation he did, Dr. Sachs does not make too much of psychoanalytic explanations. Since it is consciously man-made conditions that envelop South African Negroes and psychologically disable them, Dr. Sachs considers the classic psychoanalytic mechanisms relatively unimportant. Thus, writing of the peculiarly sharp Oedipus situation in the native African family (the child is breast-fed for three or four years, during which time the parents have no sexual relations; the father then suddenly appears on the scene), he says: "This dramatic childhood experience had a retarding effect on John, and on every African child in his fight for independence—though today this important psychological factor counts for little compared with the poverty and starvation, the economic exploitation, and the severe racial discrimination to which black people are subjected in South Africa." And later he says of the common failure of the natives to make plans for the future: "This attitude can be traced psychologically to the native method of child-rearing. But chiefly it develops because the African is too much at the mercy of the white man's caprice to make any kind of planning for the future of value."

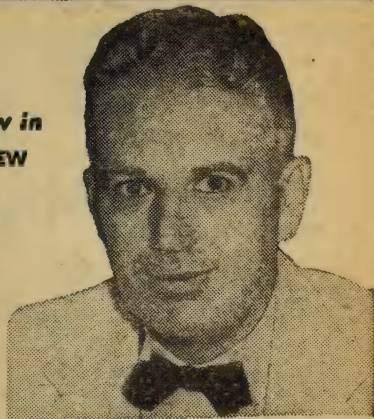
This book is consequently less a psychoanalytic document than a political one, and is closer to such books as Kravchenko's "I Found Freedom" than to scientific life-histories of persons of non-Western cultures. Unfortunately, a peculiarly poignant aspect of John Chavafambira's tragedy, one unrelated to politics, is thereby slighted—that is, the effect of his falling between two cultures, the African and the European, neither of which he can fully accept or reject. Dr. Sachs concentrates less on the demarcation between two cultures than on that between two castes; less on the conflict in John Chavafambira's mind between two sets of values than on his passion to be treated as an equal, regardless of what values he chooses. Yet the cultural conflict is inevitably more tragic, for as a result of its rather easily predictable outcome a wonderful and irreplaceable human creation, a cultural ethos, must be destroyed.

Dr. Sachs seems to have more material on John and other South African natives than he has chosen to give us in

In a feature review in
THE SATURDAY REVIEW
OF LITERATURE

SUMNER
WELLES

says:



"Rexford G. Tugwell

has written one of the most significant books which has been published in recent years . . . A report of five years' stewardship as governor of Puerto Rico . . . Invaluable sidelights upon the policies and manner of being of President Roosevelt's Administration . . . The record of the accomplishments and failures of a man who was given an opportunity to make democracy work."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT writes in *The New Republic*:

"A case history and a source book of colonial administration by a democracy . . . A frank, honest record of an administration conducted under difficulties and misconceptions emphasized by war but inherent in an abnormal situation."

THE STRICKEN LAND:

The Story of Puerto Rico

At your bookseller's, \$4.50

DOUBLEDAY

50th Anniversary

this admittedly popular account. (I am not sure, however, that he has the relativistic attitude toward cultures that is necessary for good "ethno-psychanalysis"; for example, when John falls in love with a slim girl, he considers it some sort of gain that his criterion of beauty is "no longer that of the primitive kraal-man, but that of an educated black man.") This reviewer looks forward eagerly to a fuller treatment of the South African Negro by Dr. Sachs.

NATHAN GLAZER

LABRADOR

How clean these shallows
how firm these rocks stand
about which wash
the waters of the world

It is ice to this body
that unclothes its pallors
to the very thoughts
of this immeasurable sea

that as it rises unmarred
incloses this
straining mind, these
limbs in a single gesture.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

MODERN REVIEW

A monthly on International
Affairs edited from a new
world point of view

OUT MARCH FIRST

with articles by

LOUIS FISCHER:

Mahatma Gandhi and
Generalissimo Stalin

GIUSEPPE FARAVELLI:

The Crisis in Italian
Socialism

JOHN L. CHILDS

American Liberalism
Today

PAUL KECSKEMETI:

Existentialism: New
Trend in Philosophy

and others

Special Introductory Offer

\$1 for first two issues

Regular Subscription: \$5 a year

MODERN REVIEW

7 East 15th St., New York 3, N. Y.

The Bear and the Eagle

THE STRANGE ALLIANCE:

The Story of Our Efforts at War-Time Cooperation with Russia. By John R. Deane. The Viking Press. \$3.75.

THIS book is a contribution of first importance to students of world politics. Lest this verdict unduly startle and dismay the author, let me add at once that it appeals also to a much wider audience, that it has wit, humor, and a shrewd wisdom not wholly un-mixed with subtlety. The writing too shows simplicity and grace. And yet, unlike most of the "now it can be told" genre with which it might otherwise be classed, it is unusually significant for the light it throws upon the most crucial of all current political problems—whether we can get along with Russia, and how to go about doing so.

Major General Deane was head of the United States Military Mission in Moscow from October, 1943, until after the surrender of Japan. In that capacity he had to deal with the topmost echelons of the Soviet government, both of the political and the military departments. His story is the now usual one of arriving with eagerness, hope, and confidence and of departing with a sense of deep frustration not far above despair. But the strength of the book is in the carefully detailed and objective reporting of the events and negotiations which pushed him along that well-trodden path.

The description of "objective" will no doubt be challenged. General Deane has his share of that scar tissue which betrays the occupational disease prevalent among accredited representatives of Western powers to the Soviet Union. But there is a difference between the bias of pre-judgment and the mental bent which follows from a plenitude of experience. As far as internal evidence goes, this book persuades one of the fairness of the author, of his readiness to give the Soviets the benefit of the doubt. To be sure, he is not sophisticated in the analytical techniques of political science. His explanation of why the Russians behave as they do does not penetrate very deeply. But he presents his basic data with discrimination and judgment. And it is not irrelevant that both his experience and his deductions fall into a pattern which is

familiar to those who have talked with diplomatic and military persons of comparable experience. This might suggest either a universal prejudice among such persons or a mutual confirmation of conclusions honestly arrived at.

The incidents described by the author which are worth mentioning in a review are legion. The story of lend-lease to the Russians and the part it played in the war, of what went on behind the scenes at the great war-time conferences, of the negotiations to bring the Soviet Union into the war against Japan, and of numerous other events furnishes a rich storehouse for impatient historians who want to get at the facts before the archives are opened.

Among the most interesting observations for me were those which illuminated the deep-seated and all-pervasive aversion of Soviet officials to the admission of foreigners regardless of purpose (they first rejected the idea of admitting instructors to teach Soviet airmen the use of the Norden bomb-sight; subsequently they admitted with great reluctance and procrastination a small proportion of those offered but confined those few to a wholly inadequate number of contact hours with Soviet students); their habitual obstructiveness to collaboration, even when the gains to be derived were overwhelmingly to their advantage (demonstrated by their refusal to permit Allied air groups to bomb targets immediately behind the German forces opposing them); the hollow meaning of Soviet "agreement in principle" (revealed in the whole dilatory progress of shuttle bombing); and the degree to which Soviet irritation on political matters is immediately translated into obstructionism in the most irrelevant and far-flung negotiations. Significantly enough, some of the instances of uncommon success in winning collaboration involved conspiratorial enterprises, such as the elaborately faked "escape" of interned Americans who had fought in the Pacific war and the agreement, subsequently rejected by Roosevelt, to coordinate the military activities of the N. K. V. D. and our own OSS.

Throughout the war distrust of Allied motives and intentions remained an article of Soviet faith. No gesture, however generous, was sufficient to allay

suspicion. Tremendous quantities of lend-lease materials were furnished the Soviet Union without that scrutiny of needs which was characteristic not only of our dealings with our other Allies but even of our supply of our own armed forces. The response accorded us hardly lends support to those who now advocate the winning of Soviet confidence and cooperation by the generous and open gesture—particularly in respect to turning over the secrets of the atomic bomb.

The problem of the atomic bomb and of its control was constantly in this reviewer's mind as he read the book. General Deane avows, though with diffidence, that he has the answer to the question of how to deal with the Soviets. That answer is a minor variation on the now rather trite "patience with firmness" formula, the chief addition being an insistence on demanding quid pro quo and on not turning the other cheek, whether facial or posterior. But that system is not suggestive of methods for achieving international control of atomic energy. It must be admitted, and General Deane tacitly admits it by the manner in which he skirts the issue, that the experience related in the book, while "not all bad," does not encourage optimism concerning ultimate Soviet acceptance on an effective working level of anything comparable to the Baruch proposals.

BERNARD BRODIE

Our Own Philosophers

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY. By Herbert W. Schneider. Columbia University Press. \$4.50.

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER has given us a very good book. It is a book we have anticipated for a long time, and it fulfils our expectations. In length and soundness, in comprehensiveness and insight, it fits the needs both of the institutionalized reader and of the reader at large. The former will take to it for its accuracy and its bibliographies, the latter for its generous quotations and its clipped asides—"It was fear rather than faith that brought in political democracy"; "Democracy was not a theory of popular government but a symbol of class conflict"; "American national socialism was pre-

"What does the community propose to do both to control the power of unions and also to help them develop their enormous constructive possibilities?"

The Challenge of Industrial Relations

By SUMNER H. SLICHTER

LAMONT UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR AT HARVARD

Addresses itself squarely to the most fundamental questions that the community must decide in order to construct a labor policy which meets the problems created by the rise of unions.

What is the present state of the trade union movement in the United States?

How does the rise of trade unions affect the administration of business concerns?

How do trade unions conduct their own affairs? Are their procedures democratic?

Just how is collective bargaining supposed to work? How does it work?

Shall the right to strike for certain purposes or in certain occupations be made illegal?

What can be done to make unions more effective instruments for advancing the general welfare?

SUMNER H. SLICHTER has been teaching and writing on American economic problems for nearly thirty years and is a frequently cited authority on labor-management relations. *THE CHALLENGE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS* is a careful, objective, forthright analysis of the fundamental issues created by the rise of the labor movement.

To be published in March, \$2.50

Cornell University Press

ITHACA, NEW YORK

Marxian but . . . post-revolutionary."

The book surveys American thought from its beginnings to the near present. It ends with an excellent account of pragmatism. It does not include the recent developments of realism or naturalism, and it makes no attempt to handle logic or the physical sciences. But it covers almost everything else in our thinking. The main figures in our literature are considered, biological ideas are present in the wings if not on the stage, philosophical psychology is reviewed at length, and ideas on society, politics, and religion are fully expounded. The major philosophers are of course given the central place. The careful analyses of their views are supported with such liberal quotations that the reader has the sense of working directly on source material.

Schneider recommends as supplementation to his account Joseph Dorfman's "The Economic Mind in American Civilization" and as a companion volume the anthology of "American Philosophic Addresses: 1700-1800," edited by his coworker Joseph L. Blau (published simultaneously with Schneider's book by the Columbia University Press).

One of the excitements I had in reading the book was the continual discovery of significant persons who had been previously bare names. I found especially interesting the radical utilitarianism of Daniel Raymond, the theory of

scientific social planning of Richard Hildreth, the scientific humanism of Chauncey Wright, the anticipations of objective relativism in Francis Abbot, the foreshadowing of emergent evolution in Edmund Montgomery. Each reader will of course make his own discoveries in terms of his own slant, but that each will make them to his own reward is sure.

Those who are alien to the continual reaching out of Demos for power will underline such a statement as this one by Fischer Adams: "Democracy is an illuminated Hell that in the midst of remorse, horror, and torture rings with festivity." Others in this land of the multiple will side with Whitman: "We must be constantly pressing onward—every year throwing the doors wider and wider—and carrying our experiment of democratic freedom to the very verge of the limit."

Professor Schneider expounds rather than professes. He refuses to summarize the tale he tells. This decision is undoubtedly wise, and I shall not tarnish its wisdom by a formula. But it is worth noting that Schneider in his caution almost leaves the impression that American thought is without distinction. He sees American philosophy largely as a reaction to ideas from other cultures. He fails to find a "central content, a dominant note, or a moral lesson" in its history. "Our past is fully as confused

as our present. Its vitality, therefore, must be sought, not in a definable quality or direction of movement, but in that vague yet tangible energy which it exerts when it is faced with new ideas."

I should merely like to raise the question whether that energy is not more tangible and less vague than Schneider suggests. Negatively the point can be made in terms of his own insistence upon the close connection between philosophic ideas and politico-social ideas in our culture; if this is so, then if there is anything distinctive in our social thinking and institutions it should also appear in the related philosophies.

Positively I can only state that the philosophic material Schneider presents gives me the feeling that it does so appear. American philosophy has stressed the primacy of the practical reason over the theoretical reason more than any other segment of the philosophic tradition has done. It has been more strongly pluralistic in tone. And it has persistently sought to unite an emphasis upon individuality with a recognition of the social context which makes individuality possible and which provides it with its responsibility. The way American philosophy has handled these topics is at least as unique as American culture.

CHARLES MORRIS

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

An important new book by the author of
AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY
Alvin H. Hansen's
ECONOMIC POLICY
AND
FULL EMPLOYMENT



One of America's leading economists offers his timely and significant plan for achieving high levels of employment and production through long-range planning. "He returns the barb to those who try to pin the label of 'visionary' on the planners. . . . He goes on to reveal the basis of the instability which plagues our economy . . . stimulating further debate on one of the crucial questions of our time."—N. Y. Times Book Review

At all bookstores • \$4.00

WHITTLESEY HOUSE

A Division of McGraw-Hill Book Co., N. Y. 11

THE STORY OF MARY SURRETT" (Henry Miller's Theater) is concerned with the fate of an innocent woman whose foolish son got himself involved in Booth's plot to assassinate President Lincoln. The action begins on the evening of the crime, when Mary Surratt first discovered that her son was implicated; the entire middle section is devoted to her farcical trial before a military court determined in advance to hang her; and the play ends rather too conventionally with a scene in the death chamber just before the execution. The author—that same John Patrick who last year gave us the odd but not uninteresting piece called "The Hasty Heart"—has told his story in a simple, straightforwardly effective manner, and he has had the good fortune to get for the title role Miss Dorothy Gish, who gives a performance really memorable for its

restraint, its dignity, and its power. Obviously then, whatever its further merits or defects may be, "The Story of Mary Surratt" cannot fail to hold the interest and to make an impression.

Playwrights of the present do not usually choose to deal with history unless they are prepared to indicate some implications for today, and it is plain enough that Mr. Patrick intends to do just that. Indeed, there are moments when one wonders whether he means to suggest a protest against the whole conception of "war guilt" and to hint that more injustice than justice is likely to be the result of any series of military trials. But he never explicitly states any charge either so specific or so sweeping as this, and when, in the final scene, he comes to draw his moral, it is merely that war is evil not only because it slaughters so many in battle but also because the whole atmosphere it creates is unfavorable to everything civilized or humane.

Now this thesis—if it can be called that—is one which any story of any injustice connected with a war would to some extent illustrate, for all wars and all injustice have something in common. But it is not clear that there is any very close parallel between the incident with which this play deals and any recent events, or that "The Story of Mary Surratt" has any unique pertinence at the present moment. It seems to me, therefore, that the final judgment passed upon it must depend upon its effectiveness as a piece of dramatic art rather than upon anything which it proves or even any moral which it illuminates. And it seems to me further that, for all its competence, its honesty, and its general air of truth—for all, even, of Miss Gish's admirable art—it both falls short of real greatness and lacks the power thoroughly to satisfy an audience, since it never manages to cross that hard-to-define line which separates the merely distressing or the merely painful from the genuinely tragic.

I know of course that there is possibility in the drama as well as in other forms of literature a degree of intensity and elevation in whose presence what would otherwise be intolerable becomes, for reasons which neither Aristotle nor anyone since his time has quite adequately explained, capable of giving pleasure. At least for the sake of argument, I am also willing to grant that there are occasions when an artist may legitimately ask his audience to endure intense discomfort, if some important moral cannot be drawn unless the spectator can be forced to confront some unpalatable fact. But,

I have already tried to indicate, "The Story of Mary Surratt" is not quite elevated enough to transform the painful into pleasure and not unique enough in what it has to say to justify the author's demand that we witness events so purely distressing.

The whole question of the happy ending and of poetic justice is curiously involved. The insistence upon the former is commonly and perhaps properly regarded as one of the most characteristic features of philistinism. The doctrine of poetic justice is commonly cited as the most absurd of the inventions of a now long dead pedantry. But neither the philistine nor the neo-classicist is wholly absurd, because both are fumbling inexpertly with one aspect of a truth; and what can be said on their side of the argument was once said with great sobriety and moderation by Dr. Samuel Johnson. When the latter came to issue his edition of Shakespeare he probably amazed the more instructed of his contemporaries, as he has certainly amazed many succeeding critics, by confessing that he was not sure he did not prefer to the original ending of "King Lear" that new conclusion, written by Nahum Tate and long accepted on the stage, in which Cordelia is revived, given in marriage, and dismissed to live hap-

pily ever after. What he said in his own justification is said so much more pointedly and sensibly than anything of the sort has ever been said since that I must ask permission to quote it directly. "A play in which the wicked prosper, and the virtuous miscarry, may doubtless be good, because it is a just presentation of the common events of human life; but since all reasonable beings naturally love justice, I cannot easily be persuaded that the observation of justice makes a play worse; or that, if other excellences are equal, the audience will not always rise better pleased from the final triumph of persecuted virtue." I can see nothing either philistine or merely pedantic in that statement, and I think it a relevant comment on "The Story of Mary Surratt."

"John Loves Mary" (Booth Theatre) is a farce comedy by Norman Krasna, that expert concocter of such affairs who was recently responsible for the enormously successful "Dear Ruth." Like the latter piece, it is concerned with the artificial complications besetting the love life of a returned soldier; like the latter, it is cleverly plotted, cleverly written, and amusing enough to be pretty sure of a good long run. But there is hardly any excuse for saying any more about it than just that.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

The NATION

- ☐ with Harper's Magazine . . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50
- ☐ with Consumers Union . . \$9.25 You Save \$1.25
- ☐ with Harper's Magazine
and Consumers Union . \$11.75 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself:

- ☐ One Year \$6 ☐ Two Years \$10 ☐ Three Years \$14
- ☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE large-scale show at the Whitney, "Painting in France, 1939-1946" (through March 2), provides a much-looked-forward-to report on the present state of painting in the country that has been the undisputed capital of that art for the last hundred years. According to the catalogue's foreword, "It was our [the museum's] wish . . . that the work of younger artists and those less well-known in America should predominate." That wish, fortunately, has been met on the whole.

The show itself is shocking. Its general level is, if anything, below that of the past four or five Whitney annual exhibitions of American painting—about the lowness of which I have expressed myself rather strongly in the past, lamenting the sad state of American art in our day. Taking both American and French art wholesale, I now see that we have reason to congratulate ourselves on being as good as we are. Naturally, I except from this comparison the "old masters" of Paris—Picasso, Matisse, Braque, Rouault, Dufy, Bonnard, and Jacques Villon. These are represented at the Whitney by single examples—of which Bonnard's still life is the jewel, and a matchless one, while the other artists are generally shown in twos or threes.

FROM LAKE GENEVA TO LAKE SUCCESS

By Lillian T. Mowrer

IN THE MARCH ISSUE OF
THIS MONTH MAGAZINE
On Sale at Newsstands or Send 25¢ to
247 Park Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

BOOK BARGAINS

ALL NEW, HANDSOME ORIGINAL EDITIONS FOR LOVERS
OF GOOD BOOKS. LIMITED STOCK, BUY NOW.

Book of Psalms (Stephen Daye Press)
3.75 list
North, East, South, West (T. Soslins)
anthology, C. Lee, ed., 3.75 list
The Curse of Bigness (& other papers)
L. D. Brandeis, 3.50 Viking
Revolution of Nihilism: H. Rauschen-
berg, 3.00 list
Union Now: Union Now with Britain:
Clarence Street, 5¢ Harper, 2 vol. set
1.00
The following are A. A. Knopf editions
The Ship of Flame: W. S. Stone (7.50)
Illustrated 2.00
San Francisco's Literary Frontier, 5¢;
P. Walker 3.00

George Bancroft (3.50) R. Nye (Pulitzer Prize)
Mark Twain's Travels With Mr. Brown
(85) Dana & Walker 2.00
Prairie City: Angie Debo, \$3 list 4.00
Lessons of My Life (2.50) Vanstittart .50
The New World Order, (1.50) H. G. Wells .75
Commodore Vanderbilt (3.75) W. J. Lane 1.50
Freedom's Battle (3.50) J. A. del Vago
(An authentic history of Spanish Civil War) 1.25

SPECIAL

Birds of America; J. J. Audubon
(Macmillan) 5.00

(Postage Free in U. S. A.)

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR, 212 B'way, N. Y. C. 7

The works of the older and less well-known artists, such as Goerg, Surville, Souverbie, Lhote, Marquet, Desnoyers, and others, demonstrate only too well the justice of their being less well known. Marquet remains his sober self, but most of these—Surville, Souverbie, Goerg—are not plodders on the trail of a limited or stale sensation but quick-change artists who orient themselves toward worldly public taste and predigest their betters for stylish consumption. The same corruption affects a good section of the younger generation, who, if generally less decorative, show a similar readiness to be content with superficial effects, provided only that they are flashy. Neo-cubists, neo-realists, neo-surrealists, neo-expressionists—they are alike in their brittle color and their excited and equally brittle design. Where their American equivalents tend to mud or garishness, French painters tend, apparently, to confetti and neon lights. If the Americans seem stodgy and dull, the liveliness and the knowingness of the French are empty. Nor, contrary to expectations, are the French more facile or tasteful. They are just as coarse, just as inept for the most part—and hysterical in the bargain.

Those who, like Ceria, Caillard, and Brianchon, stay closer to impressionism or who, like Oudot, Quizet, and Venard, slavishly imitate the generation of Derain and Utrillo, are at least occasionally pleasing. They have less effrontery and do not make a meaningless commotion. The Franco-Spaniard Borès likewise manages to please by treading humbly in Matisse's footsteps.

The most ambitious and advanced group is formed by the "synthesizers," those who marry Picasso to Matisse—Tal Coat, Tailleux, Pignon, Gischia, Fougerson, Bazaine. Tal Coat seems indeed to be the best of all the younger or less well-known artists present: in such canvases as "The Horse" and "The

Rooster" he actually succeeds in making a quick Picassoish sort of calligraphy work against a background of fauvist color. And next to him on the wall Tailleux's still life, "The Fishes," while not so clarified, promises even more substance and force. These are the only ones of the younger painters whose work, on the evidence of this show, has both validity and the interest of the new. And even they are a trifle thin. Both Gischia and Pignon, whom I have seen to much better advantage in reproductions, are represented by big and empty pretentious canvases—although Pignon does draw a ram's head beautifully in one of them. In Gischia's case the over-literal influence of Léger crushes all spontaneity; in Pignon's and Fougerson's, mannerisms taken from Picasso do the damage.

Except for two very bad pictures by Gleizes and Bazaine respectively, no outright abstract painting is to be seen. There is very little flat painting. Miró's influence is not to be detected anywhere, and no one, except Gleizes, ventures to go farther in surrendering the third dimension than Picasso and Matisse have done. Bernard Dorival suggests in the ornamental prose (translated) of his occasionally acute catalogue note that this relative conservatism—let one only compare it with American abstract painting—is motivated by the desire to place a synthesis of cubism and fauvism "at the service of the human aspiration of the expressionists and surrealists." And, indeed, most of these painters seem to be obsessed with the notion of violent and intelligible, explicit, obvious emotion, which they try to convey by expressive distortion applied to "significant" objects. The trouble is, however, that these distortions do not inhere sufficiently in style. Like the distortions in most of Picasso's recent work, they are arbitrary in an ultimate sense, not compelled by a style that is the emotion itself but superimposed or inserted with the label "emotion." The result is vulgarity and theater, and painters such as Lorjou, Ambrogiani, Ajame, Dany, Bertholle, Prassinis, and Alix upset all our notions about French temperament by outdoing the German expressionists at their wildest and most bathetic. The surrealists and neo-romantics present, like Coutaud, Labisse, and Courmes, are equally unspeakable.

Of course, it is quite likely that the whole show has been badly chosen. It is an institutional affair, supervised by curators, and we know from experience with the American variety how inept curators can become in the face of con-

temporary art—even when it happens to be their *Fach*. Some important painters have been left out: among them, Eugène de Kermadec, whose work in reproduction is impressive, and Dubuffet. Also Estève, Lepicque, and several others—of whom reproductions give, however, an unfavorable idea. And in any case three such painters as Dubuffet, Tal Coat, and Kermadec, all under fifty, are enough to prove that French art still has vitality. Nevertheless, I myself feel more hopeful about American art. We lack poise, but we do seem to have on the whole—and at the moment—more originality and more honesty. And whereas, when all is said and done, Tal Coat, Kermadec, and even Dubuffet culminate in charm, we at least, when we do culminate, shall have force.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN THE last New York Philharmonic crisis, four years ago, Rodzinski and the management were, I thought, right in their changes of personnel, but the dismissed players also were right in some of their accusations against Rodzinski and the management. They contended—rightly, it seemed to me—that the management had blundered in engaging and reengaging Barbirolli. By the management they meant both the board of directors and the business manager, Arthur Judson; and it seemed to me reasonable to assume that where the directors' qualifications were their money, business standing, or social position, Mr. Judson's activity had not been limited to issuing stamps and petty cash. They also contended that Mr. Judson, in his use of his power, had subordinated the orchestra's interests to those of his Columbia Concerts Corporation; and again I thought it reasonable to argue that a man who had conductors and soloists for hire should not have anything to do with the hiring of conductors and soloists for the orchestra.

It is this power of Mr. Judson and his use of it that are the issues in the present crisis. Rodzinski now accuses him of usurping power in artistic matters that the business manager of an orchestra should not have, and of using it improperly for his own interests as a manager of concert artists. The artistic matters Rodzinski refers to include the appearances of guest conductors and soloists with the orchestra; and he con-

tends that they are properly among the things over which the musical director of an orchestra should have power, not the business manager, and certainly not a business manager who is also a manager of conductors and soloists and who, instead of engaging artists for the artistic benefit of the orchestra, can use appearances with the orchestra in its concerts and broadcasts to build up the prestige and commercial value of the artists he manages and to lure artists away from other managers. In this general contention Rodzinski is right beyond any question; and as far as his own case is concerned one might, as I did and still do, question his fitness for the post of musical director of the Philharmonic, but if one decided to give it to him one would be obligated to give the powers over artistic matters that go with it to him, not to Mr. Judson.

This is one of the occasions when a music critic must speak not only to the public but for it; and Virgil Thomson, in his Sunday article on the subject, spoke out precisely and unequivocally about the "unbalance of power" that is "the trouble with the Philharmonic," and about the fact that "Arthur Judson is unsuited by the nature and magnitude of his business interests to manage with the necessary self-effacement a major intellectual institution doing business with his other interests." For Olin Downes, on the other hand, too little had been published of Rodzinski's charges and the directors' answers, and "the details of this matter are not this column's present concern"—which enabled him to escape from the immediate issue into a two-column cloud of history and generalization.

One passage in Mr. Downes's article calls for comment. Speaking of past mistakes he wrote: "Why John Barbirolli . . . was made musical director of the orchestra . . . and maintained there . . . for seasons after he had conclusively demonstrated his insufficiency for that post is still a mystery which has been impossible to solve. As a result the orchestra quickly and appallingly retrograded . . . while reviewers became positively embarrassed to record the level of mediocrity, or worse, in the performances." Actually the Philharmonic management was able to maintain Barbirolli in his post because of reviews such as Mr. Downes's in the *Times* of October 11, 1940—characteristic not only in its swirling flood of muddy thought and prose, but in the way the truth about Barbirolli's performances of Elgar's "Enigma" Variations and Si-

belius's Second Symphony was restricted to slight, unobtrusive, and minimized qualifications of the lavish praise. The Sibelius symphony, for example, "was read, for the greater part, in bardic vein. There was breadth and sweep of line in places where interpreters have fussed with detail. . . . There was sensitive treatment of details of delicate and haunting instrumental effects. . . . A thoughtful reading was distinguished prevailingly by fine proportions and a real sense of form"—after which one read that "where this feeling was lost was in places where tempo was too suddenly whipped up or slowed down," and, paradoxically, "the impression was of a too calculated performance, with many fine attributes, one which, had all previous calculations been forgotten, and the music given its head, would have been a complete instead of a conditioned success."

This was hardly an embarrassed recording of mediocrity or worse, and anything but a demonstration of the conductor's insufficiency for his post; and Barbirolli probably would be conducting the Philharmonic today if it had not been for Mr. Thomson, who summed up his impressions of the same concert with the statement that "the

WHAT FUTURE FOR Labor IN GERMANY?

Frieda Wunderlich

in this dispassionate, thoroughly documented study gives the historical facts on which any new Labor Movement will be built. She presents a crystal-clear picture of the development of the German Labor law up to 1925; tells how the system operated between that date and 1933, and details the methods the Nazis used to cripple it.

German Labor Courts

AT ALL BOOKSTORES • \$3.50

THE UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, N. C.

MOTION PICTURE

BARRY FITZGERALD
DIANA LYNN • SONNY TUFTS

'Easy Come, Easy Go'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

In Person **THE INK SPOTS** PLUS **ELLA FITZGERALD**
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION
COOTIE WILLIAMS
And His Trumpet and Orchestra

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A smash hit of
proportions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"Must be seen.
... Warming,
charming,
chuckling."
—Morehouse, Sun

FREDRIC FLORENCE
MARCH ELDRIDGE IN
YEARS AGO

The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON
Directed by Garson Kanin
MANSFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9056
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

"STUNNING AND ENCHANTING."—Barnes, Herald Tribune

JOSE FERRER IN CYRANO de BERGERAC

FRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • MIRIAM SHERMAN
PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON
ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSON

BARRYMORE THEA., 47th Street West of Broadway. CI 4-0390
Eves. 8:40, 1:20-4:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
"A REWARDING COMEDY."—Barnes, H. Trib.

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MIL LOGAN

BOTH Theatre, 45th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A NEW HIT."—Morehouse, Sun

HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:40, 1:20-4:30. Mats. W. & Sa. 2:40, 1:20-3:30

"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—Barnes, Her. Trib.

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HILBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

TO PLACE AN ADVERTISEMENT
CALL BARCLAY 7-1066

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COL-SEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
81st LEX. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROOM.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"Unusually subtle and intelligent."—N.Y. Herald Tribune

BETTE DAVIS

Paul HENREID • Claude RAINS

'DECEPTION'

Based on LOUIS VERNEUIL play

— AND —

'DICK TRACY vs. CUEBALL'

MORGAN CONWAY • ANNE JEFFREYS

BROOKLYN

BURSWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYUO
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAUD
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 82 St.

"HAS DRAMATIC DEPTH."—N. Y. Herald Tribune

W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM'S

The Razor's Edge'

Tyrone POWER

Gene TIERNEY

John PAYNE

Anne BAXTER

Clifton WEBB

Herbert MARSHALL

— AND —

'DANGEROUS MONEY'

SIDNEY TOLER as CHARLIE CHAN

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of the Nation's Special Class-Rate

30c Monthly per Student

for orders of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address.

DESK COPY SUPPLIED FREE

Address your order to

The NATION

30 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

music itself was soggy, the playing dull and brutal." It was after he had spoken out that others, including Mr. Downes, followed; and it was under this pressure that the Philharmonic directors acted to replace Barbirolli. So today: if they had only the material in the *Times* to worry about they wouldn't worry at all; and if they do act to make the Philharmonic out of Mr. Judson's power it will be under the pressure created by Mr. Thomson's comment.

Not that this seems likely: what the eruption has brought into the open is not merely the unbalance of power as between the business manager and the musical director within the Philharmonic, but the status of the Philharmonic itself in relation to other organizations, which is responsible for that unbalance. The Philharmonic is not, like the Boston Symphony, an independent organization with its own business manager and legal representatives who deal with the representatives of artist bureaus and recording and broadcasting companies. Its status is rather like that of a subsidiary of U. S. Steel: not only is it managed by the head of Columbia Concerts Corporation, but a member of the legal counsel for CBS, Columbia Recording Corporation, and Columbia Concerts Corporation is the Philharmonic's lawyer and an audibly influential member of its board of directors.

That material in the *Times*—Mr. Downes' Sunday article, the early news stories carrying smears of Rodzinski that had later to be retracted, the story of Mr. Judson's career on the Sunday music page, which might have been written by his publicity representative—is the sort of thing one expects to find in a conservative newspaper, which believes literally in conserving whatever exists and functions and has money invested in it or important people associated with it, and which therefore believes that nothing or as little as possible should be said that will discredit it or those people. One would expect to find the same thing in the *Herald Tribune*; but that review of Mr. Thomson's in 1940 was only the first of many surprises.

But though Mr. Downes operates as the critic of a conservative paper, a big enough issue will move him to the proper response. Let a conductor keep his audience quiet between movements of a symphony, and the Downes anger will spill out on paper. Let the musicians' union ask an orchestra for a higher weekly minimum, or let composers try to increase the modest fee

for performances of their music, and there will be an indignant Downes harumphing about this dangerous attempt to exact "all that the traffic will bear." I would give something to hear the composers and orchestral musicians on the subject of Mr. Downes's income from his various services to music.

Letters to the Editors

Postscript to Pay Day

Dear Sirs: There is another story to tell. Last Thursday the good people of Georgia took over the Capitol. They came from everywhere; from little towns you can't find on the map, and plenty that you can, to protest at the white-primary hearings. Grass-roots Georgia, cheering like old Confederates, giving the rebel yell but with fine new words. The theme song was, "Yes, we're proud to be Georgian but we are prouder to be American."

It was camp-meetin'-style democracy and as much fun as a camp-meetin'. We had everything but "dinner on the ground." The protests and the crowd were warmly humorous, polite, rippling with soft laughter, and as colloquial as "Saddy" afternoon. All of this illumined by flares of Southern oratory in defense of decency and truth, and a refrain running through almost every speech like a revival song, about Christian brotherhood. Preachers and veterans made the eloquent speeches; but the women from rural sections spoke with a shy sincerity that moved me even more deeply.

Maybe you don't know how it feels to hear for the first time in your Capitol the words of democracy spoken with pride and without fear. But we down here, burdened so long with the taboo of silence and the urge to "expediency," were stirred to the heart when that silence was broken to splinters in the crowded senate room. Everybody wanted to make a speech for human rights, or against Roy Harris, or for democracy. The chairman finally had to limit speeches to one minute. People called out in pain, "I've gotta speak," and folks would laugh and say, "Oh, let 'em speak." We've whispered so long in Georgia. It was wonderful to be able to shout aloud for democracy.

What does it mean? We do not yet know. Some say it was the largest crowd ever to attend a hearing at the Capitol. Whatever else, we know these people

came on one of the coldest days of the winter, hundreds of miles, driven to Atlanta not by pressure groups but by the pressure of their own conscience. There is nothing like a Southern conscience when it gets going on sin. But white supremacy was called SIN at that meeting last Thursday. If that kind of revival gets going in Georgia, Humman had better begin looking for something else to fool our rural folks with.

LILLIAN SMITH

Clayton, Ga., February 11

An Old Disease

Dear Sirs: The world today, as for some time past, is suffering from generalitis, or acute inflammation caused by the presence of too many generals in positions of great power and influence.

Our Secretary of State is a general, as is also our Assistant Secretary of State for Enemy Territories. We have a general in charge of the Veterans' Administration, another heads Labor Department Rehabilitation, and a third the Office of Temporary Controls. We have a general as ambassador to Russia, another as ambassador to Belgium, and an admiral as ambassador to Panama.

A recent rereading of some Gibbon left me with the feeling that the outstanding fact in the slow decay of the Roman Empire was the unwillingness of victorious generals to yield in time of peace the power they had enjoyed in time of war.

ASA M. HUGHES

Lansdale, Pa., February 10

The last book — His Testament!
H. G. WELLS *Mind at the*
End of its Tether
 at bookstores \$2.10
 340 Madison Ave., New York 17

Nation Readers

are cordially invited to the

42d ANNUAL LUNCHEON, L.I.D.
HOTEL COMMODORE, New York

Saturday, MARCH 1, 12:30

in honor of

TRYGVIE LIE

Secretary-General, United Nations.

Subject:

PLANNING THE PEACE

DR. BRYN J. HOVDE, Presiding

Make reservations at once to
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

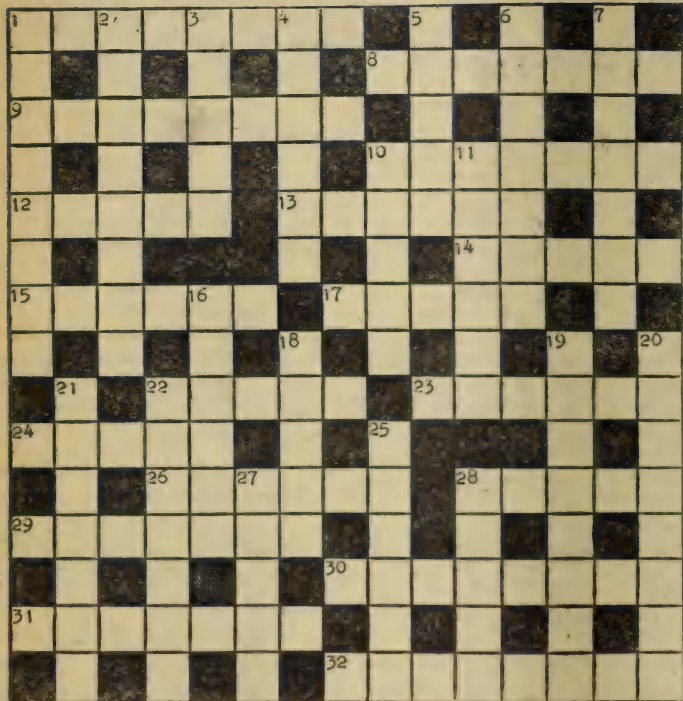
\$4.00 a PLATE

Writs Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Conference Chairman, for program of other sessions of Spring Conference addressed by distinguished speakers on Feb. 28 and Mar. 1.

★ **BUY BONDS** ★
FOR KEEPS

Crossword Puzzle No. 200

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Dear old things that are cared for in homes
 5 Maker (making a fateful pronouncement, from the sound of it!)
 9 Gate, or fascinate—it depends on the accent
 10 It makes painful hearing
 12 Sad shack
 13 Book for a young scholar who does not find it easy to start
 14 French town of draped walls
 15 Though no Spartan, this Persian viceroy comes from Sparta
 17 We hit a paleface
 22 Back parts—they sometimes feel it!
 23 Wake here
 24 Tree that kills anything growing beneath it
 26 What they did to the regulation about English church bells when the invasion threat ended

28 Human hooter

29 Is it the jag that makes these big cats so noisy?

30 Made out (6 & 2)

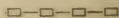
31 Downs rise and elevators sometimes do this

32 First steamship to cross the Atlantic (in 23 days)

DOWN

- 1 Pursued by a river, she changed into a fountain and ran into the sea
 2 Smarten up

- 3 This bird seems chicken-hearted
 4 Save
 5 Top of the bottle
 6 Kingdom of a Henry
 7 The fevered brow?
 10 The GI makes it
 11 Lariats
 16 She has a part in the National Theatre
 18 They often follow suit in trains
 19 Obligated to be seen?
 20 Dig in
 21 What the paperhanger does for a change at home?
 22 Crush
 25 Under a shade tree Ira stands, in a southern New York town
 27 Is frequently getting stewed
 28 Her fiancé gives her a ring, no doubt



SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 199

ACROSS:—1 PEBBLES; 5 PALSIED; 9 UNLADEN; 10 NOVELLO; 11 CORPS; 12 CHALLENGE; 14 COLT; 15 EXTREME; 18 COG; 20 RAS; 21 HEARKEN; 23 BUMP; 26 CALLS OVER; 28 LARVA; 29 AVAILED; 30 ALMONER; 31 SADRON; 32 SACHEL.

DOWN:—1 PAUNCH; 2 BELFRY; 3 LADY-SMOCK; 4 SIDECUT; 5 PINNACE; 6 LEVEL; 7 INLANDER; 8 DIOGENES; 13 FOE; 16 TIME LIMIT; 17 MAN; 18 CIOCTAWS; 19 GALLIARD; 22 NEVADAN; 23 BURIALS; 24 FRENCH; 25 BARREL; 27 SOLAR.

BOOKS

ANCIENT and MODERN TRUTHS

IN A NEW EDITION

Yours for \$1.50, sent to E. F. LEE

Box 261, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS.

SCHOLARLY BOOK CENTER
 BROOKLYN. Isaiah Berger, managing Judaean-Oriental Book Service, takes pleasure in announcing the new book store under his personal supervision with large stock of old and new books in all branches of Hebrew, Judaica, Orientalia, Theology, Folklore, is open to the public. Isaiah Berger, 125 Dumont Av., Brooklyn, N. Y. (IRT subway, Saratoga Ave. station.)

FOR SALE

"GOLDEN APPLES"

Send Indian River Citrus Fruit as Gifts or a Treat for the Family

ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT

Full Bushel (35 lbs.) \$4.75

Half Bushel (30 lbs.) 3.00

Express Prepaid, No C. O. D.

HONEY GROVES
Sebastian Florida

CONTRIBUTORS

ELIZABETH BISHOP is the author of "North and South," which received the Macmillan Poetry Award.

WILLIAM EMPSON is the author of "Seven Types of Ambiguity," "Some Versions of Pastoral," and two books verse.

WYLIE SYPHER is professor of English at Simmons College.

ROBERT LOWELL has written two books of verse, "Land of Unlikeness" and "Lord Weary's Castle."

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr., whose "Age of Jackson" won a Pulitzer award, is an associate professor of history at Harvard University.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Beg Responsibilities," and "Genesis."

NATHAN GLAZER is assistant editor of *Commentary*.

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS is practicing physician as well as a distinguished poet and novelist; "Paterson" is his latest book.

CHARLES MORRIS, the philosopher, is at present lecturing at the New School for Social Research. His most recent book is "Signs, Language, and Behavior."

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 1, 1947

NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

THE SEVERAL FACTORS THAT HAVE MADE IT possible for Senator McKellar to inflict his senile abuse on David Lilienthal for a month have at last worn thin. One is the patience of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which has indulged McKellar as a guest inquisitor. Last week chairman Hickenlooper (R., Ia.) chided him for being "completely and utterly inaccurate"; McMahon (D., Conn.) charitably characterized the testimony of McKellar's witnesses as "a lot of rag-tail talk" and Hill (D., Ala.) as "innuendo and gossip." Vandenberg (R., Mich.) rebuked the Tennessean sarcastically, and Knowland (R., Cal.) said flatly: "I have not seen or heard any evidence presented thus far that ties Mr. Lilienthal to communism." Equally worn down, we hopefully believe, is the Republican conviction that Lilienthal can be defeated in the Senate as a whole, with consequent embarrassment to the Administration. It is improbable that President Truman would have voiced his confidence in Lilienthal's confirmation without a pretty convincing poll by his Senate leaders. This prospect, plus Vandenberg's position, gives Senator Taft's reckless onslaught on Lilienthal the appearance of an historic political boner. A senseless defeat on the first major test of his leadership should qualify him to join Mr. Bricker in the league of Ohioans who never will be President.

✱

WE ARE BY NO MEANS ASSUMING, HOWEVER, that the fight on Lilienthal is over. It will really begin in earnest if and when he is confirmed. Under the law that created the Atomic Energy Commission that body is the sole judge of whether or not patent rights are to be granted to private interests for exploiting any given method of producing atomic energy, the criterion being the commission's opinion as to whether or not the proposed development is "affected with the public interest." It is Lilienthal's long and magnificent record as a guardian of the public interest that has won him the delicate attentions he has received in recent weeks, and not his fantastically alleged communism, his inclination to share the secrets of nuclear physics with Mr. Stalin, or the Czechoslovak origins of his aged parents. The forces that lurk behind this curtain of slander are getting set for a long struggle. A representative in the Tennessee legisla-

ture, unaffected by the braying of his distinguished Senator, put the question squarely. "We hear that atomic energy may one day provide us with heat and light," he said. "I ask is this an attempt on the part of big business to grab off the latest natural resource that has become available to man?" Of course it is. And it will be for Lilienthal and his commission to insist that science did not split the atom so that business might split the profits.

✱

HERMAN TALMADGE, GEORGIA'S PRETENDER, plows ahead in his efforts to set back democracy's clock in the face of rising popular protest. His signature to the White Primary bill converts the Democratic Party of the state into a private club. The constitutionality of such action and all "Humman's" other actions in his role of governor will be tested when the decisions of three Superior Courts come up for review before Georgia's Supreme Court late this month. Some twenty members of the House and three members of the Senate, making their own estimate of the way the wind is blowing, have left the opposition and jumped on to the Talmadge bandwagon. The most important single defection is that of Ben Fortson, Secretary of State, who in happier days managed Ellis Arnall's campaign. But though the fair-weather boys have jumped quickly, the majority of Georgia's aroused citizens have hardened their determination to win back their rights and the reputation of their state. The Reverend Joseph A. Rabun, marine veteran and minister of Talmadge's own church, continues his outspoken condemnation of Talmadge; letters pour into the newspapers; editorials in journals large and small point out that the issue is a moral one transcending in its importance the eventual decision of the Supreme Court. The students on Georgia's campuses remain in ferment. In a recent poll of 300 students from 99 Georgia counties taken at the University of Georgia, 67 per cent expressed themselves in favor of M. E. Thompson and only 28 per cent for Herman Talmadge; 66 per cent said they would join a new party, if necessary, for the purpose of defeating Talmadge. In a one-party state this last is significant, particularly since eighteen-year-olds can vote in Georgia. So the fight goes on. As Lillian Smith wrote in last week's *Nation*, "We've whispered so long in Georgia, it's wonderful to be able to shout aloud for democracy."

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	233
Passage from India	236
Palestine Our Problem	236

ARTICLES

Labor's House Divided <i>by Wilbur H. Baldinger</i>	238
Why Does Russia Act That Way? <i>by Harold J. Laski</i>	239
How to Run Coal <i>by McAlister Coleman</i>	242
Korea: An American Tragedy <i>by Will Hamlin</i>	245
British Socialism Begins at Home <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	247
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	249

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Life with Franco <i>by Thomas J. Hamilton</i>	250
Fragments of Fragments <i>by William Barrett</i>	250
Employment <i>by George Soule</i>	254
In Grayest Moscow <i>by Leigh White</i>	255
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	256
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	257
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	259

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 201

<i>by Jack Barrett</i>	260
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor
J. King Gordon

Literary Editor
Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo
Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

PROMINENT ON THE CREDIT SIDE OF THE Georgia ledger is the judicial treatment meted out to Homer L. Loomis, Jr., and Emory P. Burke, guiding geniuses of the Nazi-inspired Columbians. Both statesmen, going to the people of Georgia for the first time, were elected to the rock-pile, Loomis for one year and Burke for three. The juries that tried the two Columbians, on charges of incitement to riot and usurpation of police powers respectively, were quick to bring in their verdicts, and both demonstrated a fine scorn for the racial harangues with which the defendants thought it advisable to favor the court. Loomis was defended—if it can be called a defense—by his Park Avenue father, a rabble-rouser in his own right, who assumed that a Georgian jury would free anyone who might be painted as a victim of Southern Negroes and New York Jews. Besides landing his ne'er-do-well son in jail, Loomis *pere* now faces the lively possibility of disbarment proceedings for a particularly offensive performance. Both convicts are due to face further charges, and the handling of their cases so far inspires complete confidence in the desire of Georgians to smash this obnoxious little gang.

✱

BY COMMITTING THE UNITED NATIONS TO action against Franco, the Lake Success resolution on Spain was something of an ultimatum to those states which have encouraged a perilous deal between capitulationist Republicans and the Spanish monarchists and other reactionary groups. It was so understood by Señor Prieto, who provoked the recent Cabinet crisis and thus brought into being the Llopiés Cabinet, in which a majority are of his persuasion. The Spanish dictator has also appointed a Falangist committee to report on the possibilities of a restoration of the monarchy. British reaction to Señor Prieto's success has been prompt. On February 19 Mr. Bevin declared in the House of Commons that he had already made contact with the new regime. It would seem that eventual recognition has also been discussed, for when asked what his future relations with the Spanish government in exile were to be, the Foreign Minister replied that he "must wait to see if it has stability." What is meant by stability? If Mr. Bevin is merely suggesting that Señor Llopiés must boldly follow the Prieto plan of action, he will discover that the new Cabinet is farther from stability than any of its predecessors. The Spanish Communists, whose entry into the new regime has alarmed many groups which were not originally hostile to them, have evidently realized the fact. In a speech designed to explain the party's turn-about, La Pasionaria has urgently invited the abstaining parties to reconsider their decision. "It is," she declares, "utterly false to assert that we can facilitate the liberation of our people by renouncing the Republic in order to get the approval of the Communists." What

effect this appeal will have cannot be foreseen. Though the Communist leader explicitly demands the restoration of Republican legality as it existed in 1936, there is nothing in the reports of her speech resolutely closing the door against a plebiscite, which surely must involve the most dangerous of compromises with reactionary classes in Spain. The crisis therefore remains.

✱

OLD THROW-BACK JOHN RANKIN HAS DONE his best to silence 92,500 American veterans who have something to say to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Among all the groups John hates, the American Veterans' Committee ranks high because its articulate members think in enlightened terms and because they protected witnesses in the Mississippi hearings against his stable mate, Theodore G. Bilbo. Last week Rankin, with the aid and advice of legionnaires and V. F. W. sharpshooters, introduced a resolution to the committee which would bar testimony before it from all but "accredited" veterans' organizations. John looked pretty foolish when it turned out the A. V. C. *was* accredited by the Veterans' Administration; then he went into a huddle with Representative Alvin O'Konski of Wisconsin, who emerged with a second resolution, passed by the committee, which limits testimony "to those organizations which have exclusively active, participating veterans of American wars." The A. V. C. frankly, and proudly, claims 400 veteran merchant seamen among its membership; this technicality will now be used to prohibit the A. V. C. from testifying on bills concerning veterans' welfare now before the committee, some of which were drawn up in the offices of the A. V. C. itself. Rankin has had his revenge, and the pork-barrel banner will fly above the committee chambers while housing and other measures vital to veterans are deliberately sidestepped. There is, however, a means of counter-attack for those who believe "that the well-being of the veteran is of some concern . . . and who see in his sound reintegration into the fabric of our society the surest guaranty of our liberties." The A. V. C. has just started a drive for \$100,000 needed to publicize legislative requirements for that reintegration and to combat those who, like the real estate interests, chiefly stand in their way. Contributions may be sent to Charles G. Bolté, chairman of the A. V. C., 1860 Broadway, New York City.

✱

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE, WHEN WE WATCH the behavior of men like Generals Eisenhower and Marshall, we wonder whether we haven't become too set in our ancient bias against the military mind. But the military mind doesn't leave us wondering for long. What currently refreshes our prejudice is the proposed promotion of James A. Killian to the permanent rank of colonel. Killian is the gentleman—all officers are gen-

tlemen—who commanded the camp for American army prisoners at Lichfield, where the policy laid down for guards was, "Work him over—just don't break too many bones." Responsible for innumerable beatings, clubbings, and at least one unwarranted shooting, Killian was convicted of brutality by an army court-martial last September, despite his arrogant intimidation of witnesses. He was sentenced to the cruel and unusual punishment of a \$500 fine and an official reprimand; and now, having been duly punished, he is to be promoted. The War Department is a bit apologetic and has been at pains to explain to the press that it has no alternative: promotion by seniority is automatic under the law, unless Congress withholds approval. Secretary of War Patterson is reported to have asked Congress to change the law, and his public-relations officer appears to be asking the public to sympathize with the army in its embarrassment. We might, if we knew why a change in the "senility system" was not demanded long ago. The navy, with Congressional sanction, has been promoting by selection for several years now. Moreover, if the army had really wanted to get around this fatuous regulation, it could have "broken" Killian to a second lieutenant at the time of his conviction. Better still, it could have discharged him dishonorably as though he were an enlisted man.

✱

THE RAILROADS ARE FAR FROM SATISFIED with the billion-dollar increase in freight rates which they secured from the Interstate Commerce Commission at the end of 1946. On February 19 their chief spokesman, R. V. Fletcher, president of the American Railroad Association, said that the carriers "must seek a return commensurate with the earnings of other industries." Not less than 6 per cent on their investment, double the current return, was necessary, he suggested, for the maintenance of "adequate rail transportation." This was not a casual statement but a formal declaration of policy. Yet it is difficult to believe that its author, or those whom he represents, have thoroughly considered its implications. For how could railroad net revenues be doubled at the present time? Certainly not by doubling freight rates and passenger fares, for that would drive away so much traffic that quite possibly it would lead to a reduction in operating income. It must be equally obvious that the desired increase in profit cannot be secured from the pockets of railroad workers unless a terrific depression forces down wages generally. But since such a catastrophe would inevitably mean a drastic shrinkage in traffic, the railroads would find themselves still farther from their goal. Thus the only conclusion that we can draw from Mr. Fletcher's remarks is that, if a 6 per cent return is the minimum price for which private enterprise will consent to operate the railroads, it is high time for us to follow the British example and seek a solution for transportation problems in public ownership.

Passage from India

IT HAS not been easy for Indians to grasp the fact that their independence is really won. Many of them have always been convinced—not without reason while the Tories ruled in Whitehall—that Britain would never voluntarily relinquish "the brightest jewel in its crown," and that occupation would end only when the occupiers were forcibly evicted. Even the unequivocal statements of the British Labor government, both before and after the Cabinet mission's visit to India last year, failed to dissipate such doubts entirely. In fact, the subsequent outbreak of bloody communal rioting, the backing away by the Moslem League from its acceptance of the mission's plan, and the subsequent constitutional deadlock induced fears that the old policy of divide and rule was being revived and that the British were encouraging Moslem intransigence with a view to postponing their departure indefinitely.

Mr. Attlee's announcement that the transference of power into responsible Indian hands will take place not later than June, 1948, clears the air of such suspicions. The Indian parties now know that they cannot afford to waste time in bickering. Within the next sixteen months they must write their constitution and ready themselves to take over the government of India as a going concern. The penalty for failure will not be the prolongation of British rule; it will be administrative chaos and imminent danger of civil war.

Mr. Attlee's statement also gave fair warning to both the All-India Congress and the Moslem League that Britain did not intend to impose a solution of the constitutional problem on which they are so sharply divided. Neither party, it is clear, can count on British aid in coercing the other. As Pandit Nehru, vice-president of the interim government and leader of Congress, said in commenting on the "wise and courageous" decision of the British government, "it is a challenge to all of us." Making a new plea to the Moslem League to end its boycott of the Constituent Assembly, he emphasized that the task of constitution making could proceed only "on a voluntary basis." "There can be no compulsion," he declared, "except the compulsion of events that none can ignore."

Unfortunately, early reactions from the Moslems have been less conciliatory. Jinnah, head of the League, has not commented directly on Attlee's statement but he has reiterated his determination not to yield "an inch" on the demand for Pakistan—a completely independent Moslem state within India. Still more ominous is the prediction of civil war between Hindus and Moslems soon after the British depart, attributed to "an important Moslem leader." Such uncompromising attitudes may seem to justify the fear of the London *Times* that the announcement of a deadline might serve to inflame communal strife rather than bring pressure to bear on the Indian parties to end it.

But the British government's decision does not, in fact, create any new peril; it simply brings an already existing peril into sharp focus and forces India to face it. Both the Congress and the League are aware that the alternative to mutual accommodation is a civil war which would be disastrous to both sides. The dreadful example of China must be vividly before them.

At this stage, when the Constituent Assembly is stymied by the abstention of its Moslem minority and the interim government stultified by complete lack of cooperation between its Congress and League members, some new initiative was essential. Yet the steps open to the British government were very limited. There could be no going back on the pledge of independence and no suggestion of revising the constitutional plan in a way that favored one side against the other. Britain, in short, could not consider cancelling its passage from India; it could only confirm its intention to depart by setting an early sailing date.

Palestine Our Problem

BRITAIN has referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations. One is tempted to say that in taking this action Mr. Bevin has closed an epoch, but that is not so, for the Zionist movement will continue to fight for ideals that have been betrayed by British procrastination and insincerity. Moreover, the Jewish people still have to reckon with Britain, whose disinterestedness cannot be taken for granted.

Though Mr. Bevin has announced that he will make no proposals to the General Assembly, the mandatory power will strongly influence decisions. The British Empire is in process of dissolution, but the oil-bearing regions of the Near East are of such economic and strategic importance that the Foreign Office may still pursue the policy that has rendered Britain bankrupt in Palestine. The Arab states will continue to oppose Jewish aspirations, and as long as Mr. Bevin controls London's policy it is not improbable that their demands will find favor with those countries that have followed the British lead in other matters. Britain has declared that it will entirely withdraw from Palestine if the United Nations so order—as if it could do otherwise!—but it would be sheer naive to equate this with a firm promise to abandon all previous strategic ideas. The costs of the present military occupation are heavy and Britain is facing the severest economic crisis in its history, but that is not to say that London will not seek to bend the United Nations to the service of British interests. And finally, though the military authorities in Palestine are showing unexpected caution, between now and September events born of past blunders and unconfessed intentions may yet prejudice the reaching of a decision creating a viable Jewish state.

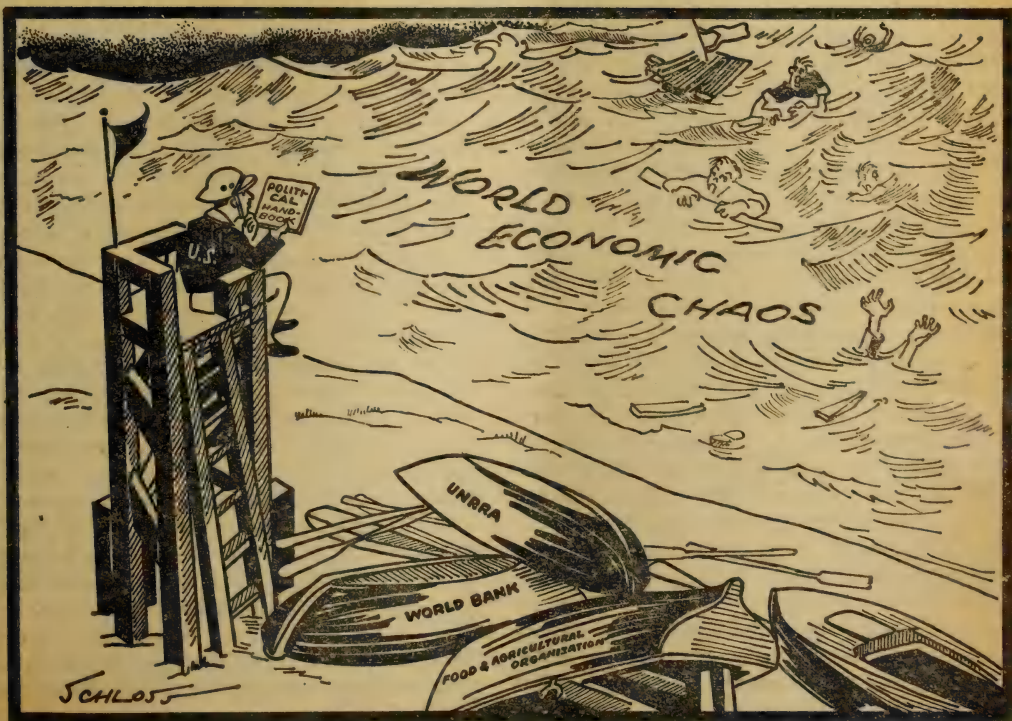
Only firm representations by the United States could have induced London to impose a just solution in Palestine. It implies no disrespect for other powers to say that the creation of an autonomous Jewish state still depends in large measure upon this country's readiness to urge that course and to take responsibility upon itself. Because of its great economic interest in the Near East the United States has a reason to keep Arab good-will. But it is unlikely that even the fire-eating professionals of the Arab League, which has no real authority over its members, will be able to get the Arab rulers to oppose a collective decision with violence. And this country, alone or through the United Nations, can confer upon rulers and people benefits that will far outweigh any injury to their feelings caused by the partition of Palestine.

The policy which this country should follow within the United Nations was indicated as long ago as October 4, when President Truman frankly declared that the Morrison-Grady plan was unacceptable. That warning should be repeated, and vigorously. So, too, should the request that Britain at once admit 100,000 Jews to Palestine. Speaking of the reception given to the Jewish Agency's proposals concerning the viable Jewish state, the President said, "From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States." We believe that Mr. Truman was right then, and his words remain true in the new situation. They should be

the basis of United States policy in the United Nations. In 1944 both political parties went on record as favoring the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Since then, moreover, Republican and Democratic leaders have given support to Zionist demands. It should therefore not be difficult to frame a policy acceptable to both parties.

The present danger is that Palestine will be buffeted from side to side in the hurly-burly of great-power conflicts. What Russia's policy will be is not clear from the record. But if the Palestinian problem is divorced from power politics there is no reason to believe that Moscow will oppose the creation of the viable state. One thing is certain, the Jewish population in the Holy Land has absolutely no desire to align itself against the U. S. S. R. Nor have the Arab peoples. This country, if it follows the policy suggested by the President's October 4 statement, will be in a position to put an end to the heartbreaking injustices that have been inflicted upon the Jews.

With this issue *The Nation* presents the first of a series of political cartoons drawn by Ezekiel Schloss, whose work has previously appeared in *France-Amérique*, the *New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the *New Republic*, and other publications. Mr. Schloss's cartoon will be a regular feature in *The Nation*.



Labor's House Divided

BY WILBUR H. BALDINGER

Washington, February 23

THE immaturity of the American labor movement—or movements, rather—is becoming a painful embarrassment to its friends and a source of profound gratification to its enemies on Capitol Hill. The brawling between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. shows no sign of a letup despite the incidental—and insincere—let's-make-up chatter which is interspersed among the jeers and taunts. The double house is shaken by dissension and sags with indecision. The Sunday-best front displayed on the porch by William Green and Philip Murray fools nobody, not the distressed neighbors who want to be helpful, and certainly not the authorities on the Hill, who are ready to issue warrants for disturbance of the peace.

Labor demonstrations to the public here in the past week are characteristic cases in point.

C. I. O. President Murray, keeping his left hand behind his back, clasped the right hand of phony fellowship which A. F. of L. President Green extended from Miami, where Green's executive council, making a bad joke, called for "organic unity." The A. F. of L. gesture was in cynical response to an equally disingenuous C. I. O. proposal of last December for "unity of action" against new labor legislation. It would have been more honest if Murray and his faithful C. I. O. vice-presidents had told Green and his council what they all knew: that this generation will see no merger between the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., and that it is childish to play games in public about the idea.

After this display of labor family warmth, which was as hollow as the headlines that hailed it, Green and Murray went their separate ways to the Hill to do battle for unions against a predatory Congress. They succeeded only in inflaming the tempers of the statesmen on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee who will write the verdict on labor. They would have served labor's cause better if they had gone up to the Hill, together or singly, with a legislative plan or two in hand—a plan for jurisdictional peace, for instance. Instead, they made impassioned pleas of not guilty to all the counts in the Senate committee's indictment, although the evidence seemed to call for no-defense pleas in some cases.

"God Almighty," Murray said prayerfully in his resonant voice with its Scotch burr, "what crimes have these organizations I represent committed except to perform a patriotic duty as Americans?" "We have ap-

pealed to our rivals to come home to the house of labor," Green intoned piously, excusing himself from any responsibility for jurisdictional strife. "I see no way to correct the situation so long as the rivals fight." Murray had a somewhat better answer on that critical point than Green, but it was not good enough. The C. I. O. spokesman suggested, knowing that the Senate committee had not been constituted as a referee in such inter-union matters, that it "get Willie Green down here" to talk over the jurisdictional situation under committee auspices. This gracious proposal could hardly be expected to get anywhere, and is as good an illustration as any of labor's ineptness in the face of a common threat to the existence of unions in this country.

Senator Joseph H. Ball, the brooding Republican from Minnesota who had hoped to rise in the Eightieth Congress as the savior of free enterprise and conqueror of trade unions, probably has lost his crusade to ban union shops, stop industry-wide bargaining, and slice up the Wagner act. If he has lost, no thanks in particular are due to labor lobbyists; even Senator Robert A. Taft, the Republican boss, developed early doubts that Ball's blockbusters were feasible. At the same time restrictive labor laws are certainly in the offing, and the weak spot in labor's battered armor is the jurisdictional point.

The A. F. of L., which has been unable to settle jurisdictional strikes within its own organization, is far from any serious discussion of unity with the C. I. O., with which it is in jurisdictional conflict on almost every industrial level. What the labor organizations cannot do for themselves, Congress is going to do by outlawing such strikes by legislative fiat. And in doing that, Congress probably is going to do much more—weaken the Wagner act, regulate strike votes, limit secondary boycotts, police such national emergencies as coal strikes.

Hollywood studios are closed by strife between A. F. of L. stage hands and other A. F. of L. craft unions. A. F. of L. electricians refuse to handle products from shops under legitimate C. I. O. contract. Coos Bay, Oregon, has been virtually closed down for five months because C. I. O. longshoremen refuse to handle goods from ships manned by A. F. of L. crews. These are open and valid invitations to Congress to rise in wrath, and since last November, at least, the Republicans have needed no invitation.

Green made some sound arguments against much of what the Senate committee may do to labor. Murray arrived with a forty-one-page text, a sixteen-page sum-

mary, and a stack of briefs on wages, prices, profits, and laws. C. I. O. Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, the brain trust of the United Automobile Workers, lectured the committee on economics while hewing to the C. I. O. line that any new labor law was bad. Their reasons were worth studying by Congress if it wants to understand the causes of industrial unrest, but under the circumstances nobody on the Senate committee regarded the statements as required reading. Senator James E. Murray of Montana, one of the few unreconstructed New Dealers on

the committee, listened to the labor leaders in morose silence. Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Republican who knows the labor pitch, was irritable.

"Let me in on a secret," Morse finally said sadly to Reuther. "Do you really believe the Eightieth Congress is going to adjourn without passing labor legislation?"

Philip Murray and William Green know what is on the lawmakers' books. They should know that a dose of self-regulation might prevent an epidemic of anti-labor laws. But the time is very late.

Why Does Russia Act That Way?

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, February 11

OF THE many impediments to reconstruction few are more damaging than the grave misinterpretations, sometimes honest and sometimes dishonest, of Russian international policy. We hear of Russian "obstruction," of Russian "permeation," of Russian "strategic imperialism," and of perhaps half a dozen kindred evils. Nearly all of them are wholly mythological; the grain of truth in some of them is usually explicable in historical terms, and if these were understood, an agreement could be reached at least as easily with Russia as with any other great power.

It is essential to remember that Russia entered this war as a poor nation which had endured immense sufferings for almost a generation in order to modernize its economic equipment. It must also be remembered that the destruction wrought by the war in Russia probably wiped out at least the major part of the achievements of the years between 1917 and 1941. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude, first, that Russia does not want a new war, and, second, that any major war would place a strain upon its economy which it is not in a position to bear. These two conclusions must be set in the perspective of the fact that for nearly twenty-five years the other powers, great and small, intervened in Russia to aid and abet civil war there; that they refused it diplomatic recognition; that they gave it little or no economic assistance



in its difficulties; that they did not hesitate to "appease" its enemies; that one of the major causes of war in 1939 was the refusal of the semi-fascist "Colonels' regime" in Poland to agree to any Anglo-Russian accord which would have permitted a serious attempt to defend Poland against Hitler; and that since the war capitalists in both Europe and America seem to regard Russian security as a threat to their own interests and to be hardly less anxious to see the failure of the Soviet experiment in 1947 than they

were in 1937 and before.

After the immense sacrifices required of Russia, one can hardly be surprised that it makes international security its first objective. In the absence of security, it is compelled to devote a disproportionate amount of its resources to defense; hence it cannot fulfil either the capital-goods or the consumer-goods program which are both necessary to expedite long-term recovery and to make life easier for the people in the meantime. International security for Russia means (1) safeguards against sudden and aggressive attack, so fatal in an age of atomic warfare; (2) the conviction that it can count on the goodwill of neighboring states in the event of war; (3) the impregnability of its frontiers against the kind of invasion Germany was able to mount in 1941; (4) sea-power conditions that do not cut off either its warships or its mercantile marine from access to warm-water ports; and (5) assurance that no treaty arrangements, either in the sphere of defense or of economic life, are made against Russia by other powers.

In the light of Russian history since 1917 I do not think that any one of these is an unreasonable demand. Each of them is entitled to the same consideration as if

HAROLD J. LASKI is well known as one of the leaders of the British Labor Party and the author of many stimulating books on political and economic subjects.

it were put forward by Great Britain or the United States. I do not believe they have received such consideration. American demands for bases in the Pacific and in Greenland are taken as a matter of course; Russian demands for a base in Spitzbergen and for free access to the Mediterranean are regarded with profound suspicion. America's penetration of the Middle East, in its quest for oil, raises no alarm; the parallel Russian interest in Middle Eastern oil is looked upon as a threat to the independence of all the peoples of the region. Russia's patronage of Marshal Tito's regime in Yugoslavia is viewed with indignation; so also is its special relationship with Czechoslovakia—this has cost the Czechs a proposed loan from the United States. Yet no one has asked that Great Britain's support for the fascist dictatorship of Salazar in Portugal, which is a major source of its strength, or the complete domination of occupied Japan by the United States, despite the expressed disagreement of Russia and Australia to many of its policies, be examined in terms of the need, all over the world, to dig up the roots of fascism.

That there is one standard by which to measure Russian conduct and another to measure that of the other great powers seems to me to be obvious. I do not for one moment assert that the behavior of Russia is beyond criticism. The retention of its troops in Persia beyond the agreed date of withdrawal was indefensible. The volume of its unilateral activities in Germany and Austria is indefensible also. It is a grave misfortune that Communist parties all over the world, even after the dissolution of the Third International, continue to pursue "wrecking" tactics and make that natural alliance of left working-class parties which the post-war situation so clearly calls for unacceptable to millions of Socialists. I think the hair-splitting obstructionism of Mr. Molotov and Mr. Gromyko does little but harm. I believe that many of the most eminent Russian leaders are badly informed about conditions outside their own country because they turn their embassies and legations into what are almost fortresses from which there is little egress and into which any friendly penetration is rare; it was not so in the days of Mr. Litvinov in Washington or of Mr. Maisky in London. Much of the propaganda from Moscow is calculated to cause irritation. It is a great pity that Russia did not join UNESCO at the outset; and that, despite Stalin's recent declaration to Elliott Roosevelt, such immense difficulties are placed by the Russian Foreign Office in the way of exchange of students, professors, and intellectuals generally. While a great deal of the talk about the "iron curtain" in Russia is both mischievous and ignorant, the heavy censorship of news into and out of Russia has extremely unfortunate effects. And it should not be regarded as dangerous for, say, an Englishman who looks upon Mr. Maisky, for example,

as an old and valued friend to visit him without permission while in Russia, or to communicate with him as freely when outside Russia as if Mr. Maisky lived in Copenhagen or Zurich.

Let us grant that Russian diplomacy has always been suspicious and tortuous, and that Bolshevik methods, therefore, represent no important change. Let us grant also that, to a considerable degree because of the lack of external security, Russia remains the police state it has always been. No one acquainted with the temper of the common people in every country which participated in the recent war can seriously doubt that Russia would be amply repaid at this grave juncture by attempting experiments in international friendship instead of assuming the usefulness of continued suspicion. If the America of Roosevelt is temporarily in eclipse, the Britain of Mr. Churchill has been replaced by the Britain of Mr. Attlee. There is good-will to Russia in France and Italy, in Norway and Sweden, in India and the new Indonesia, over and above that in the nations directly under its influence. The more Russia builds its policy upon that good-will, the deeper and wider is likely to be its influence. If, for example, Russia had whole-heartedly accepted the Lilienthal plan for the control of atomic energy, even with a reservation as to minor arrangements, we should by now have taken a long step on the road to disarmament. As it was, we got the impression that all Russia would accept was some futile sort of Kellogg pact unsupported by sanctions; only after weary months of discussion did Stalin say that Russia naturally agreed to inspection—a view which, I am confident, the Russian government recognized as necessary from the beginning of the discussion.

I agree that Russia has to walk very warily. The facts make it clear that the Vatican is directly and indirectly encouraging the enemies of Russia all over the world, and the Vatican has become, since Mussolini's day, one of the most militant supporters of reactionary privilege. Mr. Churchill's Fulton speech, made under the chairmanship of President Truman, was an unhappy contribution to peace-making, and his recent sponsorship of a committee for European Union from which Russia and the Slav countries are to be excluded is bound, for all his disclaimer, to seem like a streamlined form of the old *cordon sanitaire*. In the light of his plea for Anglo-American unity and Franco-German friendship, both of which seem chiefly desirable, in his mind, as methods of isolating Russia in the post-war world, it is easy to see why the British Labor Party recommends its members to have nothing to do with Mr. Churchill's plans. Of course the Russians watch the eagerness with which the bogey of the "invisible red hand" is used by every reactionary element in the United States—journalists like Westbrook Pegler, newspaper proprietors like Colonel McCormick, Southern Congressmen trying to suppress the elementary

rights of the Negro, Northern Senators seeking to wrest from labor the gains won during the New Deal. That is what makes so valuable a forthright reply like that of Stalin to Bevin on the Anglo-Russian Mutual Assistance Treaty, as it makes so stupid the fantastic comment of *Pravda* which produced Bevin's note of protest. Why should the Politburo allow the Westbrook Peglers of their own journal to make enemies of those who want to be friends?

I think myself that mutual understanding would be helped if Russian statesmen said plainly that the international situation is not yet compatible with political democracy within Russia, instead of insisting that their political system is more genuinely democratic than that of any other country. It is of real importance, in this matter, to be honest. I think Russia has achieved a remarkable social democracy; it has gone, in my judgment, farther toward an effective democracy in the realm of economic life than any other country I have seen. But on the political plane there is no right of opposition; hostility to the policies of the one-party state brings very quickly the formidable charge of treasonable conspiracy. No writ of habeas corpus is honored. There can be arrest, internment, and exile without trial; a man may be imprisoned or executed without even his wife knowing the offense with which he is charged, or the evidence brought against him; or whether he is alive or dead. The secret police remain an *imperium in imperio*, reaching long fingers into the control of every aspect of national life.

For a member of the Politburo to try to school an intellectual in his duty is as foolish as if Arthur Greenwood or Herbert Morrison were to tell Sir Adrian Bax what kind of music he ought to compose or J. B. Priestley what theme to choose for his novels. Nor is it wise, in the long run, to satisfy the curiosity of a Russian about English elections by referring him to Charles Dickens's comic account of the Eatonswill election in "Pickwick Papers," or to arouse his horror at the presence of 109 capitalists in the House of Commons without making it clear to him that the Labor Party is the master there, at least until the next general election, by an immense majority. The House of Commons has no doubt many defects, but unlike the Supreme Soviet its debates are real debates, and it has a great record, which the Supreme Soviet would do well to emulate, as the guardian of personal freedom against threats from ministers, judges, and the police. It would be helpful to Russians to compare the British record in the realm of personal freedom during the war with their own. It would be even more helpful if the Politburo would inform its over-zealous propagandists that, over any considerable period, the only propaganda which has lasting value is that which is rooted in truth.

It is perfectly possible for anyone with common sense to understand why Generalissimo Stalin and his colleagues do not yet feel that the time has come for political democracy in Russia. In the Soviets' twenty-nine years of life there have been five years of civil war and nearly five years of international war. There have been grave conspiracies against the state; literacy is still relatively new; political maturity in a multi-national community of two hundred million people is hardly to be expected in a generation, least of all in the aftermath of a great war by which it was strained almost to the breaking point. If the leaders of the Russian government said this quite frankly, and if they added, as I think they are entitled to add, that in half a dozen vital realms of social activity they have nothing to learn from Western civilization and much to teach it, a good deal of the hostile criticism they encounter would be seen in proportions fatal to its effectiveness. The present method of claiming non-existent achievements only does harm to Russia because it is only believed by small groups of enthusiasts who have somehow persuaded themselves that the Russian people already are privileged to live in the Elysian Fields.



The Russian attitude is not unakin to that of a man who suddenly attains high status and is fearful that he may be overlooked; in order to make himself heard he indulges in an overemphasis that is often arrogant or theatrical. Americans were like that under the stress of criticism from other nations until quite recently; Dickens pointed out this quality both in "Martin Chuzzlewit" and in "Notes on America." For many years we in Europe were compelled to hear how everything in America was bigger and better than anything in our poor benighted continent. Belief in the "manifest destiny" of the United States was so excitedly sensitive that even men like President Theodore Roosevelt could not refrain from telling the world how to do its business. Anyone who watches the behavior of the Russian zealots must be aware of the resemblance to immature America. The new Russia is not sure of itself. It is looking for insults. It is afraid that someone may forget it has come of age. That leads it to throw its weight about, and to be difficult and irritating in negotiation.

Patience and good-will are going to be urgently needed in international relations for the next few years. I know no nation in a position to make war at present which

wants war. Undoubtedly there are individuals who envisage war as possible, and certain interests which would welcome it. But I am confident that not one of the governments of the five great powers wants war, and that no difference exists between their aims which would justify war. Within the framework of determination that the peace must be kept and every precaution taken against aggression there are naturally differences of opinion, but at this stage, at any rate, they are differences of degree and not of kind, and differences of degree always yield to patience and good-will. A comparison of the angry meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris and Moscow with the recent meetings of the Council in New York—at which real progress was made—shows that where there is genuine give and take the way is open to progressive understanding. Stalin was wholly right when he said that if the five great powers were determined to understand one another there was no reason why the United Nations should not work and war be banished from our lives. What this requires first of all is the recognition that politics is the art of compromise, and that there must be the skill and insight to find the way to a good compromise when it is necessary. I am not certain that Mr. Molotov has that skill and insight in the degree that Mr. Litvinov had it; I am quite sure that Generalissimo Stalin has it. It would be a great step forward if he could make Mr. Molotov see that a series of insistent and emphatic negatives, sometimes shrill, sometimes niggling, do not add up to the kind of compromise which makes both parties emerge from a transac-

tion with real satisfaction and deepened mutual trust.

I have, therefore, profound confidence that there can be full reliance on the purposes of Russia once we convince its leaders that we are as eager as they are to make its international security effective and will take steps to see that any attempt to revive fascism is broken into pieces at its birth. We can ourselves make a real contribution by realizing that, in Poland, for example, safeguarding the forms of democracy is not necessarily the same thing as safeguarding its reality; the same principle holds for the Greek elections. But Russia can make a great contribution too. Grave harm is done to good-will when Russian authority is used to impose fusion on the Socialist and Communist parties in the Russian zone of Berlin. Grave harm is done when Russian control blocks the creation of a Germany that, though vigorously demilitarized, is yet viable enough to give its people the right to hope. Not least, the Russian government needs very badly to humanize its Foreign Office and its diplomatic services. If every Russian ambassador abroad treated the citizens of the country to which he is accredited with the wisdom and good-humor with which Stalin treats his visitors, the legend would soon perish that the Russians are a strange race, anxious at any cost to destroy bourgeois civilization. Most Russians, in fact, are hospitable and friendly people; given the chance, they would convince the world quickly of their good faith. And the men in the Kremlin need have no anxiety about the future of bourgeois civilization—it has long passed the point at which it was possible to save it.

How to Run Coal

BY McALISTER COLEMAN

BROPHY Urges Mines' Nationalization." This recent headline took old-timers in the labor movement back to the exciting days of 1921-22, when American coal diggers were seeking some other way out of their plight than the usual devastating strike. John Brophy, then president of District 2 of the United Mine Workers of America, with headquarters at Clearfield, Pennsylvania, was head of the Nationalization Committee created by the miners' union at its 1921 convention. For years it had been routine at conventions for the miners to pass a resolution in favor of the nationalization of the coal mines of the country. Now they decided to back their words with a plan for action.

McALISTER COLEMAN is an author and journalist who has long made labor problems his special field. His most recent book is "Men and Coal."

The man they picked to work out a plan was the quiet-spoken Brophy, son of a Lancashire miner, who had gone to work in the pits in Pennsylvania at the age of twelve and who, despite his Catholic upbringing, had early come to a Fabian socialism. Brophy, aided by progressive mine leaders from Pennsylvania and Indiana, enlisted the services of two competent researchers and publicity men, Robert Bruère and Heber Blankenhorn of the Bureau of Industrial Research, and in 1922 brought out his committee's report. It was called "How to Run Coal," and its proposals started a debate which resounded far beyond the coal fields.

It is a commentary on the lack of any long-range planning by the private interests responsible for coal production that Brophy, now Director of Industrial Union Councils for the C. I. O., can make today just about the same argument for nationalization of the mines as he made a quarter of a century ago. Nothing has happened

since then to affect the truth of the fundamental charge—manhandling of one of our greatest natural resources—brought against private ownership by the original Brophy report. "The coal industry," it said, "has been so disorganized and mismanaged that the situation in recent years has approached what big business men and stand-pat Senators describe as a 'catastrophe.' . . . Unless unification and order enter the industry, there will be a blow-up somewhere, followed by drastic, angry, and frenzied legislation. The American Kingdom of Coal is today in as chaotic and explosive condition as the states of Europe. No single, constructive suggestion has come from the operators. No large, leading idea has come from the public. The public is feeling intensely but is not yet thinking wisely. . . . The only large-scale proposal has come from the United Mine Workers of America in their demand for nationalization. It is the only proposal that grapples with slack work for the miners, higher prices, and irregular supply for the consumer."

LEWIS ON NATIONALIZATION

John L. Lewis, who had been head of the miners since 1919, backed away from the report and forbade discussion of it in the *United Mine Workers' Journal*, then edited by Ellis Searles, former press agent for the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce. Lewis, a protégé of Sam Gompers, followed the conservative line laid down by Gompers in opposing the Plumb plan for the nationalization of the railroads—a plan which had been the source of many of Brophy's ideas. Both Gompers and Lewis feared any change in their accustomed way of doing business with the bosses; both looked with dark suspicion upon any proposal emanating from such dread "intellectuals" as Blankenhorn and Bruère. Gompers was still dizzy from his successful debut into the best Democratic circles during World War I. Lewis was sitting cheek by jowl with Herbert Hoover, then Harding's Secretary of Commerce, who was promising that a formula would be found to avert government intervention. The formula turned out to be the Jacksonville agreement of 1923, which was promptly torn up by the operators, with the result that the miners' union was destroyed south of the Ohio River, not to reappear until the Blue Eagle days of the NRA. Lewis, however, stuck to his guns and published under his signature a fantastic book called "The Miners' Fight for American Standards," in which he reaffirmed his Republican faith in the beneficence of cutthroat competition in bituminous coal mining, of monopoly in anthracite. In a dubious election Lewis beat Brophy for the presidency of the miners' union, and until recently nothing more was heard of nationalization from the men in the pits.

The operators are making much of the fact that at the last U. M. W. convention a resolution favoring nationalization was defeated. This convention was of

course a Lewis-dominated affair, and the resolution was tossed aside without debate. Since Lewis's recent abortive attempt to help the mine owners put an end to government operation of their properties, there is again talk of nationalization on the "gob-piles," where the miners gather for lunch. A new generation has entered the pits since the publication of the Brophy report. These younger diggers have been around, many of them overseas, where state ownership of resources is no such bugaboo as here. Given a chance for free discussion, which they do not enjoy as members of our most autocratic—if also, ironically, our most militant—international union, a large number of them would

undoubtedly plump for nationalization. However, so long as Lewis keeps his iron grip on his 400,000 well-disciplined miners, we can expect no Macedonian call for it from the pits. And if Lewis is on his way out, as Drew Pearson has predicted, his successor, whom he will name, is unlikely to make any fundamental change in the union's social or economic policy.

So it is up to us, the consumers, who have had enough of the anarchy which characterizes the production of coal for private profit to bring some measure of "unification and order" into this perennially distressed industry.

Public administration of natural resources has been justified by the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the less spectacular achievements of the Interior Department's public-power and irrigation projects on the Pacific Coast, and the building and profitable operation of the Big Inch and other pipe lines. All these projects can serve as guideposts to an integrated fuel and power policy in which nationalized coal would play a dominant role. In the past twenty-five years research work in the Bureau of Mines, the engineering schools, and a few centers supported by the industry has shown the way to the more economical burning of coal and the use of its by-products. The technological "know-how" is ours for the hiring. We can end what Stuart Chase years ago called "the tragedy of waste" whenever we have the common will to do so.

Our common will to do something constructive about coal is immeasurably strengthened by the egregious failure of all parties to the present dispute to act their ages. President Truman has strutted his stuff as the nation's number one strike-breaker, the iniquitous injunction in labor disputes has been disinterred, the miners' treasury has been judicially looted, but the only proposal



to come from the White House is the creation of another commission to consider ways of fragmenting industrial unions like the United Mine Workers. For their part, the operators, backed by their bosses in the utilities, the railroads, and steel, are sticking to the late George M. Cohan's dictum that "many a bum show has been saved by the flag." They have assumed the role of patriotic and innocent bystanders, in the meantime pocketing the profits handed over to them by the naval officers who are operating the mines on behalf of the Department of the Interior—as weird a set-up as has ever been devised for this essentially bizarre industry. Egged on by the open-shoppers, the Southern operators are paving the way for another nation-wide strike this spring, when they will attempt to renege on the basic Appalachian Agreement of 1941, which for the first time made the Southern operators pay civilized wages and under the extension of which the mines are still operating. This will give the atavistic Mr. Lewis his chance to come back fighting, and the whole hoorah will begin all over again.

A FEDERAL COAL AUTHORITY

When the public sobers up from its recent emotional spree about coal, those who are at last willing, in Brophy's words, to "think wisely" about the industry will not view a sensible plan for the nationalization of the mines under democratic controls as the "opening wedge to communism," whatever the operators say. There are indications that strong popular support would be given to a plan for having coal run by a federal authority patterned after the TVA. Purchase of the mine properties by the government after a fair valuation and through the exchange of government debentures for privately owned paper would turn a national headache into a national asset. The groups most concerned with the continuous abundant production of cheap coal—the miners, the technicians, and the consumers, small and large—would have representation on the board of directors of the authority.

The authority would operate the mines through regional boards whose decisions would not have to be made in Washington and whose concern would be the engineered production of coal for the use of all consumers. Unburdened by the present private concept of coal as "something that can be mined profitably," these boards would have an eye to the conservation of what is still our most precious natural resource. The high-cost "marginal mines" could be eliminated by a public authority, which would see to it that displaced miners received severance pay while being trained for new occupations.

The authority could integrate coal with hydroelectric power and natural gas and put an end to the present wasteful cross-hauling of competing coals by the profit-hungry railroads. And because it would be free of the domination of vested interests, it could greatly expand

the underground gassification of coal, or the burning of it at the pit-mouth, with the transmission of the energy thus derived through pipe lines or power lines. Though the solid-fuels technicians in the Bureau of Mines have done a yeoman's job investigating new domestic sources of coking coal, advising federal agencies and private industries on the efficient use of fuel-burning equipment, and gathering general technical information which could save millions of tons of coal a year, the private operators have been too busy warring on their help to pay heed to such "high-brow" activities. The immediate application of such research findings and the expansion of research to the barely scratched field of coal's invaluable by-products would be a "must" for a public authority.

It is in the field of human relations, however, that the authority, under decentralized, democratic controls, would prove of the greatest value. It would bargain with the miners' union as the TVA now bargains over wages and hours with the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council, which represents some 16,000 workers. Nationalization, to be sure, will not end all labor-management disputes: miners, without a contract, will walk out on government-operated mines, as was proved not long ago. But American coal diggers, despite all the recent propaganda, are good democrats; indeed, those who have lived with them have found them to be among the most likable, alert, and courageous of all our industrial workers. If they are given a voice that counts in decisions affecting their welfare and a status befitting their all-important part in the national economy, they will not be found neglectful of the public good.

Proposals now being advanced, even in some liberal quarters, that in the event of government operation no-strike clauses be written into contracts with workers in key industries are pointless, to put it mildly. It would take a large part of the standing army, to say nothing of the navy, to keep miners in the pits against their will. The public authority would look to the causes of the miners' discontent. Their present demands are not, as some person would have us believe, wholly a matter of wages. They have to do with living conditions in enclaves far removed from ordinary American amenities, with high prices in company stores, with inadequate educational facilities, with the deadly monotony of existence on remote cinder patches, which the younger people here as in England loathe so bitterly. They have to do, as well, with the death of 1,500 miners a year and the injuring of some 50,000 in accidents, many of which are preventable.

Under the best of circumstances the mining of coal will always be a back-breaking occupation attended by unusual hazards. However, under private operation, with a few honorable exceptions, no serious large-scale attempt has been made to better the circumstances. The

general run of hard-boiled mine owners consider even the more rigid enforcement of safety codes under government operation and the setting up of health, welfare, and medical funds to be red-revolutionary activities. Of course these men and the powerful interests which they serve will scoff at the suggestion that only a public

authority such as is here roughly outlined can handle these human problems. But their protests will fall on deaf ears once the public realizes that there is an alternative, and a democratic one to boot, to the recurrent coal wars which keep our power-driven economy so perilously on edge.

Korea: An American Tragedy

BY WILL HAMLIN

Seoul, Korea, February 6

KOREA is seething with unrest. United States army intelligence officers are frankly worried and have warned the American command of possible violent demonstrations in the near future. Numerous factors are contributing to this explosive situation. People are beginning to feel the pangs of hunger as the food crisis forces prices skyward on all the necessities of living. The farmers are angered by the high-handed methods being used to collect the rice harvest, methods which have been far from successful. Great excitement was aroused by the alleged rape in early January of three Korean women by American soldiers. As a result overt hostility is being shown toward both Americans and Russians, and less and less effort is made to apportion the blame for the country's ills between the two occupying powers.

The American command in South Korea, disregarding the recommendations of the recently adjourned Korean-American conference called by General Hodge to study the country's problems, has seen fit to maintain in office notorious Japanese collaborators and grafting politicians. Among these are the Korean directors of the national police and the Seoul municipal police, both of whom were indicted by the conference on several counts, including outright corruption. The local police are hated by the people for their brutal and arbitrary actions, but are upheld for political reasons. The summary "justice" meted out by American military courts to Koreans accused of crimes against the American forces also rankles in the Korean mind.

Recently the American command authorized the formation of a so-called "Interim Legislative Assembly" composed of forty-five elected members and forty-five appointees. As soon as the legislature began to feel its oats and showed signs of becoming an embryonic democratic institution under the progressive leadership of Dr. Kim Kyu Sik, it was informed by the Americans that it derived its power not from the people but from the Military Government and that its decisions could be no

more than suggestions to the American authorities. It had been about to make a sweeping and much-needed investigation of Korean government personnel and to enact a radical land reform when it found it was practically impotent. Unless American policy is radically altered and the legislature is allowed to go its own way, the Korean people will lose any interest they still feel in this abortive experiment in democracy.

THE RHEE SYNGMAN PLOT

The American command finally learned the truth about Dr. Rhee Syngman, wealthy right-wing leader and one-time unofficial Korean representative in Washington, and induced him to leave Korea so that Dr. Kim Kyu Sik could take the initiative in forming the interim legislature and in seeking the political unification of right and left. In the early days of the occupation General Hodge, acting on poor advice, gave tacit support to Dr. Rhee and his colleagues, the State Department having omitted to inform the American commander of the suspicions that several years of unofficial contact with Rhee had generated. Finally, Hodge found him out to be the ambitious egocentric that he is, a man too much influenced by the desire for money and political power to be relied upon for sincere patriotic leadership.

Rhee's latest adventure—his trip to the United States in December ostensibly to plead the cause of Korean independence before the United Nations—damned him in American eyes here. In the first place, some thirty million yen was "voluntarily" contributed by South Korean citizens (many large companies collected a compulsory levy on all employees regardless of their sentiments) to cover the expenses of this pilgrimage. Through negotiations with local American Protestant missionaries Rhee managed to exchange this sum for dollar bank credits in the United States at the rate of 100 yen to the dollar, whereas the legal rate is 15 yen to the dollar. The entire transaction was clearly illegitimate, and all parties concerned must have known it.

When the real reason for Dr. Rhee's trip finally came to light, the American authorities here received an even greater shock. The story is essentially this. Before his departure Rhee gathered his lieutenants about him and

WILL HAMLIN is the nom de plume of a member of the American occupation forces in Korea.

concocted a plan which, if successful, would deliver the political, and thus the economic, control of Korea into their hands. The first step was to be a rightist-inspired demonstration in South Korea directed not only against the Russians and Americans and the idea of trusteeship in general but particularly against General Hodge and his policies. The signal for this affair was to be a telegram from Rhee in the United States. It was thought that the demonstration would be so damaging to American prestige and attended by such violence that the American command would be forced to jail its leaders. Three men—Kim Koo, Cho Whan Ku, and Ahm Hung Suk—were selected to be the martyrs. The jailing of these men would in turn be the signal for Rhee to launch a vigorous campaign against Hodge in the United States in the hope that it would result in his removal, for with Hodge in command, Rhee and his group knew they would never be able to gain a dominating position in the country. As soon as a replacement for Hodge was named, the plan called for Rhee to request the new American commander to set up a separate South Korean government. Then, with the aid of his political henchmen, the national police, Dr. Rhee hoped to bring off a coup d'état. The final step was to be the imposition of the authority of this South Korean government on North Korea, by peaceful means if possible, if not, by bringing about war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Fantastic? Perhaps, but the American command evidently did not think so when it alerted the Seventh Division. Dr. Rhee's telegram has arrived; right-wing leaders from all over South Korea have met in Seoul to make plans for the demonstrations; rightist groups are carrying on a vigorous anti-Hodge campaign. The bulk of the people now believe that the General is on the verge of agreeing to the Soviet terms for reconvening the Joint Soviet-American Commission which adjourned in complete disagreement in Seoul last May. Under these terms all persons who have expressed opposition to a trusteeship would be excluded from consultation with the commission and from participation in an interim government. In effect, this would mean the exclusion of everyone except members of the Communist Party and of a few affiliated groups, a very small minority. The report about General Hodge's intentions, erroneous as it surely is, is apparently being deliberately propagated. Moreover, Rhee has \$300,000 in his pocket, and probably millions more are available from business friends in the United States who might care to invest in the venture. No wonder the American authorities are worried.

GENERAL HODGE AND THE COMMUNISTS

General Hodge is undoubtedly the best man in Korea. Unfortunately he is surrounded by inept and inefficient—and sometimes corrupt—army brass. He is hardly on speaking terms with Major General Archer L. Lerch,

military governor of Korea, who is thoroughly disliked by the Korean people, but he is smeared by the ill-advised actions of Lerch and other subordinates.

The major sin of which General Hodge is guilty apparently stems from his lack of knowledge of Communist tactics. In spite of continued warnings from his political advisers, he is playing right into the hands of the Communists in South Korea and swelling their ranks at every turn. For instance, he maintains that anyone attacked by the Communists should be kept in office—even such notorious figures as the Korean directors of the national police and the Seoul police—because to remove them would be to give in to Communist demands. Apparently he forgets that the Communists exploit an evil situation for their own ends—to arouse feeling against the "reactionary" and "imperialistic" Americans. If the evil were removed, the wind would be taken out of their sails. The way to combat communism is to offer something better. Instead, striking students have been expelled without any sincere effort to learn their grievances; once legitimate left-wing groups, particularly farmers' associations and labor unions, have been forced underground; and the many paper guaranties of civil liberties have been made a farce by allowing the politically infested police and courts to run wild—the present chief justice of the Korean Supreme Court once remarked that any judge fit to hold office was naturally influenced by prejudice in a case involving a leftist.

In short, the American Military Government is doing all it can to drive Korea into communism, although up to a few months ago the people plainly preferred some form of democratic socialism. General Hodge, like many of his compatriots, fails to recognize that the arch enemy of the "party" is the social democrat, the progressive, the liberal—not the reactionary. It is understandable that the Russians have refrained from suggesting a joint withdrawal of American and Soviet forces. A few more months and the Americans will have delivered South Korea solidly into the waiting arms of the Soviet-controlled Korean Communist Party.

Any consideration of the Korean muddle must include a reference to the State Department, whose first political directive relative to Korea arrived nine months after the



Caricature by Sellgren
General Hodge

occupation had begun. Since then it has time and again taken action on Korea without consulting the American command here or even giving warning of its intentions. The American authorities have been seriously embarrassed on numerous occasions and are never certain that their decisions will not be reversed by Washington.

The General has frequently urged Washington to seek a simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from Korea, but to no avail. It is true that this might mean civil war, but what modern progressive nation has been born without birth pains? As far as the United States is concerned, the point of diminishing returns has long since passed. There is no possibility now of obtaining the cooperation of the Korean people. They

simply want us and the Russians to get out and let them have their independence for better or worse.

After the horrible expense of the Pacific war it is tragic to see the United States lose every shred of the prestige it once had in this part of the world through the gruesome débâcle in Korea. The blame must be placed right at the door of the War and State departments, which have failed to provide a satisfactory administration for this critical area where the American and Soviet ways of life are contesting for favor. The whole episode is somewhat like a race in reverse. It is a moot question whether the Russians in the north or the Americans in the south are doing the worst job. Right now, the Americans seem a little ahead in this backward sprint.

British Socialism Begins at Home

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

London, February 10

CRITICISM of the British Labor government's foreign policy in the past two years has tended to obscure its remarkable efforts in the field of domestic policy to break the hold of big business and monopoly capital by a bold program of nationalization. Taking an objective view, however, one must recognize that British Labor is attempting a profound transformation of the nation's economy in the face of extremely difficult conditions and against terrible odds.

The hardest problem is to build on the foundations of an empire that is today a historical anachronism. The somber drama of this great empire in the process of disintegration cannot be relieved even by playing up the extraordinary determination of the British people to accept any sacrifice that will set their country on its feet again. On the one hand, the law of history has obliged London to apply the principle of self-determination in India and Burma; on the other hand, each time a piece is lifted out of the empire another blow is dealt to the economy stability of Britain. The readjustment from the flourishing empire of five decades ago to the curious British conglomeration of today would be difficult under any circumstances; it is incredibly painful at the end of a war in which Britain gave everything it had. In men, in human suffering, other nations may have paid a greater price, but in terms of national effort and the expenditure of its national wealth England was second to none. Now the utterly exhausted people of Britain must shoulder the burden of rebuilding their land and propping up a crumbling empire. Last year when I visited London for the first time since 1940 it seemed to me that their fatigue was temporary, the kind of healthy tiredness that comes after an almost superhuman job has been accomplished

successfully. My second visit has made me realize that their weariness is more intense than I had assumed.

This impression was undoubtedly heightened by the fact that I arrived in England in the midst of a cold wave that would nip the most daring impulse in the bud. According to the Weather Bureau, the cold has been more severe in Paris than in London these past days, but somehow one feels it more here. The dampness penetrates to the marrow; a leaden sky casts a pall of sadness over the city. I have experienced bitter cold days in Berlin, Vienna, New York, and even in Soria, Spain, but I cannot remember ever having been so close to freezing to death as one night last week in London. I had spent the evening with some friends—discussing Bevin, the atomic bomb, Russia, the weakness of the American left—in a house where a tiny electric heater was more a courteous gesture than a radiator of warmth.

The people are taking these hardships good-naturedly without trying to get around the law: Their food rations have been worked out scientifically and are no doubt adequate, but the fare is so monotonous that one is bound to lose one's appetite. Yet, unlike the French, the British are not inclined to rail at the shortage of meat and bread or to blame—however unjustly—the government and the selfish Americans who live amid luxury and abundance. Certainly most Europeans feel Americans have not yet realized that unless they help Europe they will wake up one day to find a group of nations which are incapable of buying American products in sufficient quantity to prevent an economic crisis in the United States. But Britons have learned to accept hunger in their stride.

Unfortunately, this very stoicism, however much a part of their character, imposes a kind of strain on the British and makes them unable to understand the nature

of other Europeans. With a little more political imagination the Labor government might have surmounted the present critical situation to make Blum's visit to London more fruitful. With England paralyzed by the worst winter in many years, I realize how difficult it would have been for Prime Minister Attlee to announce that he had accorded France a larger share of Ruhr coal. But in the last analysis the greatest problem, it seems to me, is the inability of the average Englishman to appreciate any mode of life other than his own. He is outraged in a polite sort of way by the elegance of the Parisians, by the restaurants off the Champs-Élysées where one can eat magnificently well at prohibitive prices, by the advertisements for expensive new perfumes and the opulent displays in the windows of the shops along the Rue de la Paix. What he does not realize is that the bulk of these luxury items are shipped abroad to provide France with foreign currency.

Despite these obstacles, Blum's visit has produced some results. The discussions of Anglo-French trade and economic collaboration, initiated when he was here, are going ahead. Their aim is something more than an ordinary commercial agreement. Since France and England face similar problems, there is talk of combining the Monnet and Morrison plans for reconstruction and of setting up complementary industries that would link the economies of the two countries. Obviously an important phase of such a plan would be to divert to the non-dollar nations part of the orders which are now going to the United States. For the specter of the coming American crisis is very present in the minds of the men who are rebuilding out of the ruins of Europe; they fear too close a tie with America's economy, today so powerful, yet liable at any moment to crack under the chaotic and arbitrary rule of monopoly capital.

Labor's achievements at home explain its successive victories in the by-elections that have taken place since 1945. The Attlee government has lived up to its domestic program as outlined in the campaign manifesto "Let Us Face the Future." The domestic platform on which Labor went to the polls had three parts: to meet the immediate post-war problems; to pursue a program of social redress; to effect the transfer of Britain's economic machinery from private to national ownership. The nationalization program has been pushed vigorously, to the dismay of those who confidently assumed that point three was mere rhetoric: the Bank of England, the coal mines, overseas communications, and civil aviation are already under state control; bills to nationalize the railways and electric utilities are now before Parliament; and the government has under consideration similar measures covering the oil, gas, and iron and steel industries. Such a daring handling of the question of nationalization makes the first Ramsay MacDonald experiment look like a harmless excursion into academic Fabianism. On

the trade front the last eighteen months have seen a spectacular rise in exports, accomplished partly by depriving the population of the simplest comforts; but Britain is still a long way from its goal of a 75 per cent increase over the pre-war volume, and the people face several more years of austere existence.

The most crucial issue confronting the Cabinet is to provide homes for a large part of the British population who are still without a place to live. This problem is being tackled by Aneurin Bevan, one of the ablest and most refreshing personalities in the government. A few days ago he promised that by the end of this year there would be 300,000 new homes. Labor's future may depend in great measure on its ability to fulfil this ambitious program; I am sure Bevan would not risk his party's reputation and his own by making predictions that cannot possibly be realized.

But the bravest of human efforts have their limitations, and in this moment Britain's prospects are not bright. The recent White Paper soberly assessed the situation and concluded that "the position of Great Britain is extremely serious." Fourteen industries surveyed in the White Paper require 657,000 workers if they are to return to pre-war levels of production. No one can figure out where they are to be had. Proposals for utilizing foreign workers have met with strong objections from the trade unions. The Communist-led unions are hostile to the idea because they fear it would give the government a chance to bring in Poles from the Anders army, White Russians, and other suspect Eastern Europeans who have chosen to become political exiles from their respective countries. More serious is the objection by union leaders that employers would be tempted to use this cheap imported labor to cut union wage scales.

The only large source of additional man-power is the British army, with its million and a half men still in active service. If the government demobilized these soldiers and sent them into the factories, it would not only solve the man-power shortage but eliminate a budget expense which the country can ill afford. But this supposes a foreign policy which rules out the idea of a showdown between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon world. That is why Stalin's telegram to Bevin was received here with a deep sense of relief, and the Churchill proposal for a European Union, which might be interpreted as another step toward an anti-Russian coalition, was rejected by the majority of the Labor rank and file.

In the continuing controversy between the British Socialists and Communists the latter may try to minimize what Labor has done. Apparently Stalin does not share their view, for when a delegation headed by Harold Laski visited Russia last summer, he told them that the accomplishments of the Labor government confirmed his opinion that there are other paths than the Russian to socialism.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Colonial Socialism

OUT in the East African bush country bulldozers and tractors, demobilized from British army service, have started to clear land for the biggest socialized farming development to be found outside Russia. Plans for the current year call for planting 150,000 acres to groundnuts—peanuts to you—but this is merely a beginning. Next year a much larger acreage will be put into production, and by the time the project is completed five or six years hence, almost 3,250,000 acres, divided into 107 fully mechanized farms of 30,000 acres, will be devoted to the humble but invaluable goober.

This scheme, conceived less than a year ago, has been rushed through by the British government because of the urgent necessity of enlarging world supplies of animal and vegetable oils and fats. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1946 world production of these dietetic essentials was 16,000,000 tons compared to about 20,000,000 pre-war—a deficiency which is one of the biggest causes of the malnutrition afflicting so many nations. Britain itself, much better off than many countries, needs another million tons a year, and it hopes to obtain upwards of 600,000 tons in the form of peanut oil when the new East African venture is in full production.

From the world's necessities springs Africa's opportunity. In the British mandate of Tanganyika and the adjacent colonies of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia a growing population is pressing heavily on a limited food supply. The productivity of the native peasants, who till the soil with hoes and use no fertilizer, is extremely low, and it is now seldom possible for them to shift to a new patch of land when the soil becomes exhausted. Yet in this area there are vast stretches that are practically uninhabited either because they lack surface water or because they are infested by the tsetse fly, deadly to man and beast alike. Most of the land scheduled for the peanut project is of this type. Clearing the bush where the tsetse flies breed will make it habitable, and the construction of catchment basins and the drilling of wells will look after the water supply. Normal rainfall in the selected districts will in any case be sufficient for peanut-growing provided that moisture-conserving methods of cultivation are followed.

Since the farms are to be fully mechanized, labor requirements will not be large, and this is important, for man-power in the colonies involved is by no means abundant. Each farm, it is estimated, will provide permanent employment for some three hundred Africans. Seventy of these will be skilled men—tractor drivers, mechanics, dispensers, clerks, and so forth—and many of them, it is hoped, can be recruited from among those who fought in the East African regiments during the war. It is not easy for such men, who acquired a considerable degree of education in the service, to readjust to ordinary tribal life.

Three hundred workers and their families will form a village community large enough to be properly provided with amenities. It will have its store, school, clinic, and other welfare institutions. In areas where water supplies permit, ancillary farming operations are likely to be developed, making possible a growth in population. Peanut vines are a good fodder, and the crop-rotation system which will be followed will leave the land under grass half the time. Thus there should be opportunities for dairying and cattle breeding.

The report of the technical mission sent by the Colonial Office to East Africa last summer very strongly emphasizes the importance of research in connection with the project. Continuous investigations of soil fertility, plant breeding, insect pests, crop diseases, nutritional problems, and other related matters are an integral part of the scheme. Such studies, together with the demonstrations of scientific farming which the peanut tracts will afford, will gradually influence agricultural practice over a wide area.

The additional wealth created in the three territories will be of very considerable significance in raising standards of living. For instance, when the project is fully developed, the exports of Tanganyika, where about half the farms will be located, will be doubled, making possible increased imports of consumer goods. The expansion of local-government revenues will make greater sums available for welfare developments. Communication improvements, including new railroad, highway, and port facilities, which are an intrinsic part of the scheme, will open up large areas to trade.

These groundnut estates are to be owned and managed by a public corporation financed by the British Treasury, which will advance in instalments something over \$100,000,000. Later, when this investment has been amortized, the plan contemplates transfer of control to the colonial governments. Eventually, it is hoped, native cooperatives will take over the whole project. However, this final stage is admittedly a long way off, and I would like more definite information about what happens to profits from the scheme meanwhile. Assuming the accuracy of the financial estimates on which the British government is proceeding, the margin between cost, including interest and amortization, and sales price will be very substantial as long as the world shortage of fats continues. The technical mission's report, in fact, speaks of a "saving" on the British food bill of some \$40,000,000 a year. Does this mean that the whole crop will be sold to the British Ministry of Food at cost, so that the whole "profit" accrues to Britain?

I hope that when the project is discussed in Parliament this important point will be elucidated. To me it seems essential that in colonial-development schemes of this kind all or most of the profits be retained in the colonies and used to build up their productive capacity and raise living standards. If this is not done, colonial peoples are likely to think that socialist exploitation is painfully similar to capitalist exploitation. Subject to this qualification, we can agree with the London *Times* that the plan is "the boldest and most comprehensive ever launched for developing backward territories." Let us hope it will serve as an inspiration for other efforts to spread the benefits of Western technique, efforts which the industrially advanced peoples must make if their own productivity is not to prove a curse.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Life with Franco

COMPLACENT DICTATOR. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare (Viscount Templewood). Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

A YEAR ago, when I was back in Spain for a brief visit, the fascist newspapers were having great sport with Hoare's reminiscences, which had already been published in London. His statement that he took a Scotland Yard escort to Madrid in 1940 and himself carried a revolver as protection against kidnapping amused them no end. But it is to the credit of the British Foreign Service that at least the Franco regime did not hasten to publish these memoirs in Spain, as it did those of Carlton J. H. Hayes, who was American ambassador during the later stages of Hoare's mission to Madrid.

This is the first volume of a series of memoirs by Hoare, and his American publisher would have been well advised to retain the non-committal English title, "Ambassador on Special Mission." Franco is, to be sure, an extremely puffed-up little man. But his complacency hardly surpasses that of Hoare himself, and it is not to be spoken of in the same breath with that of Hayes.

As the Hoare-Laval deal had demonstrated years before, such considerations as democracy, collective security, and so on were all chimeras to Hoare's "realistic" mind—it was the same realism that led his friend and colleague, Neville Chamberlain, up the Munich path. His appointment as ambassador to Madrid was therefore interpreted by the Spanish fascists as a sign that the British wanted to make a deal; he arrived in Madrid just as France was collapsing and Mussolini was nerving himself to attack a beaten foe. So there were numerous Anglo-Falangista deals. But it must be said to Hoare's credit that he drove as hard bargains as he could, and that the refusal of Franco to declare war in June, 1940, or in January, 1941, was due as much to him as to any one man.

Hayes did not arrive in Madrid until 1943, and by that time the danger that

Franco would openly join Hitler had disappeared. Hoare's informing book, filled with its scorn of Franco and most of the gang he had around him, is a welcome contrast to the special pleading of Hayes, for whom Hoare had a contempt that is poorly masked here. Their great quarrel came in 1944, when the State Department, smarting under Franco's cable of congratulations to the puppet whom the Japanese had installed as head of the Philippine "republic," ordered Hayes to demand a complete embargo on the export of Spanish wolfram to Hitler. Hoare was against this long-over-due requirement, which the democracies could easily have enforced by continuing their embargo on Franco's supplies of gasoline. His alibi, given here, is very unconvincing, and it is clear that by then his years of appeasement had become a habit. It was constitutionally impossible for him to compel even the "complacent dictator" to come across. Despite Hayes's delight at rubbing shoulders with Spanish grandes and his general approval of the Franco regime, it was the American ambassador who was in the right on the wolfram question.

But Hoare rendered an undeniable service to the Allied cause by his inimitable sangfroid, even though his boast now about having kept on playing tennis in the bad June days of 1940 rather takes the edge off what was a very good performance. Equally important, today, is his authoritative disclosure of the hostile acts committed by Franco throughout the war. His book should be required reading for all the present-day "realists" who argue that, after all, Franco didn't actually declare war on the Allies. In a memorandum to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July, 1943, Hoare detailed, in what he calls a "grand remonstrance," occupying seven pages in his book, the "instances of unequal facilities granted or not denied to the Axis, and of discrimination against British subjects and British interests."

These included facilities given five Italian and German submarines to leave Spanish ports instead of being interned,

refueling of U-boats in the harbor of Vigo itself, crews of Axis military planes repatriated and British crews detained, facilities given Axis espionage and sabotage groups in the neighborhood of Gibraltar and elsewhere, constant attacks on Britain and its Allies in the Spanish press. The memorandum concluded: "Meanwhile the Blue Division remains in Russia, and looks, unless quick action is taken, like being the last non-German force left fighting for the Germans. Events, in fact, are developing very fast, and Spain is in serious danger of being overtaken by them."

Unfortunately, no such events have overtaken Franco Spain, and this is to be attributed mainly to the fact that Hoare, and the men like him still in the Foreign Office, are concerned with the short-term interests of Britain.

It has been British policy for a century and more to support a weak regime in Spain, and Franco is as weak a ruler as the Foreign Office could want. In good Churchillian style Hoare would like to see him replaced by "a constitutional monarchy, untainted by Falange poison and based on political amnesty, free discussion, and vigorous social reform." Meanwhile, however, Franco rules in accord with the interests of Britain, whatever may happen to the Spanish people. But it is to Hoare's credit that he has a lively contempt for him. He publishes with relish Franco's letter to Churchill of October, 1944, proposing that Britain join Spain in an alliance against Russia, and Churchill's acid rejection. The book contains, also the State Department documents proving Franco's close working arrangements with Hitler and Mussolini.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Fragments of Fragments

A KIERKEGAARD ANTHOLOGY.
Edited by Robert Bretall. Princeton University Press. \$5.

SHALL we say that Kierkegaard has at last arrived in America: he has his anthology? (Ours is the Reprint Era, but let us comfort ourselves, re-

A sincere and substantial new novel
by the author of WINTER WHEAT
THE Quarry
by Mildred Walker



THE QUARRY is a tale of granite and soapstone, a story of the yeast of democracy working in a small Vermont village during the Civil War and in the years that followed. It is a novel of family life, of a harsh but righteous father and a gentle son, of a Southern belle who played *Dixie* on a piano in a Vermont parlor, of a runaway slave who found a life of dignity, of a love that was thwarted, yet endured for a lifetime. \$3.00

ALL THE KING'S MEN
by Robert Penn Warren

"A brilliant, merciless study of the life and times of a Southern demagogue, his morals and manners, women and satellites."

—Paul Engle, *Chicago Tribune* \$3.00

by Ann Abelson

Angels' Metal

A frank and frequently satirical tale of life in a Catholic college for women and of Helen Bianchi, one of the college's humbler graduates. The story of Helen's career and marriage brings to a climax a novel of extraordinary moral and psychological insight.

\$2.50



LOOK SOUTH to the POLAR STAR
by HOLGER CAHILL

A novel of Americans bobbing like chips amid the ebb and flow of China's polyglot humanity. "Rarely has such a welter of sound and fascinating material about a country been crowded between covers of a single book . . . a thousand things have seldom been recaptured more vividly; the people and the politics are just as he describes them."—Annalee Jacoby, co-author of *THUNDER OUT OF CHINA*, in the *N. Y. Times Book Review*.

At your Bookseller's \$3.00

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY

membering that the Italian Renaissance was also a period of the reprint.)

Sooner or later the anthologist was bound to catch up with Kierkegaard: the quality of nearly all his writing—abounding in purple patches, repetitions, and verbosity—seems to promise that nothing, or not very much, will be lost by selection. But if Kierkegaard's strength does not lie in the order, economy, or logical development of his ideas, it does on the other hand lie in the intensity of experience and irony he is able

to concentrate on isolated particular points. And when we do not allow him his density, we are apt to remain unsatisfied with the dilution. His books suggest natural gardens, wild and irregular, where cutting and clipping may mark out paths easier to follow, but will inevitably diminish the powerful impression communicated by the whole wild tangle. To cite one example: the passages from "Either/Or" in this volume are chosen in order to give us the gist of Kierkegaard's distinction of the levels of human existence—aesthetic, ethical, religious—but I doubt whether enough is given to enable a person who has not read through the whole book to grasp these levels in their full concreteness; and with Kierkegaard concreteness is of the essence.

I do not mean to insinuate any doubts as to the excellent job Mr. Bretall has done in editing these selections; only to call attention to the attendant danger that the reader who has not previously touched Kierkegaard or has been repelled by the difficulties may be tempted to make this volume a substitute for reading any single work from cover to cover. Kierkegaard's own ironical title, "Philosophical Fragments," may truly describe his whole philosophic contribution, but ought we to compound his quality by taking fragments of fragments? The real and serious usefulness of this anthology will be as a companion and introduction to the study of Kierkegaard's works themselves: Mr. Bretall has arranged his selection in chronological sequence so that the reader obtains a kind of panoramic view of the entire gamut of Kierkegaard's writings.

Another scheme might have been followed in this anthology. Though Kierkegaard's thought deliberately baffles systematization, it does center in a certain number of major issues, like (1) the three stages, aforementioned, of human existence, (2) existential dialectics, (3) the concept of dread, or anxiety, the "sickness unto death." An anthology along these lines might omit a good deal of the specifically Christian material that Mr. Bretall includes, but it would have other compensations. Mr. Bretall remarks that "The Sickness unto Death" is his favorite among Kierkegaard's works and that he is printing more of it proportionately

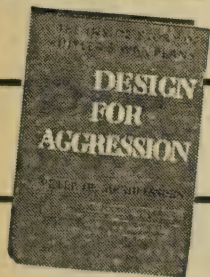
than of any other; but I do not think what he prints, or even the work itself, is fully intelligible apart from the correlated "Concept of Dread." In the anthology I am suggesting there might have been room for both works. Such an anthology might tend, of course, to separate the philosopher from the Christian in Kierkegaard, and in any final sense such a separation appears impossible. But we should remember that Kierkegaard's influence has fructified also in men without any religious persuasion—Jaspers (until his recent conversion), Heidegger, and the French existentialists—and his ultimate stature has to be measured in the light of this influence.

The degree of this influence will hardly permit us to relegate Kierkegaard to a minor rank. Is this a rather crude and "pragmatic" test? I think you will find it works pretty well for the history of ideas, where, so far as I know, no influence—whether for good or ill—has ever spread wide or deep without having laid hold of some intuition that really marks a new turning point in thought. And if you want a more internal clue to Kierkegaard's importance, you can find it in the fact that some of the main categories of his thought—anxiety, dread of freedom, death—are on their way to becoming the key terms, the verbal stigmata, of our present civilization. Take the example of the "sickness unto death," which looks like mere religious psalmody until we hear Freud telling us that we are eventually killed by our inner conflicts. Doctors have lately been performing lobotomies with considerable success, and we can imagine some future stage of science where the operation has been so perfected that it will relieve us of most of our conflicts—at the price of relieving us of most of our personality. Under such circumstances human beings would be faced with a very plain choice: to consent to be a person is to consent to the burdens and tensions that eventually kill us; or, as Kierkegaard would put it, the will to be a self is also the will to "the sickness unto death." It is evidence of Kierkegaard's genius that he could grasp through the introspective imagination a profound character of the human condition that we had to wait for psychoanalysis to validate empirically.

**The INSIDE STORY of
HITLER'S WAR PLANS**
BASED ON SECRET
GERMAN DOCUMENTS

**DESIGN
FOR
AGGRESSION**

By
PETER de MENDELSSOHN



"Deserves wide distribution... a grim revelation, from primary sources, of the actual nature and inner dynamics of Fascism."

—Professor FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, *Williams College*

"Richly documented and compelling... especially for a people that seems to have forgotten to remember."

—MAX LERNER

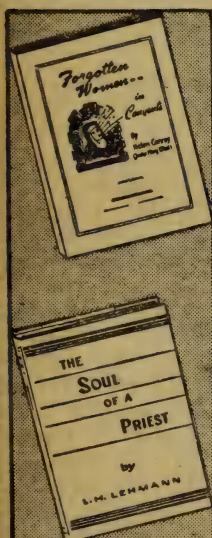
At all bookstores • \$3.50

HARPER & BROTHERS • NEW YORK 16

HERE IS TRUTH— That Every INTELLIGENT AMERICAN Should Know!

Timely books . . . VITAL books—so important that they *MUST* be read by every *thinking* individual! Here are **FACTS!** Authoritative, *proven* facts which break down the walls of silence and shine the light of **TRUTH** on a subject which has long been considered “hush”!

- on a subject that has too long been **TABOO** in America . . .
- on a subject which newspapers and magazines **USUALLY AVOID** . . .
- that **YOU MUST KNOW** if you are to stay free in a free land!



FORGOTTEN WOMEN— by Helen Conroy

“Her appeal is to the American people for a New Deal for the Forgotten Women in Convents.”

LOS ANGELES
TIMES

\$1.25

THE SOUL of a PRIEST by L. H. Lehmann

The life story of the widely known authority on Roman Catholicism, who describes his experiences as a Roman Catholic priest on the three Continents of Europe, Africa and America.

\$1.50



CRUX ANSATA— by H. G. Wells

An indictment of the Roman Catholic Church. An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi, Fascist, Shinto Axis.

\$1.75

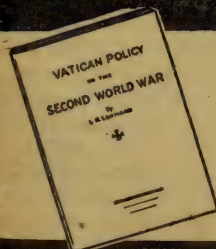
BEHIND THE DICTATORS by L. H. Lehmann

“Dr. Lehmann presents **FACTS** to show the reactionary, fascist elements of the Catholic Church for what they are, and to encourage those within the Church who are progressive.”

\$1.75

THE WITNESS

FREE!



**TO THOSE WHO SEND
IN THEIR ORDER
FOR ANY OF THE
FOUR BOOKS
WITHIN 10 DAYS!**

VATICAN POLICY in the SECOND WORLD WAR— by L. H. Lehmann

This famous booklet has quickly sold 50,000 copies at 25¢ and is still selling like wild-fire! It is yours **FREE** if we receive your order within the next 10 days!

Special Offer!

**4 GREAT BOOKS
FOR THE PRICE
OF THREE!**

\$5.00

Remember: quantities are limited
because of paper shortages—
Send your order in **TODAY!**

USE THIS COUPON

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 351NM
120 Liberty Street, New York 6, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$..... for which please send me

..... Special Combinations at \$5.00

..... Copies CRUX ANSATA at \$1.75

..... Copies BEHIND THE DICTATORS at \$1.75

..... Copies FORGOTTEN WOMEN at \$1.25

..... Copies THE SOUL OF A PRIEST at \$1.50

And include my **FREE** copy of VATICAN POLICY

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

And within philosophy itself we have the analogous evidence that Kierkegaard, existing in parochial Copenhagen, nevertheless participates in a very broad movement that sweeps through a much wider part of modern philosophy than contemporary existentialism. This movement, including Nietzsche, Bergson, the German *Lebensphilosophen*, also touches William James, Bradley, and Whitehead in part, and a good many other figures too. It is not always easy to define what is at issue in this modern tendency, but at least it is united in its revolt against the classical and eighteenth-century confidence in human reason. And Kierkegaard, had he really grasped his historical position, would have directed his great polemic against Leibnitz—as the last complete rationalist, in the older sense—rather than Hegel, who is already infected with the newer content. Kierkegaard owes more to Hegel—and in a positive, not merely negative sense—than is commonly recognized: Hegel had already composed his own "dialectical lyrics," and Kierkegaard could not have written "The Sickness unto Death" if Hegel's "Phenomenology" had not already analyzed "the unhappy consciousness." And in his earlier work Hegel had already elaborated, in practice, a kind of "existential dialectic"—which ceased to be existential because he let it be directed too easily into the system. Now, though this tendency in modern thought has often been rightly criticized as anti-rational, we should be mistaken not to see beneath its disturbed and disturbing surface the ferment of a new orientation for human reason. And it is rather odd, though perhaps significant, that Husserl, who has usually been criticized for lacking the historical sense and who on the whole stands apart from this tendency, should nevertheless have been the one to formulate most clearly the historical task that agitates its depths: the necessity that human reason grasp and reconstitute itself anew.

Put in this broad historical frame, Kierkegaard becomes a figure inviting very careful scrutiny. We are currently running the danger of having his readers divide into two rigid groups: those who never read any philosophy before they heard of French existentialism, and for whom Kierkegaard is something of a literary fad—the newest old hat from Paris, if I may slightly paraphrase Sidney Hook; and, on the other hand, the various petty tyrants of Philosophy I throughout the land who are ready to read him out of their classroom for inconsistencies, obscurity, or what not. Kierkegaard deserves better readers. So long as we still exist in the modern problem of the "reconstitution of human reason," we are not finished with him.

WILLIAM BARRETT

Beyond this, the opinions diverge widely. A number of the authors have favorite schemes of their own. Some lay greater stress on the difficulties than do others.

Frank D. Graham, for instance, thinks that the job can and should be done without deficit financing, without additional taxation, and without a variable program of public works. He advocates the issue of money by extension of credit against unsold goods whenever it is desirable to clear the markets of excess inventories and so keep production steady at a full-employment level. Henry Simons also is dubious about the commonly recommended remedies, but believes that the key lies in a perfected system of taxation depending mainly on the personal income tax, with variation of the exemption from time to time so that the burden on consumers will be less when production lags. Abba P. Lerner recommends increase of the public debt when necessary to maintain employment, and ridicules the contention that there is any danger in this course. Hans Neisser lays stress on encouragement of private investment to maintain a steady growth in the national income. Carl Landauer presents a variation of the old plan suggested by Mordecai Ezekiel—to compensate business firms for the goods which, according to a national production plan, they contract to produce but find that they cannot sell.

Other contributors discuss special aspects of the problem—Alfred Braunschweig writing on wage policy, Broadus Mitchell on foreign trade, and Norman S. Buchanan on foreign investment.

Such a description of the book may lead one to believe that it is a sort of intellectual smörgåsbord. You might sample its varied dishes, take most of what you like best, and finish without having had a well-balanced or digestible meal. Albert Halasi in his introductory chapter labors heroically and on the whole successfully to prevent such an outcome. He points out the agreements among the authors, skilfully reviews their differences, and aids the reader to make a reasonably intelligent choice. Perhaps his most important contribution is the demonstration that a good full-employment policy cannot rely on one device alone but must be many-sided.

GEORGE SOULE

MODERN REVIEW

A monthly on International Affairs edited from a new world point of view

OUT MARCH FIRST

with articles by

LOUIS FISCHER:

Mahatma Gandhi and Generalissimo Stalin

GIUSEPPE FARAVELLI:

The Crisis in Italian Socialism

JOHN L. CHILDS

American Liberalism Today

PAUL KECSKEMETI:

Existentialism: New Trend in Philosophy

and others

Special Introductory Offer

\$1 for first two issues

Regular Subscription: \$5 a year

MODERN REVIEW

7 East 15th St., New York 3, N. Y.

Employment

PLANNING AND PAYING FOR

FULL EMPLOYMENT. Edited by Abba P. Lerner and Frank D. Graham. Princeton University Press. \$3.

THIS symposium by eleven economists brought together by the American Labor Conference on International Affairs is unified mainly by the aim of all of them—to maintain full employment without abandoning private enterprise. The majority believes that the chief means of doing so is to assure ample purchasing power in the market.

In Grayest Moscow

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN. By George Moorad. Fireside Press. \$3.

UNFORTUNATELY it is not saying much to say that George Moorad, formerly of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has written the best book about the Soviet Union to be published by any Moscow correspondent since the beginning of the Second World War. Censorship at the source has made it impossible for him to record his impressions of more than a very few aspects of the Soviet reality, but happily it is the reality which interests him. He has thus come a good deal closer to the core of what little he was able to see and learn than Richard Lauterbach, Harrison Salisbury, Ella Winter, and others who have published rosier memories of the meager experiences we shared in that 'correspondents' ghetto called the Hotel Metropol.

Lovers of the Soviets and admirers of Wallace in his present mood will not like what Moorad has to tell them, and there is probably nothing this reviewer can say that will change their minds. For the record, however, I can assure them that what he writes is the undoc-tored truth, presented with admirable self-restraint in a journalistic style that is remarkable for its lack of padding.

There is little food for optimism in Moorad's book, but there is almost no misinformation in it, either. His analysis of the expansionist aims of Soviet foreign policy is even more obviously correct today than when he wrote it. People who still wonder why the Yalta pact has gone so sour may learn something about it, if they desire, by reading his sketchy but accurate account of its diplomatic genesis in Moscow. Those who still doubt that American relief has been systematically misappropriated for political purposes by the Soviet Union and its satellites may be less skeptical if they read Moorad's report of what happened to the Red Cross supplies we shipped to Poland during the war. And innocents who still believe that the Chinese Communists are only democrats in disguise may be somewhat disabused of that quaint notion after reading about his experiences in Soviet-occupied Manchuria.

Moorad contributes little new information about life in the Soviet Union

NO WONDER copies are moving so quickly —get yours AT ONCE!

Readers tell us we hit
the bull's eye in the
special *Survey Graphic*—

SEGREGATION:

*Color Pattern from the Past—
Our Struggle to Wipe It Out*

THIS twelfth Calling America number examines racial segregation the country over in schools, employment, churches, the armed forces, residence, recreation, and travel, appraising the cost to us in money, and in morals and psychological conflict. Outstanding authorities—white and Negro—assess recent changes, and show how each of us can help bring about a democratic solution of the problem.

Among the gifted writers: Charles G. Bolte, Joseph Curran, Edwin R. Embree, Liston Pope, the Rev. John LaFarge, Alain Locke, Louis Wirth, Robert C. Weaver, Robert E. Cushman. Missouri-born Dr. Will W. Alexander acted as chief consultant and Thomas Sancton of Mississippi was special editor.

Eleanor Roosevelt calls it "a fine job." Mary McLeod Bethune finds it a "marvelous edition." Channing H. Tobias praises it as "a source book." Harold L. Lundquist, associate editor of *Moody Monthly*, thinks it is "unusually fine." H. Vail Deale, Iowa librarian, spots it as an "excellent summary." F. E. De Frantz, Indiana YMCA secretary, hails it as a "magnificent issue." Desmond W. Bittinger, editor of *The Gospel Messenger*, considers it "among the best I have ever seen." *The Woman's Press* writes, "It provides information and directive for the future," and *America* describes it as "a noteworthy contribution."

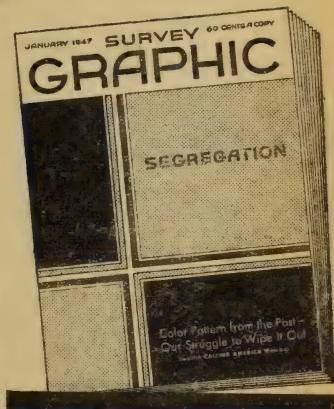
Clippings have already reached us, too, from the *N. Y. Times*, *Post*, *Sun*; from the *Christian Science Monitor* and *Christian Century*; *N. J. Herald News*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Amsterdam Star News*, *The Afro-American*, *Raleigh Carolinian*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Sunday Chicago Bee*, *Memphis World*, *School and Society* and many other publications. NBC carried it across the nation.

Altogether these 132 pages, fully illustrated, offer a frank, timely discussion which vitally concerns every American.

* * * * *

Its companion special number in the field of civil liberties—the previous month's *The Right of All People to Know*—focuses on magazines, newspapers, books, radio and films making a plea for the breaking down of all barriers which prevent the free flow of news everywhere.

Published in conjunction with our third-of-a-century anniversary celebration, early rec-



ognition followed in newspapers ranging from the *Minnetonka Record* to the *New York Times*. CBS spread its message across the land, UP flashed it around the world.

* * * * *

Since its inception *Survey Graphic* has held that peace and the common welfare rest most securely on understanding. This non-partisan approach to basic social and economic issues, according to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "has helped shape the course of American life."

Published monthly, the facts, analyses and forecasts you find in both regular and special editions, assure you of an exceptional source of information and insight.

The subscription price is \$4 a year, but for a limited period you may take advantage of our—

Special trial offer—

10 MONTHS FOR ONLY \$2

including these numbers which sell for \$1.10 alone.

Paper is scarce. Despite a record breaking initial print order, we guarantee delivery of these numbers only if you send your order at once—on the form below.

ORDER FORM

SURVEY GRAPHIC,
112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Send me 10 months of *Survey Graphic*, including your two latest special numbers, for the \$2 enclosed. N

NAME

ADDRESS

itself. If anything, he bends too far backward in his effort to be objective about the Soviet housing program, which I think is even feeble than he suspects. He goes to some pains, however, to give a detailed picture of what the Soviet citizen these days is permitted to earn, eat, and wear—a humdrum subject, indeed, if it were not in the nature of a military secret. Throughout, he applies the same standard of criticism to the Soviet Union that is customarily applied to other countries, and because he does—and perhaps also because W. L. White has written the introduction to "Behind the Iron Curtain"—fellow-travelers in the retail book trade have been doing their best to keep it hidden under the counter. LEIGH WHITE

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

GEORGE KELLY'S "Craig's Wife" I reviewed for *The Nation* in 1925. Seeing it again in the new production current at the Playhouse reminds me that the play and I are now in the relation of a *re-* to a *sur-vival*, and I can only hope that time has been no less kind to me than to it. There is, as a matter of fact, nothing to indicate that Mr. Kelly's crisp little drama was written more than two decades ago, and I doubt that an innocent spectator who wandered into the theater would ever suspect that it was not now being played for the first time. The subject, a selfish

woman who makes the mistake of letting her husband see too clearly the fact that he is nothing to her except a guaranty of security, is either timeless or at least a subject toward which 1947 has no necessary intellectual or emotional attitude different from the attitudes of 1925. The dramaturgical method—"Craig's Wife" is essentially a "well-made play" whose three acts end respectively with a question mark, an exclamation point, and a period, according to the established formula—is one which has never ceased to be sound, no matter what newer fashions may from time to time arouse enthusiasm. Add the fact that the producers have cast, set, and directed the piece quite as carefully and quite as expensively as they would a new play, and there remains no mystery about the fact that "Craig's Wife" shows no signs of age.

The reviewers of the daily press were unevenly divided between those whose judgment was approximately the same as that I have just given and a smaller number who turned thumbs down. The audience at the performance I happened to see responded with marked enthusiasm, and since we so seldom have an opportunity to see revived a play from what I am inclined to regard as, relatively at least, a golden age of the American theater, I am interested to ask myself what reasons might be given by those who regard "Craig's Wife" as in no way noteworthy.

Obviously the subject is not "big." Opinions might differ concerning how common women like Mrs. Craig really are and how much they contribute to human unhappiness. But they are obviously not, like fascism, communism, race prejudice, and the atomic bomb, one of the menaces regularly paraded for our attention through the columns of most journals, and no analysis of the character of one such woman can possibly be considered "important" by those who maintain that at the present moment there is no time for anything except the consideration of the best-publicized threats. It was one of the characteristics of the twenties, when this particular play was written, that most men enjoyed a certain sense of public security which made it possible for them to consider how the good life might be led rather than merely to ponder the question whether or not they were likely to survive at all. That sense of security wilted in the chill wind which blew out of Wall Street in 1929, and I suppose that one's attitude toward a play like "Craig's Wife" depends in part

upon whether one looks back upon the men of the twenties with some feeling of envy or merely with contempt.

A similar difference of opinion might also, I suppose, exist concerning the fruitfulness of the method by which the subject is treated. Mr. Kelly carefully delimits it in such a way that his play is purely a study of temperament and personality, and he nowhere exhibits the tendency—which few "serious" playwrights of today could possibly resist to suggest that the economic system is responsible for the existence of our Mrs. Craigs. He introduces Mrs. Craig to the audience, turns her before their eyes until they have seen her clearly from the front, the back, and in profile, and he then delivers her up to the fate which punishes her with neat justice by depriving her of precisely the thing which she has sacrificed all else to retain. While any proponent of economic determinism would call the "implications" of the story he leaves rigidly alone, though it does bring in her childhood experience as a psychological factor influencing her character, and he is content to see a very clear, sharp outline only the disputable facts of her personality.

The story exists chiefly as an excuse for exhibiting the character, but it is also used to satisfy the emotional desires of the audience, which is permitted to see the husband rebel at the moment when the desire to have him do so has become almost intolerable and to witness the visitation of exact poetic justice upon the wickedness it has come to hate. On the school of contemporary criticism, which seems to hold that the exasperation of a reader's or a spectator's desires is the only effect which ought to be aimed at by a writer serious enough to face the fact that only dissonance can express modernity, would no doubt maintain that the very satisfactoriness of the plot of "Craig's Wife" is a proof of its triviality. But the fact remains that even poetic justice has not always and at all times been assumed an artistic blemish, and seeing the play again does not convince me that the period during which it was written was not, in fact, as I previously suggested, a golden age of promise if not entirely of fulfillment—an age that is to say, when American playwrights were at least writing better than they had ever written before and when the end of the movement then underway was not yet in sight. Since it closed we have hardly advanced, and I doubt whether the thirties or forties did what they tried to do as successfully as the twenties the task they set themselves.

THE THEORY OF ALTOFORM

presents an original solution to the problem why some nations vanished while others have survived. It is based on an analysis of the cultures of Chaldea, Assyria, Babylonia, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, Persia, Greece, Ethiopia, India, China, the Mayas, the Aztecs, the Hebrews and of many others in the light of a new law underlying man's formal efforts. This challenging discovery backed up by searching scholarship of the cultures of the past will enable the reader to discern the chances of survival of any modern nation.

Scholars, artists, ministers and educators are profoundly impressed with this theory.

"... profound effect."

Paul F. Douglass

President, American University

"... most daring..."

Prof. A. Gordon Melvin

City College, New York

Illustrated with photographs \$1.00

Write to: **ADAM A. SANDERS**

The Society for Advanced Thought and Art
107A St. Felix St., Brooklyn 17, New York

Judith Evelyn, the new Mrs. Craig, plays the role with a cold, exasperated intensity which is very effective; Philip Ober is notably successful in preventing the husband from becoming the mere passive puppet he might easily become; and Kathleen Conneys is also excellent as Auntie Austin.

Drama Note

FIVE new plays that are not standard angel-bait are being shown this winter and spring in an Experimental Theater program, sponsored by the American National Theater and Academy, that has exciting potentialities. The first of these, John Finch's fantasy, "The Wanhope Building," had five hectic showings two weeks ago at the Princess Theater.

Limited by a \$5,000 budget and plagued by Equity intransigence, the company had the appearance, at the dress rehearsal I saw, of survivors of a desperate adventure hollowly celebrating their survival. That this may have robbed the play of much of its implicit fire, and all of its driving poetic coherence, is not simply to say the venture was mishandled by its producers. "The Wanhope Building" could only receive fair treatment at the hands of a man

who had at his call a half-dozen revolving stages and pneumatic platforms.

Whether it would justify such treatment is another question. Finch's allegory of the sailor who sets out to stop a man who will blast all people's will-power with the "W-bomb" operates on extreme levels of simplicity and complexity in symbolism. I believe it requires tempering of both levels if it is to make its symbolism communicate.

J. T.

Films

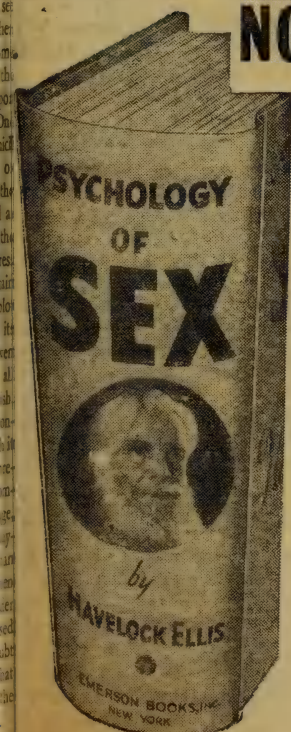
JAMES
AGEE

13 RUE MADELEINE" is doing astonishingly well at the box-office. I wish I knew how much of this, even in the semi-conscious part of the audience mind, could be credited to the use of uninvented backgrounds, in and around Quebec. These are selected and photographed with such intelligence, and give the film such vitality, that the good performances of James Cagney, Richard Conte, and Annabella and a generally smart piece of movie-making look weak by comparison. The story

tells of the training and work of a group of OSS men. At its best it is briskly informative without informing you of much. At its silliest it assigns an OSS boy with a face as transparent as a bent-glass display window to keep tabs on his best friend, who has been found out as a Nazi spy. The whole success of the Norman invasion is made to depend, for a while, on his hiding his feelings about this friend from the friend. OSS is also called O-77, for reasons of security which no patriotic American will question, though some people may never sleep well again if they once reflect that such a gnat was strained when the aforementioned brontosaurus was tossed down without even causing a hiccup. But the backgrounds more than make up for this kind of tarradiddle. Louis de Rochemont, the producer, is not the only man making movies in this country who knows the great value of getting outside the studio and shooting in highly specific places; but he is getting more of it done, more effectively, than anyone else, and if the idea spreads, and becomes a practice, I expect that most of the credit will be due to him.

The substitution of "O-77" for "OSS" as a supposed security measure is child's play compared with what has

NOW EVERY ADULT CAN STUDY this BASIC BOOK on SEX



"Best of All"

"The best of all available books on this subject."
—*Hygeia* (Published by the American Medical Association)

"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."
—*Carl Van Doren*

"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."
—*Bertrand Russell*

"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."
—*The Nation*

"Best book yet published on the subject."
—*Mail and Empire*

"The Art and Technique of Love"

"Dr. Ellis deals in detail with the technique of love and the necessity of converting it into an art if marriage is to be saved from many of its present frustrations and failures. Never sensational, but always scientific... a sex classic of our age."
—*The Observer*

"Ellis knows his husbands! He does not hesitate to ascribe to them the 'frigidity' of so many wives."
—*Alexander Goldenweiser*

"Art in love is defended and described."
—*Journal of Public Health Reviews*

"Another chapter, perhaps the best in the book, deals with marriage and with the difficulties which are so often encountered."
—*Journal of Mental Science*

"Packed with most interesting and significant facts concerning sex life."
—*Mental Hygiene*

"Sexual Difficulty"

"Should prove a certain help to any one perplexed with sexual difficulty."
—*The Churchman* (Oldest Religious Journal in the English-Speaking World)

"The best place to go to get straightened out on the sex business."
—*Cincinnati Inquirer*

"Sexual Joy"

"Sexual joy is neither immoral nor unmoral. It is a positive good... The finest art can only grow out of knowledge and understanding; hence the need for a science of sexual behavior."
—*Marriage Hygiene*

"The section on coitus is full of detail skillfully welded together, nearly every line containing information invaluable to doctors whose advice is asked by nervous young couples."
—*British Journal of Medical Psychology*

"Fearless and Direct"

"His approach is fearless and direct; yet he never gives offense."
—*The Lancet* (Leading English Medical Journal)

READ FREE —

Mail this coupon now to your bookseller or to
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 787-G,
251 West 19th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' **PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX** in plain wrapper marked "Personal." I will pay \$3.00 and few cents postage on delivery. I MUST BE SATISFIED — I will return book within 5 days and you will refund purchase price. (I am over 21 years old.)

Name.....

Address.....

☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only \$3.00 with coupon, thus saving delivery charges. (Same money-back guarantee of course.)

STAGE PLAYS

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York—NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Boston—SHUBERT Thea.—with Betty KEAN

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAYThe Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way, CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40."A smash hit of enormous proportions."
—Ward Morehouse, Sun.

MAX GORDON Presents

MARCH ELDREDGE IN YEARS AGOThe New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON
Directed by Garson KaninMANFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way, CI 9-0056
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40"Must be seen. . . Warming, charming, chuckling."
—Morehouse, Sun

"STUNNING AND ENCHANTING."—Barnes, Herald Tribune

JOSE FERRER IN CYRANO de BERGERACFRANCES REID • RALPH CLANTON • HIRAM SHERMAN
PAULA LAURENCE • FRANCES COMPTON
ERNEST GRAVES • WILLIAM WOODSONBARRYMORE THEA., 47th Street West of Broadway, CI 4-0390
Eves., incl. Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30

CONCERT

CARNEGIE HALL, SUN., MARCH 9 at 8:30

SIMON BARERE

". . . one recalls Busoni and Paderewski."

TICKETS AT BOX OFFICE

—New York Times

STAGE PLAYS

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"A WELCOME HIT."—Columbian, Mirror

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

BOOTH Theatre, 45th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"HIGH MERITMENT."—Barnes, Her. Trib.

HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"MERMAN'S A WOW."—Chapman, News

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan

IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Show. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Show

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COL SEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
59th ST.
Bt. LEX. & 3rd
HAMILTON
123rd ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
Eldre ST.

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCHE
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

QUEENS

ALDEN
Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keth's
FLUSHING
Keth's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.**RKO NOW**

"EXCITING SPY STORY."—N. Y. World-Telegram

JAMES CAGNEY**'13 Rue Madeleine'**

ANNABELLA • RICHARD CONTE

—AND—

'SWEETHEART OF SIGMA CHI'

PHIL REGAN • ELISE KNOX

"Unusually subtle and intelligent."—N.Y. Herald Tribune

BETTE DAVIS

Paul HENREID • Claude RAINS

'DECEPTION'

Based on LOUIS VERNEUIL play

—AND—

'DICK TRACY vs. CUEBALL'

MORGAN CONWAY • ANNE JEFFREYS

PAULETTE GODDARD

FRED MacMURRAY

'SUDDENLY IT'S SPRING'

A MITCHELL LEISEN PRODUCTION

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

JOHNNY LONG & HIS ORCHESTRA

JOAN EDWARDS

PLUS

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LEWIS & VAN

BUDDY LESTER

NOW

TIMES

SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight

First

Nightly

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESSEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

been done to make "The Beginning or the End," which is the story of the atomic bomb, safe for democracy and points right and left. You learn less about atomic fission from this film than I would assume is taught by now in the more progressive nursery schools; you learn even less than that about the problems of atomic control; and you learn least of all about morals. There is to be sure a young scientist, played with sincerity by Tom Drake, who suffers from scruples; but his conscience is neatly canceled by the posthumous letter in which it is he and he alone who realizes, discarding his worries like last summer's sand fleas, that in God's own time transcontinental commuting, better complexions, and the millennium itself will be achieved on the power generated from an old hat check.

Oh, yes, the movie. Well, there is very little to say. The bombing and the Alamogordo test are effectively staged, though hardly adequate to one's information, let alone one's imagination of how to handle that information creatively. For the rest it seemed to me surprisingly bad even though I rather expected it to be bad, for a good reason: only people of first-rate talent stand even a chance of not being paralyzed, for a long time, by a new subject; "Wake Island," the first American movie about the last war, was hardly better than this. The film is also a horrifying sample of what American movies will be like if the state interferes with them much; it gives me unexpected respect for those who, under such circumstances, do so much better even with the worst of the Russian movies which get over here. Barring the two bits of staging I mentioned, which are to the credit of light-technicians, the whole show could as well be called "Tom Swift and His Giant Ego"—which, for that matter, could go for practically everything to do with the development of the bomb in fact.

Postscript: One seldom has the pleasure of expressing a hope and being thankful for its fulfilment in virtually the same breath. In reviewing "13 Rue Madeleine," above, I spoke respectfully and hopefully of its producer, Louis de Rochemont. I have just seen Mr. de Rochemont's "Boomerang!" It is too late to say more about it in this issue than that it enlarges my respect for him and exceeds my hopes.

Correction: I recently referred, in this column to Archbishop Spellman. Is his hat red!

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

STARK YOUNG, in his brief contribution to "Nijinsky" (Holt; \$3), says: "I have in my time seen a few, a very few, artists of the theater who were more profound, more infinitely human, and more tragic to the heart and mind, but I have never seen any other artist so varied in his compulsion, so absorbing in his variety, so glamorous in his stage presence as was Nijinsky." And the book demonstrates the meaning and the truth of his statement with the photographs of Nijinsky that were published in *Dance Index* a few years ago and with a few additional ones. The compulsion, the variety, the glamour are all there, exercising their power in a way that makes these the most amazing and exciting photographs of their kind I have ever seen. One's pleasure from them is increased by the illuminating notes of Edwin Denby that accompanied them in *Dance Index*; and the volume (edited by Paul Magriel) offers two other interesting essays from that magazine: Carl Van Vechten's report, written at the time, on the Diaghilev company and Nijinsky in New York in 1916, and Robert Edmond Jones's account of his collaboration with Nijinsky in the production of "Til Eulenspiegel" in the fall of that year. Mr. Young's note on Mr. Jones's essay is one of several appendices; another is a previously unpublished discussion of Nijinsky's drawings—two of which are reproduced—by Marsden Hartley; and there is also a Nijinsky bibliography.

Incidentally, the November-December 1946 issue of *Dance Index* is devoted to a discussion of Picasso's work in ballet by William S. Lieberman.

One could understand Ballet Society's presenting Ratna Mohini, Pamoedjo, and Soekaro in a group of Javanese court and popular dances: they gave

exquisite performances in a highly developed formal style with which very few in the audience were acquainted. But it was impossible to figure out what had persuaded an organization with the name and purposes of Ballet Society that it ought to present Iris Mabry in "Witch" and "Litany," two characteristically limited and monotonous examples of the so-called modern dance that has been on view in great profusion for years. Coming late on the program and lasting long they left one's faculties dulled for the work that came last—Balanchine's "Divertimento," a new and lovely little classic ballet superbly danced by Mary Ellen Moylan and the others in the group with which Balanchine has been working this season: Elise Reiman, Gisella Caccialanza, Beatrice Tompkins, Tanaquil Le Clercq, Francisco Moncion, Lew Christensen, Todd Bolender, Fred Danieli, and John Taras.

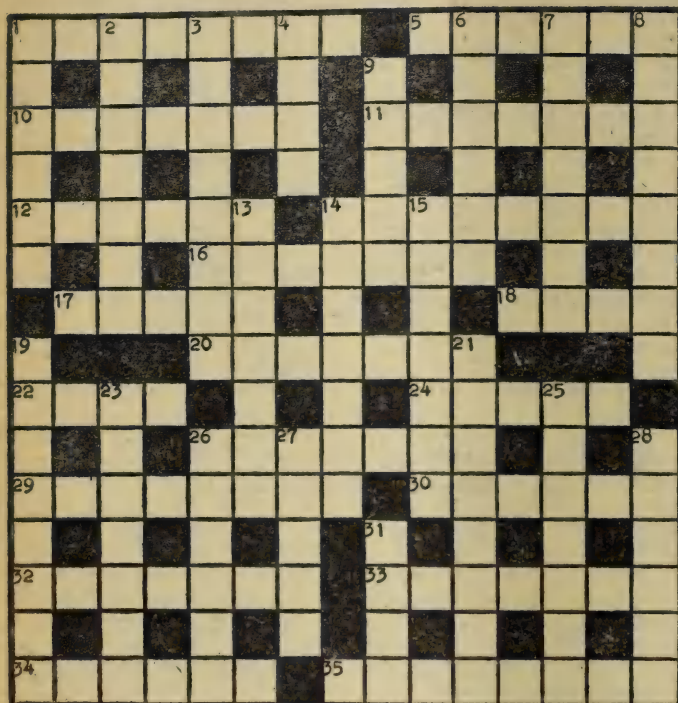
Balanchine also devised an amusing production of "Renard" with little help from Stravinsky's music but a great deal from Esteban Frances's costumes and the dancing of Bolender, Christensen, Danieli, and Taras. And the program began with Christensen's charming "Pastorella," which had occasionally effective music by Paul Bowles and good costumes and scenery by Alvin Colt, and was excellently performed by Beatrice Tompkins, Christensen, Danieli, and younger dancers from the School of American Ballet. Again the performances benefited by the fine playing of the music under the direction of Leon Barzin and Emanuel Balaban.

In the Collegiate Chorale's performances of Bach's B minor Mass Robert Shaw used only fifty or sixty singers, with the result that even the small orchestra was heard at all times in the choral passages. A further result was that the choral singing not only was lovely in sound but had a flexibility, a clarity of texture, and a buoyancy which I had not heard in the Bethlehem Choir performance last year, and which made

DURING the next six or eight weeks the Books and the Arts section of The Nation will print reviews or articles by John Crowe Ransom, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Lionel Trilling, W. H. Auden, Eleanor Clark, Ernest Nagel, Hans Reichenbach, Kenneth Burke, R. P. Blackmur, Jacques Barzun, Dwight Macdonald, William Empson, Delmore Schwartz, Ralph Bates, Albert Guérard, Wylie Sypher, Arthur Mizener, Sidney Hook, Rolfe Humphries, Harold Rosenberg, Robert Fitzgerald, David Bazelon, Mary McCarthy, and Morton Dauwen Zabel; and poems by Elizabeth Bishop, Robert Lowell, and Josephine Miles.

Crossword Puzzle No. 201

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 There is a gun in it, and more than a whiff of grape
- 5 Put pen to paper, and don't omit the aspirate
- 10 Play into each other's hand
- 11 A right royal name, and an improvement on Guelph
- 12 Lace hole
- 14 I fled sin (anag.)
- 16 Reclined at one's ease
- 17 Here's a town in England
- 18 Part of Australasia that is greater than the whole
- 20 Those of London were paved with gold, Dick Whittington heard
- 22 This is the worst of wine
- 24 Not a custom of Lady Godiva
- 26 Large quantity (slang)
- 29 These college students have not yet assumed the pale cast of thought
- 30 Rag Eva and make her desolate
- 32 Political perfectionist visualized by Sir Thomas More
- 33 One pail has a milky hue
- 34 Hammer, but should not break the ice
- 35 Sit about in Hades—in the coolest spot!

DOWN

- 1 Alive and kicking—but not this!
- 2 Do they flatten the waves?
- 3 Hawaiian guitars

- 4 Rush up to a graceful animal
- 6 Ran with Ruy Diaz
- 7 They adorn fezzes and tarbooshes
- 8 A man without a country
- 9 Of the voice that accompanies the banjo?
- 13 Twisted
- 14 Hardly suitably clad, though, for a winter siege
- 15 Cap decoration for a successful wing-commander
- 19 Total lack of variety in the shoe store? (3 & 5)
- 21 Sally leads the orchestra in a slow Spanish dance
- 23 The oculist might remedy this in conjunction with the architect
- 25 Fancy, I'm a spirit for the most part
- 26 Throwing—coconuts, perhaps
- 27 A near thing
- 28 Robbed of little more than headgear
- 31 Stays away from the ball

□-□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 200

ACROSS:—1 ANTIQUES; 3 CREATOR; 9 ENTRANCE; 10 EARACHE; 12 HOVEL; 13 PRIMER; 14 ARRAS; 15 SATRAP; 17 WHITE; 22 STRAP; 23 ASTERN; 24 BEECH; 26 REPEAL; 28 BOOER; 29 JAGUARS; 30 FILLED IN; 31 DESCEND; 32 SAVANNAH.

DOWN:—1 ARETHUSA; 2 TITIVATE; 3 QUAIL; 4 EXCEPT; 5 CREAM; 6 NAVARRE; 7 HOTHEAD; 8 EIGHT; 11 REATAS; 16 ALTHEA; 18 CASES; 19 BBHOLDEN; 20 ENTRENCH; 21 RELAPSE; 22 SCRUNCH; 25 ELMIRA; 27 PRUNE; 28 BELLA.

passages like the concluding *Cum sancto spiritu* of the Gloria very exciting. Shaw's faster pace made the opening of the Sanctus less ponderous and more joyous than it had been in last year's performance; but on the other hand it made the *Qui tollis* of the Gloria less moving. And the opening Kyrie too did not have the wonderful effect I recall its having when Toscanini took it slowly and with expressive inflections.

This time again I found the arias unequal to the choral sections. The ones for soprano were sung with neither beauty of voice nor distinction of style by Ann McKnight and June Gardner; but in the others I enjoyed the singing of Lydia Summers, contralto, Lucius Metz, tenor, and Paul Matthen, baritone. And the obbligatos were beautifully played by Oscar Shumsky on the violin and Robert Bloom on the oboe d'amore.

CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS J. HAMILTON, now on the staff of the *New York Times*, is the author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain."

WILLIAM BARRETT is associate editor of the *Partisan Review*.

GEORGE SOULE is the author of "America's Stake in Britain's Future," "The Coming American Revolution," "The Strength of Nations," and other books.

LEIGH WHITE, author of "The Long Balkan Night," is now on leave from the *Chicago Daily News* and is writing a book about the Sovietization of Eastern Europe.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of
the Nation's

Special Class-Room Rate—
30¢ Monthly per Student

for orders of 10 or more copies
to be sent to our address—
desk copy supplied free

Address your order to

The NATION
20 VESEY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 8, 1947

NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

HAVING BEEN INVITED FROM TIME TO TIME to underwrite British failure in Palestine, the United States is now offered the opportunity to accept a receivership for Greece, and presumably for Turkey as well. Under Secretary Acheson is reported, in what we hope are ill-informed quarters, to have handed Lord Inverchapel a note asking his government to maintain its armed forces in Greece while we "explore ways and means of helping Great Britain to carry out its commitments." Since those commitments were incurred largely as a consequence of Mr. Churchill's ruthless determination to force a royalist regime on Greece even at the cost of civil war, the United States has reason to regard the British offer with a certain skepticism. And indeed prudence and isolationist sentiment, in the absence of more generous emotions, would probably dictate a flat refusal were it not for the fear, which may prove even stronger, that with Britain out, Russia would quickly move in. For Greece is one of those frontier posts between "Soviet totalitarianism" and "Western democracy" which can hardly remain unoccupied for long. And Turkey is another. In fact, the job which has been offered this country is not the relatively minor, if expensive and complicated, one of establishing order and economic stability in a devastated land. No, the United States is being called to man the crumbling ramparts of empire against the threat of Russian penetration and to do so in a land where war and revolution, augmented by British intervention and official terror, have created a standing invitation to communism to move in and take over. This is the specific proposal which our Congress must accept or decline. Its broader implications reach around the world.

✱

THAT THE BRITISH, NO LONGER ABLE TO carry the burdens of world power, would like to unload them bit by bit on us is wholly understandable. To assume them, as the State Department seems at least partly ready to do, would be suicidal. Wisely or recklessly, American interests are pushing ahead at an increasing rate in the Mediterranean area; but even our material investments, quite apart from political or moral

ones, will not be safeguarded merely by carrying out "British commitments" or by helping the Foreign Office to do so. One look at the condition of the Empire is enough to prove that. The depressed and dependent Mediterranean countries, from Greece around to Egypt, including Palestine and the supposedly sovereign Arab states, need above all else to lose their status as pawns of empire. They need economic rehabilitation and modernization; they need release from the corrupt British-controlled regimes that rule and exploit them. The situation created in Greece by British weakness offers a unique opportunity for international action on a new basis. Let Britain withdraw its troops and submit to the United Nations, through the Economic and Social Council, the problem of reestablishing order in Greece and rebuilding the country's broken economy. Why should this be the job of one nation, whether Britain or the United States—or Russia? Has not the war and its aftermath proved, in Greece and elsewhere, that the old imperialist techniques are bankrupt and inefficient? For the United States to adopt them at this late day would be an act of desperation, not of statesmanship.

✱

MR. HOOVER'S REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN the Anglo-American zone of Germany contains little information not already available, and, broadly speaking, the relief program which it recommends duplicates the plan agreed on some time ago by the Anglo-American occupation authorities. But this lack of originality in no way diminishes its value; on the contrary, it enhances it, for the Administration can now go to Congress with a request for relief appropriations countersigned by the highest Republican authority. Mr. Hoover's findings are such that even the most parsimonious legislator cannot fail to be impressed. His is the old charity-organization approach, which combines a restrained humanitarianism with a strong emphasis on self-help. A starved and desperate Germany, he points out, must be policed by a much larger occupation army, and in this and other ways the American taxpayer can hope to save money in the long run by laying out credits now for the purpose of making the Anglo-American zone self-sustaining. Mr. Hoover

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	261
Mr. Bevin Explodes	263
The Powers at Moscow	264

CARTOON by Schloss	265
--------------------	-----

ARTICLES

Nazi Plots and French Plans by J. Alvarez del Vayo	266
A Faith to Live By: II. Institutions and Men by Cord Meyer, Jr.	269
Farewell to New York by Kay Boyle	271
Busting the Aluminum Trust by Bryant Putney	273
India Comes into Its Own by Shiva Rao	275
In One Ear by Lou Frankel	277
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	278

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Balzac in Limbo by Jacques Barzun	279
Our Native Fascists by Carey McWilliams	280
The Airy and the Earth-Bound by Rolfe Humphries	281
A Roxborough Pastoral by McAlister Coleman	281
Argument from Design by Benjamin Harrow	282
Soviet Statistics by Vera Micheles Dean	282
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	283
Art by Clement Greenberg	284
Music by B. H. Haggin	284

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS	287
------------------------	-----

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 202 by Jack Barrett	288
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchway

Managing Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kelloz Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

is indubitably right about this, and we hope Congress will give heed to his recommendations. But essential as immediate relief is, it can do no more than prepare the ground for economic recovery. The problem of how to make German industry an asset to Europe instead of a liability remains to be solved, and this job can hardly be tackled by Hoover methods of social engineering.

✱

IN AN EFFORT TO APPEASE REPUBLICAN opposition to the Administration's trade program, the President has issued an executive order modifying reciprocal-trade-agreement procedures. This should make it possible for the American delegation to the International Trade Organization conference, which meets in Geneva next month, to act with less fear of a Congressional stab in the back. Unfortunately, the concessions which the President has made to domestic tariffists will play into the hands of foreign opponents of a multi-lateral trade program and diminish the chances for a satisfactory agreement. To many foreign nations, the new executive order will be new proof that there is more smoke than fire behind the much-advertised American design for freedom of world trade. The real truth, which the Administration apparently dare not blurt out, is that if the United States is to sell abroad on a scale commensurate with its ambitions and its productive capacity, it must be willing to buy the goods of other nations on a still greater scale. Fulfilment of this condition necessitates the maintenance of full employment in this country and a really drastic revision of tariff duties. The first requirement appears to be ruled out by Republican antipathy to planning, the second by Republican objections to hurting any interest with political pull, even though the economy goes to hell in a hack as a result. With such ostrich-like attitudes encouraged by Administration appeasement, other countries can hardly be blamed for believing that America is not willing to take its own medicine for the recovery of world trade. To them, Uncle Sam must seem nearly akin to the good old Duke of York, who led his men to the top of the hill . . . and marched them down again.

✱

LEWIS DOUGLAS IS PROBABLY AS GOOD A selection for ambassador to Britain as the President could have made considering how narrow his field of choice was. The stinginess of Congress in providing for the foreign service rules out all but men of independent means for a post of this sort. Since the critical situation in Britain necessitates the quickest possible filling of the vacancy, the nominee also had to be someone whom the Senate would approve without long and painful hearings. That requirement alone sufficed to rule out any real progressive. Mr. Douglas, like O. Max Gardner, who died on the eve of sailing for London, is

a conservative Democrat, but he is at least an intelligent one. In view of his record as a strong supporter of aid to Britain before Pearl Harbor, he will certainly be *persona grata* in London. Moreover, his statement on appointment makes it clear that he feels a genuine sympathy for the British in their present troubles. Whether he will sympathize with, and understand the reasons for, the economic policies of the Labor government is another matter, for his economic beliefs are decidedly old-fashioned. However, contact with the problems Britain faces may convince him that Ricardo and Mill haven't all the answers.

✱

PHILIP MURRAY IS RELIABLY REPORTED TO have directed his chief subordinates in the C. I. O. to steer clear of both the Progressive Citizens of America and the newly formed Americans for Democratic Action. So far the ban is unofficial, with formal action due to be taken when the C. I. O. Executive Board meets on March 13. Unless Murray modifies his stand before then, the prohibition will undoubtedly go into effect, such being the balance of forces in the C. I. O. The P. C. A. stands to lose somewhat by the decision, since its roster has included Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, not to mention Murray himself, who has now withdrawn as a P. C. A. vice-chairman. The A. D. A., however, is really hit hard. Encouraged by Murray at its inception, it includes among its members such leading C. I. O. officials as Allen Haywood, James B. Carey, Walter Reuther, John Green, Emil Rieve, and many other key men only slightly less prominent. But it is the C. I. O. itself that would lose most of all from this high-handed action. If the top leaders can be given directives concerning their political affiliations, just where will the line be drawn? Already Haywood has ordered his subordinates to keep away from an A. D. A. organizing meeting in Chicago, a session which Reuther and Green have also avoided rather than clash with Murray. This is a new note in American labor—and a sour one. Besides being autocratic, it is obviously discriminatory. Mr. Murray has indicated no intention of abandoning his plan to go to the next Democratic National Convention as a delegate. Nor has he asked Ben Gold, of the C. I. O. Executive Board, to turn in his Communist Party card. By what right, then, does he ask his lieutenants to reject membership in A. D. A. and P. C. A.? We hope there will be sufficient pressure on him before March 13 to induce a healthy change of mind.

✱

HAVING FOUND NOT A WHIT OF EVIDENCE reflecting unfavorably on Gordon R. Clapp, the Senate Public Works Committee voted seven to five last week against recommending him as director of the TVA. The routine effort to pin the red label on Mr. Clapp was

remarkable only for the testimony it elicited from two burnt-out stars of the Dies committee. Former Representative Joe Starnes of Alabama told the Senators that President Truman "couldn't have made a happier appointment," and Robert B. Barker, once counsel for the Dies inquisition, admitted that his amateur sleuthing activities had failed utterly to connect Clapp with communistic activities of any sort. Clapp's efficiency and integrity during his years as general manager of TVA were not even questioned. On the face of things, all there was against him was the vindictiveness of Senator McKellar, who has had the ax out for him as well as for Lilienthal, both having guarded the TVA against the well-known McKellar appetite for patronage. But the Tennessee Senator's private feud by no means explains the vote of the seven hostile Senators. These gentlemen were not voting against Clapp but against TVA itself, against the whole concept of public power. Behind their otherwise senseless and arbitrary action is the resurgence of the private-utilities crowd, subdued by the New Deal but unchastened. On the floor of the Senate it should be harder to sacrifice Clapp to the power lobby than it was in the privacy of a committee room.

✱

IT'S GOOD TO SEE A CONGRESSMAN GO IN there swinging for civil liberties the way James Harris of Arkansas has done in offering a bill to outlaw all pending OPA suits against price-chiselers. By thus seeking an "amnesty" for 14,000 war profiteers, Representative Harris has demonstrated his keen concern for the rights of conscience, and we hereby award him the Order of the Sacred Sirloin and two tickets to "All My Sons."

Mr. Bevin Explodes

MR. BEVIN'S speech on Palestine was in part the utterance of an angry and humiliated man, seeking to throw the blame for failure upon other shoulders. And in part it was the speech of a stubborn defender of unconfessed intentions. It is the latter aspect which is important, for while his charges against President Truman will soon be forgotten, the intentions will remain and, if allowed to control the decision to be made by the United Nations, will frustrate that body as they have Britain.

At the outset of his speech the British Foreign Minister made it clear that in referring the Palestine problem to the United Nations he was not proposing to surrender the mandate but merely asking that its terms be changed. Moreover, though he had previously announced that Britain would make no recommendations to the United Nations, the whole structure of Mr. Bevin's argument

was devised to rule out a solution acceptable to the Zionists. According to the Foreign Minister, the United Nations may choose among three solutions. It may set up a Jewish, an Arab, or a bi-national state. There was no serious consideration of partition, which had been supported by a majority of the Cabinet and almost the entire British press. Obviously, the intention was to make the bi-national state, based on the present Arab majority, appear the only practicable solution. Mr. Bevin's object is apparent: such a plan would insure the continuance of Palestine as a main repository of British military force in the Near East for a long time to come. That has been Mr. Bevin's purpose since he first took over the problem, or rather, since the Foreign Office first took over Mr. Bevin.

We are forced to that conclusion by the remarks about partition made by the Foreign Minister toward the close of his speech. "I am sure," he said, "that if we agree to partition we should have ten times the row as to where the frontiers should be, but you cannot make two viable states of Palestine. You can make one viable state . . . and transfer the rest to another Arab state." It would seem that to set up a Jewish state in one part of Palestine and to allot the remainder to an existing Arab government would itself be partition. What explains the apparent contradiction between this idea and the proposal of the Jewish Agency? Simply this: by all reliable reports, Mr. Bevin was referring to one of the Foreign Office's favorite pieces of Middle Eastern arcana, the so-called "Abdullah plan," according to which Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, and Iraq would be organized into a federated state, under British military "protection," headed by King Abdullah of Transjordan. The idea was publicly indorsed by Abdullah himself as an effective weapon against Soviet influence in the whole Middle East. If such a merger could be brought about, Mr. Bevin might be willing to consider "partition."

Mr. Bevin is prisoner of the archaic strategies of the High Command and the Foreign Office. Mr. Attlee and the three Ministers associated with him in the Indian and Burmese negotiations have bothered little with the brass hats and for that reason have made substantial and bold advances. Mr. Bevin, who has proceeded with old-time secrecy and procrastination in Egypt and Palestine, has allowed himself to be persuaded that the Middle East is a special region, in which Britain must keep a foothold even by methods which can only produce chaos and the defeat of every generous ideal. Not surprisingly, his record is one of total failure. It is inevitable, and just, that the United Nations should have British security in mind during the coming Palestine discussions. But Mr. Bevin's speech and his conduct of Middle Eastern affairs provide a strong warning. If the Foreign Office officials are allowed to dominate the situation, there can be no hope of a practical and humane solution.

The Powers at Moscow

RUSSIA laid down its line for the Moscow conference in its surprise acceptance of the American demand for the sole trusteeship of the former Japanese islands as strategic areas. Senator Austin's insistence that this large and far-off Pacific zone was "an integrated, strategic, physical complex vital to the security of the United States" found warm support from the usually dour Gromyko. In fact, the Russian representative added a new basis for the United States claim in recalling that America had "played a decisive role in the victory over Japan . . . [and] made a greater sacrifice in . . . the war against Japan than any other of the powers."

On these two grounds, security and sacrifice, the Soviet Union will almost certainly build its case in the discussions about Germany. It goes without saying that, despite the queries in Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, the Oder-Neisse line will remain as Germany's eastern frontier. And in the military and economic settlement that emerges, Russia's claims for priority on security and reparations will have to receive serious consideration. It is perhaps fortunate that Secretary Marshall heads the American delegation: if his war-time memory serves him right there were other fronts than the eastern front, and other armies than the Red Army fought to win the Allied victory in Europe.

France will be the junior power at Moscow. But its voice will be the most insistent on the subject of military guaranties against future German aggression. Having suffered three German invasions in seventy years, France will be only moderately interested in the revival of German industry. It will point to the failure of the denazification program in the western zones, to the facts underlined by Del Vayo on page 266, to the full-blown Nazi plot recently uncovered by the Military Government authorities. It will demand that if, in Europe's interest, the Ruhr industries are resuscitated, the area be put under French or at least international control.

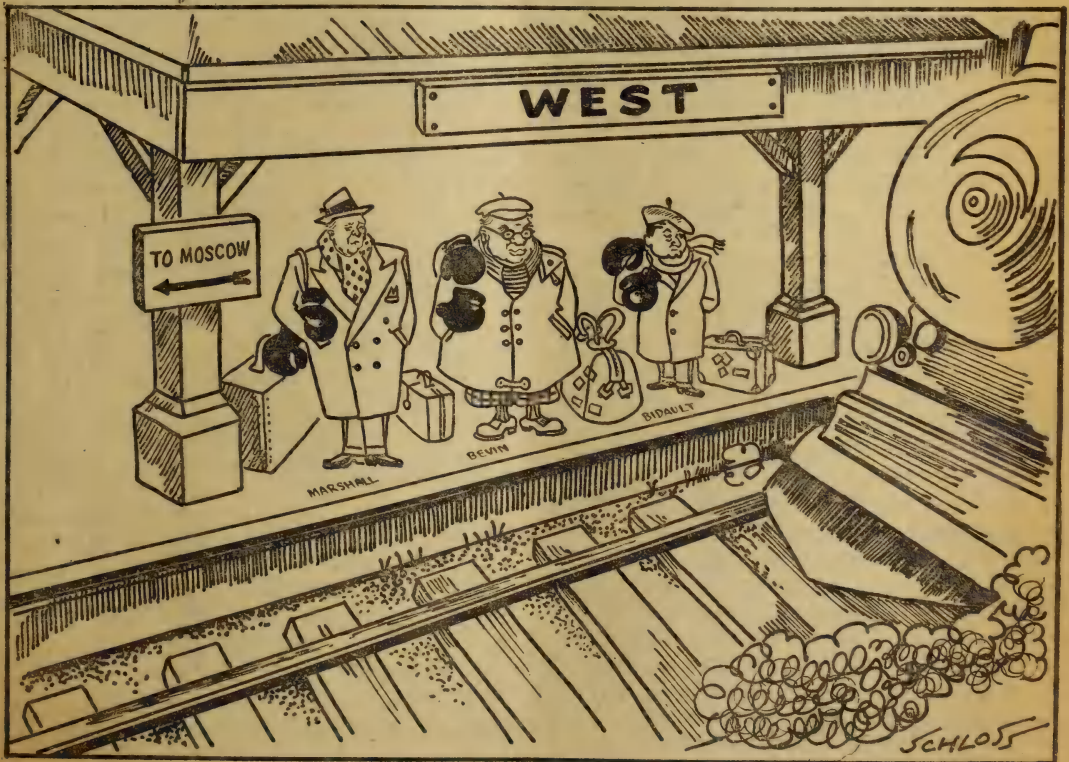
Russia is likely to join with France in its security demands. For the Russians are hardly less perturbed by the ineffectiveness of denazification in the western zones. Moreover, they harbor dark suspicions that the Western powers are planning to build up Germany as the advance position from which to mount an anti-Soviet offensive when the time is ripe. They mistrust America's sympathy for present German misery when Herbert Hoover appears as the angel of mercy. They suspect our intentions in regard to the former German cartels when they see General Draper—late of Dillon Read—at the head of our Military Government's Economic Division. With England's economic crisis forcing it out of its Continental commitments, Russia sees the United States as the decisive power in the economic revival of Western Europe.

The new French-English alliance against future German aggression—primitive as it appears to those who think in terms of a United Nations world—may in fact have a healthy influence at Moscow. If entered into by Russia and the United States, it should do something to restore the Big Four unity that has been absent since the war. It should lessen France's jitters and perhaps persuade Moscow that our intentions are not strictly dishonorable.

As a matter of fact, the United States is at present more genuinely concerned about the future of Germany and Western Europe than at any other time since the war. The concern is partly humanitarian. Herbert Hoover's estimate of German misery will be listened to, not because it is Herbert Hoover's, but because his is but the most recent of the reports that have testified to the desperate state of more than half of Europe's 386,000,000 people. If these people are not to starve, the United States, independently or through a United Nations agency, must provide the bulk of relief. But Americans are not going to face an unending future of doling out relief to Europe. The very prosperity of the United States depends on Europe's recovery. The United States representatives will therefore press for an economic program designed to put Germany and Western Europe back on their feet. German economic unity was a salient point of Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech. But economic unity, even

if it can be achieved in the face of present East-West tension, is merely the first requirement of any program of recovery. The large question remains whether the American representatives possess sufficient awareness of the trend of European development to accept the idea of a planned economy or whether they are firmly committed to the impractical policy of rebuilding German capitalism with American financial aid.

England's position at Moscow will be appreciably weakened by its inability to accept any heavy Continental commitments. And this is a pity. For despite the heritage of Churchillian foreign policy that Mr. Bevin has guarded so thriftily, England remains the one European nation that can exert a genuinely democratic-socialist influence. As Fritz Sternberg showed in his article several weeks ago, the future stability of Germany depends upon economic planning supported by those classes with the greatest stake in political freedom and the least interest in the revival of German nationalism. It is perhaps too much to expect that the representatives of the leading capitalist power will be convinced of the necessity of a democratic-socialist solution for Germany. But it is unfortunately safe to predict that if the United States proceeds with its plans to restore the big German cartels, it will polarize a political struggle between extremes that will invite the resurrection of Nazism and lay the basis for open conflict between East and West.



Nazi Plots and French Plans

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, February 21

ALTHOUGH the gravity of the German problem is generally recognized in the United States, one must visit Europe to grasp its full import. Perhaps the best window into Germany is France. I know some of my American friends will dispute this statement; they will argue that memories of two invasions within the last thirty years make Frenchmen incapable of objective thinking where Germany is concerned. Actually these memories have made the French more critical and alert. France realizes it no longer has a military machine like the army of 1914 to defend its frontiers. Nor can it rely on a system of alliances. Foreign Minister Bidault, Léon Blum, Edouard Herriot, Jacques Duclos—men of divergent political beliefs—are agreed that while in the event of another war mutual-defense pacts would bring the United States and Britain to the aid of France more quickly than in the past, their country could not survive the shock of the first assault launched by a powerful, rearméd Reich.

Consequently, France's only guaranties of security are, on the one hand, a foreign policy that will not breed a new spirit of revenge among the Germans and, on the other, a peace treaty that will prevent Germany from ever arming again. Other nations—Britain, Russia, the United States—can perhaps afford the luxury of a few mistakes in their German policy. Not France. Another political misstep with regard to Germany would spell the disappearance of France as a nation. For all these reasons the French point of view deserves special consideration.

With the Moscow conference only a few weeks off, Paris is profoundly disturbed by the continuing disagreement among the Big Three over the broad outlines of the German treaty. Three very different conceptions—four, including the French—will be advanced in the Soviet capital. Russia wants a politically and economically unified Germany. America and Britain, each for reasons of its own, want a federal state combining the main features of the Bismarck regime and the Weimar Republic, with a central parliament elected by universal suffrage. France inclines toward the creation of a loose federation of autonomous states such as existed before Bismarck. Even in Paris, however, the French plan has evoked no real enthusiasm. A thorough study of Germany's political evolution in the past hundred years and of developments in the two years since the war's end has convinced leading authorities that a German federalism more or less artificially resuscitated offers no lasting guaranty of safety; in their view, the only way to

assure the inviolability of the French border is to keep a strong grip on the region from which the German militarists have after each defeat obtained the iron and steel and coal to forge new weapons of revenge. The region in question is Westphalia-Rhineland, and its nerve center is the Ruhr. Will Germany be allowed to rebuild there an industrial plant which can be converted on short notice to war production? That is the crux of the problem.

The French are particularly concerned about the intentions of Great Britain in this respect. The British dilemma, as they see it, is to surmount an incredibly difficult internal situation, dramatized by the present fuel shortage, and to maintain a certain balance of power vis-à-vis Russia. Will Britain permit the restoration of a western Germany governed by nationalists—whether their official label be Social Democrat, Christian Democrat, or Communist—and linked to the Anglo-American economy in such a way as to give the two Western powers exclusive control over the resources of the Ruhr?

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE RUHR

The French must find a solution for their own dilemma. A few days ago I talked with Solomon Grumbach, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Republic, which has replaced the old Senate. Since the liberation he has held posts as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly and chairman of the Parliamentary Investigating Committee in the French zone; his knowledge of German affairs is unequalled in France. Grumbach tersely outlined the solution he favors: "Internationalization, not annexation. Expropriation of the mines. Internationalization of the Ruhr under United Nations control, with equal participation by all countries, including Russia. In that way no one will feel that the industrial riches of the Ruhr are going to be used to further an absurd policy of bloc building." However, Grumbach's solution had one proviso: dissension among the four occupying powers must disappear. He saw this as the key to the entire problem.

Unfortunately, dispatches from Berlin seem to indicate that relations among the representatives of the Big Four have become more strained in recent weeks. For a short time after the encouraging session of the United Nations Assembly, relations took a turn toward unusual cordiality; the meetings of the Kommandatura were especially amicable, and the presiding officer, Soviet General Kotikov, was a popular host in Allied circles. But the moment the conference of Foreign Ministers' deputies in London began to discuss the German treaty a

perceptible coolness set in again. I do not think this fact should be unduly stressed; it may simply be another expression of habitual Soviet reserve on the eve of an important conference.

As to the proposals the Russians are likely to make at the Moscow conference, little is known at present. Certainly they will not yield on the question of the eastern frontier; if, as is rumored, the American delegation comes with a demand for revision of the Oder-Neisse line, French diplomatic circles believe that the success of the conference may be threatened. On the other hand, it is thought that a compromise can be reached on the question of the political regime for Germany without either the Russians or the British having to abandon completely their point of view. In any case the Soviets appear disposed toward flexibility on economic issues. They have already indicated willingness to accept an increase in the industrial potential fixed in March, 1946, especially so far as steel output is concerned, and the elimination of economic barriers between the zones.

MOSCOW INSISTS ON DENAZIFICATION

On the issue of denazification, however, the Russians will remain adamant, and here they will be strongly supported by the French. Anglo-American circles have given a very superficial interpretation of Soviet objectives in Germany by saying that Russia is primarily interested in obtaining large reparations in order to repair some of the damage it suffered in the war. But denazification is perhaps the cornerstone of Moscow's policy; recent German developments cannot but have intensified its fears and its determination to extirpate the last remnant of Nazism.

Nation readers will recall an article I wrote last summer during a brief stop-over in Berlin en route from Moscow to Paris, and the protest it drew from James Warburg, who felt that my description of Nazi organization and conspiracy in the American and British zones was highly exaggerated. In my reply I quoted a former German trade-union official, a Social Democrat, who at the time was serving as adviser to the Western occupation powers and had a remarkably extensive knowledge of conditions in the western zones. The other day I ran into him by chance at the subway entrance of the Place de l'Opéra; he had just returned from Germany and was leaving almost immediately for London. I canceled all my appointments and spent several hours with him. "The situation," he told me, "is very much worse than it was when we last met. Reaction is moving ahead more rapidly than anyone ever dreamed it could. I knew that sooner or later we would be confronted by an attempt at a Nazi revival, but I never suspected the nationalist movement would reappear so quickly and on such a big scale. On the one hand, international capitalism is helping German heavy industry to rebuild; on the other, the

Catholic church now dominates the political situation in the American zone. The working class is powerless through lack of trained leaders. I myself would like to see the Social Democrats assume the leadership rather than the Socialist Unity Party, that artificial hybrid sponsored by the Russians. But while the Social Democrats are gaining numerical strength, their political orientation is disastrous. You will recall how favorably I spoke about Schumacher last year. Well, since that time he has fallen more and more under the influence of violent nationalists who are exploiting his reputation as 'martyr of Dachau' in their propaganda against the occupation powers."

As a matter of fact, I had already read Schumacher's last two speeches, one delivered in Munich and the other in Berlin. Their tone seemed to me to be considerably more aggressive than that of earlier pronouncements, and I wondered whether Schumacher's recent visit to London on the invitation of the Labor Party had not gone to his head. The Socialist leader has hit on one of those simple slogans which have unfailing appeal for a German audience: "Total victory implies total responsibility." Daily he is becoming more exigent in his demands on the Allies, and the once almost mystical voice of the man who was given the honor of inaugurating—as a prisoner, of course—Germany's worst concentration camp has now acquired a marked accent of nationalist belligerence. The point of departure for any anti-fascist movement ought logically to have been recognition of Nazi Germany's war guilt; instead Schumacher has chosen to launch a campaign of criticism of Allied policy. Each successive speech reveals more clearly his main line of attack: all the nations must recognize their equal share of responsibility for the war; consequently, the peace must be reestablished by mutual sacrifices, with Germany contributing no more or less than the others.

RESURGENCE OF GERMAN NATIONALISM

Other German leaders have been quick to follow Schumacher's lead. In his last message Conrad Adenauer, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party in the British zone, warned: "No German Catholic politician will sign his name to a peace treaty that recognizes the Oder-Neisse line as a boundary." And the German press is gradually beginning to dust off the old editorials about the *Schuldfrage*—the lie of German culpability—which helped create a favorable climate for Hitler's Nazi Party. The Allied Military Government had to choose between two evils—to allow open criticism of the occupying powers or to put up with clandestine propaganda aimed at exploiting Allied rivalries. It chose the former and lifted the censorship. The German papers promptly showed their true colors. A typical example of their attitude is to be found in an editorial announcing the appearance of the newest Berlin paper, *Berlin am Mittag*: "We belong to

no sector, no zone, and no sect. We are not subject to influence from any quarter. We do not believe that Germans who wear foreign uniforms are the best guides for a struggling German press. The policy of the occupation powers, individually and collectively, is far from being infallible. Heaven alone knows how far." Already a note of anti-Semitism has crept into the press. Indeed, anti-Semitism is more alive in Germany than ever before since the Nazi collapse. The few Jews who hold posts in the left parties, in the theater, or in artistic groups are considered by the average German as privileged characters protected by the occupation laws.

These varied manifestations of chauvinism would by themselves be insufficient justification for the anxiety the French are showing about trends across the Rhine. Hostility toward the occupation authorities was to be expected. This winter the Germans are living under horrible physical conditions. Whole cities still lie in ruins. With sanitation facilities practically non-existent, epidemics are likely to sweep the country at any moment and spread to the rest of Europe. At best military occupation is no school for democracy. Military occupation plus hunger plus cold cannot promote even an atmosphere of reconciliation.

No, the crucial problem is not the general xenophobia of the Germans. It is the rapid resurgence of Nazi feeling and organization. Obviously the Nazis have found their best weapon in the widespread misery of the people. However, many Frenchmen believe, and I share their view, that even if material conditions in Germany had been different and the Allies prepared to devote all their energies to the reconstruction and welfare of the country, the revival of the Nazi spirit, which expresses in extreme form the age-old German drive toward domination and aggression, would have taken place just the same.

During the months of December and January military intelligence in the various zones rounded up several hundred young Germans who were reestablishing contact between existent Nazi groups and setting up new groups. The youth, who should have been subjected to the most vigilant surveillance, have enjoyed the fullest liberty to plot. Hoping to win them over, all German parties including the Communists have insistently demanded a wholesale amnesty for the Hitler Youth, on the ground that the élite of the Fourth Reich must of necessity come from their ranks. This has encouraged the Nazis to make more and more use of the young people in their work. All of the boys who were arrested had formerly been members of the S. S. or the Hitler Youth; when apprehended they were carrying guns and knives and secret codes. Despite their extreme youth, many of them were employed as laborers in key factories and military posts. An investigation of these factories, including the important Borsig, Siemens, and Schücker plants, revealed that contrary to Allied regulations the boys were working

overtime, not to increase authorized production and speed reconstruction but to make parts for firearms and machine-guns which were being distributed clandestinely throughout Germany. In the course of the investigation a discovery was made that should be of special interest to the United Nations and will, I hope, supply the final evidence—if any were needed—of Franco's past and present complicity in the Nazi plot: funds for the new organization are deposited abroad, principally in Spain and Perón's Argentina.

I could cite dozens of other incidents which point to the growing strength of the Nazis. Just the other day a band of young men, who had apparently made their way from southern Germany to Berlin via the underground, assembled in close formation near the headquarters of the British Military Government and marched across the Reichskanzlerplatz—formerly the Adolf Hitler Platz—singing a familiar Nazi anthem. After which they dispersed quickly and lost themselves in the crowd. Perhaps the real significance of this story lies in the fact that not a single spectator protested against the demonstration.

ACTIVITIES OF THE NAZI UNDERGROUND

Latest studies by Allied military intelligence show that at least three well-developed underground organizations are already operating under the leadership of a group of former Nazi officials and army officers. One group is estimated to have a membership of 15,000. Its activities have been directed at sabotaging Allied lines of communication, including railroads. The second organization, active mainly in the British zone, specializes in sabotaging production in the factories. The third group, which is made up in part of railroad workers and river-traffic employees, has as its objective to slow up coal exports. Aside from these specific assignments, the Nazi movement has set three goals: (1) to sabotage denazification and thus assure the continuance in public office of men who merit the confidence of the movement; (2) to spy on German officials in public and private and exercise continual pressure on them by means of threats of reprisal; lest these threats be taken lightly, the Nazis have even carried out a few summary executions of Germans found guilty of "collaboration" with the occupation authorities; (3) to sabotage the industrial and agricultural administrations, now supervised by the Allies, so that when control reverts to the Germans, their harried directors will be ready to assign key administrative posts to Nazis.

The Nazis are particularly at ease in the American zone. The denazification order has never been applied effectively; finding the job irksome, the Americans turned it over to the Germans themselves. As a result, of 600,000 Nazis screened in the American zone by the end of 1946, less than two dozen received heavy sen-

tences; 85 per cent got off with no punishment at all. In my article of a year ago I said that the Nazis were most adept at fooling the Americans. Now one of the best-informed American correspondents has made the same charge. Ten days ago in a dispatch from Frankfurt to the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* William Attwood wrote: "In the smaller towns incompetent officers with no knowledge of this country, its language, or psychology, whose German mistresses guide their decisions and whose German interpreters carry them out, are the everyday symbols of American democracy." Little wonder that the French press commented as follows: "When responsible American leaders publicly express their admiration for German strivings toward democracy, they are mocking their audience and their own noble words. Democracy in the American zone means letting the Nazis do as they please."

In recent weeks several British and American spokesmen have expressed a desire for cooperation with Russia. But speeches will not suffice at the Moscow conference. There the Western representatives will have to answer specific questions: Will the Rhineland-Westphalia industry be controlled by the Big Four in the interest of peace and the reconstruction of Europe, or by the Big Two of the West in the interest of bloc-building which will benefit only aggressive German nationalism? Will denazification continue to be measured by the columns of meaningless figures published each time there is criticism of present Allied policy toward Germany, or will it be carried through vigorously in accordance with a plan drawn up by all the occupying powers? The conferees will be judged by their answers to these questions. France's answers, as far as I have been able to establish them, will be clear and unequivocal.

A Faith to Live By

II. INSTITUTIONS AND MEN

BY CORD MEYER, JR.

FOR one who cannot accept the dogmas of any established creed or authoritarian party it is no easy thing to define the faith by which one lives, even to oneself. It is impossible to recommend it to others. All that can be done is to identify those often unconscious assumptions which save one from despair or from a life spent in satisfying the desire for wealth and power.

Yet in a time like our own, with its intimations of disaster, the need for articulation of the underlying beliefs that determine conduct is urgent. A process of change too rapid to calculate calls in question the accepted standards of behavior. The living generation of men will never know the luxury of being able to lead a placid and conventional existence. Each man will have to search deep for the convictions to sustain him in a violent and uncertain future.

The simple optimism that has been characteristic of America will not suffice. The naive identification of human progress with advances in scientific ingenuity has been compromised by two world wars and growing terror at the prospect of a third. Not even the most superficial observer can maintain that the discovery of atomic energy is an unmixed blessing. It is becoming undeniably apparent that the power over nature achieved by science

is also power over men, and that such power can be used for good or evil. The faith in material progress that has industrialized a continent reveals its immaturity, as the peace and happiness it was to assure seems ever more remote among the wreckage of recurring economic depressions and wars of rising ferocity.

Two broad explanations of what has happened now compete for acceptance. They find expression in militant faiths, each with its consistent body of doctrine, its organization, and its demand for the unquestioning obedience of the faithful. One school of thought maintains that the cause of the world's ills lies in the institutional structure of modern society. Inherited forms of economic and governmental organization are seen to be inadequate for the fulfilment of new needs. Attempts to perpetuate anachronistic property rights or to preserve the prerogatives of absolute national sovereignty are asserted to be at the root of all our misfortunes. Like prison walls, these institutions are held to degrade and distort the unfortunate human beings that are compelled to live within them. Socialists and Communists point out that with the growth of large industry private ownership of the means of production has reduced the majority to dependence on an avaricious minority and created explosive tensions between the working and owning classes that can only be resolved by production for use instead of for profit. The supporters of world government assert that the complete independence of the nation-state in an interdependent world can only be maintained at the price

CORD MEYER, Jr., a veteran of World War II, is a junior fellow of Harvard University. He is a director of Americans United for World Government.

of ever more frequent and devastating wars, in which the bewildered citizens are ordered to fight in defense of the pitiless abstraction that is national sovereignty.

Whatever the particular institution that is criticized, this point of view assumes that it is not human nature but the social environment that is at fault. The faith exists that the defects in the environment can be correctly identified and remedied by determined political action. The obstacles that stand between men and their achievement of happiness are said to be their own ignorance and apathy and the opposition of those few who benefit from the established order. It remains only to educate and lead the many and to overthrow the parasitic few in order to create the good society. Of those who believe in this salvation through reason and social action, there are some so convinced of their own infallibility that they are willing to kill and betray millions in the certainty that the golden future will redeem their crimes.

In contrast to this active faith is the religious point of view. It attributes the disasters of the present time to a lack of moral restraint resulting from a loss of religious belief. The only kind of reform considered lasting is reform from within. There is a distrust of mechanistic solutions and a conviction that not by political action but by a rebirth of the spirit of charity and love can mankind save itself from the fate to which it seems doomed by its selfish passions. To this believer no revolutionary change in governments or economics can found the good society. It can only be built, slowly if at all, on a growing number of devoted individuals bound together by a common respect for the human personality based on their belief in the Fatherhood of God. The individual is held to be morally responsible for his actions, and humble contrition rather than an arrogant assertion of his infallibility can alone relieve his guilt. Finally, there is in this religious attitude a tendency to be resigned to the inevitable evils which are believed to flow from the inherent sinfulness of man and to transfer all hope for a better life from this world to another beyond death.

For one who cannot accept completely either the religious or the revolutionary attitude there are aspects of both that provide the basis for a modest faith and a sober hope. To me it seems that the revolutionist, the political reformer, forgets that his indignation at the prevailing disorder and injustice which is his motive for action has its origins in a religious ideal. The Marxian dialectic never told us why anyone should risk death to bring the inevitable to pass. Whenever revolutionary action is genuine and more than a way to personal power, it is motivated by a sympathy for human beings that has its roots in the teachings of the great religious leaders and not in logical reasoning.

The revolutionary is certainly naive when he mistakes the institutional change he advocates for a guaranty of lasting human happiness. He can only create the con-

ditions that make possible a happier way of life. Whether that opportunity is realized depends on the quality of the men involved. If they are sufficiently honest and disinterested, much may be accomplished. If they are not, there is ample evidence that a great deal of blood can be spilled to overturn one form of tyranny only to establish another. The Communist is perhaps the most unrealistically utopian of all reformers in his conviction that ownership of the means of production by the workers will in itself bring about a new era of harmony among men. It is this fanatical conviction that leads him into the most dangerous of all illusions—the belief that he is justified in using any means to achieve his end. The means used inevitably modify and compromise the end.

Yet the limitations of what can be accomplished by institutional change do not mean that it is unnecessary or that no improvement is possible. In his concern for the integrity of the individual the moralist neglects the reality that violence and oppression are needlessly exaggerated by conditions that intelligent action can modify. The failure to adapt ancient laws to the continuous growth of society has created forces that play like idiot tyrants with our lives. It is not necessary to wait for a moral regeneration of mankind in order to right some of these wrongs. Millions of men, for example, have not destroyed one another in battle simply because they were motivated by greed or a lust for power. They were set against one another by the uncontrollable conflicts created by the extravagant claims of their governments to absolute independence; and if they can come to see this fact, there is hope that killing may become a crime rather than a duty.

When avoidable evils are not perceived by the critical intelligence, there is a tendency to believe men more depraved than they actually are and to ascribe to deliberate intention what is in reality the pitiable result of remediable ignorance. In times of sudden transition like our own, when the waves of change smash with rising fury against the stubborn restraint of traditional patterns, the temptation is to resign oneself to the prevailing chaos. There is comfort in a retreat from the tragic stage and consolation for ruined hopes in the prospect of another life.

Such resignation is not justified. Human nature is admittedly weak and inadequate, and the mature man will recognize that no sudden and spectacular improvement in the ways of the world is possible. Yet men are capable of a better existence than they now lead. To be among those who help them find it is the task not only of the political reformer but of the Christian believer. The test of a belief is its expression in action, and those who are moved by sympathy and respect for their fellow-men have no right to be content with a personal integrity preserved by a fictitious retreat from the struggle. In the

words of Silone, "He is saved who overcomes his individual egoism, family egoism, caste egoism, does not shut himself in a cloister or build himself an ivory tower, or make a cleavage between his way of acting and his way of thinking. He is saved who frees his own spirit from the idea of resignation to the existing disorder."

The difficulty is to preserve faith without illusion. One

does not have to believe in continuous and inevitable progress in order to remain convinced of the unrealized possibilities of the human spirit. It may be that in our lifetime modern society will be utterly destroyed in an atomic war. But, as in the past, new civilizations will rise on the ruins of the old, and those that will build them will be led by the indestructible vision of what men are capable of becoming in contrast to what they are.

Farewell to New York

BY KAY BOYLE

EVER since the beginning I have kept clear of Longchamps in whatever street it lay, so that when the Spaniard—to whom I shall never cease paying homage—said it would be simpler to meet at the one which lay halfway between our two directions, I believed I could not bring myself to go. But I knew it could never be entirely Longchamps as long as the Spaniard, who carried his pride and his history with him, was in the place; so at six o'clock I crossed with the green light at the corner. There was winter darkness on the avenue outside, but as soon as you went through the revolving doors the gilt and glitter leaped to meet you like the blaze of a jewelry counter in a ten-cent store. Just inside stood the imitation fruit-and-vegetable cart trying to give the genteel commotion the air of a musical-comedy market square—with the bounty and gaiety that should entail—and not succeeding. The Spaniard was waiting on the other side of the vegetable wagon, and in spite of the crowd he found a table nearly at once, and the waiter who mourned on the outskirts was stricken with an even deeper grief that we had pushed our way far into the corner to it and sat down.

"We would like tea with lemon, and some pastry," the Spaniard said. It was clear right away that we asked for something far too simple. It would be too easy, too agreeable a thing to bring tea and pastry at this time of day. *This time next week*, I believe the Spaniard went on saying, *you will be in France. I have some letters to friends for you in my pocket—poets, writers, political exiles*, he said. *I wish I could be with you, but tell them I will be there certainly by spring. In the spring*, he said, as if the intentions of men would change with the season, *the last act will be played in Spain, and the ending will be a good one.*

"You can't just order pastry," said the waiter who stood beside the table. He was young, but his voice was as testy as that of an old woman. "You have to look at the menu and order the kind of cake you want."

"Stop," said the Spaniard gently, for I had already got up from my chair in my impatience. He laid one hand on my arm and drew me down into my seat again, and he looked up into the waiter's face. "Young man, be polite. Let us be polite to each other," he said.

The instant the words were spoken the waiter's face altered. In the short time he had been in this brilliant palace he had forgotten so much, he had forgotten his entire youth perhaps, and the Spaniard's words recalled his memories to him.

"Yes, of course, you are right," the waiter said. He stood looking in amazement and happiness at the Spaniard. He had absolutely forgotten that people had ever spoken to each other that way.

But the Spaniard, being accustomed to saying the words which recalled men to themselves, had forgotten the waiter almost at once, and now he was thinking of France again.

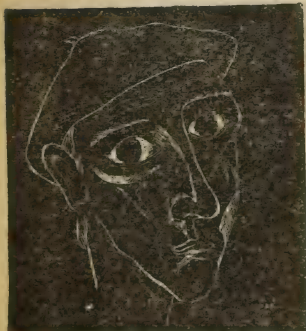
"This time next week in France," said the Spaniard, "remember the French know better than any other nation of men that in political exiles there exists a special devotion. An artist suffers guilt and loneliness when he is alienated from his country, but the artist has a spiritual terrain of silence which is native to him, and which he can turn to in any country where he is. But if a political man no longer stands on his own country's soil, he is maimed and mute, and he must be a great believer in a great faith in order to survive."

The waiter, with exceptional gentleness, put the tea and the cake down before us, and we began to eat at once, and while we ate, the Spaniard told me the story of the exiles in Paris who went to have their identity photographs taken in the rue du Palais.

"There is a little photograph shop (where they do it there," he said. "They have a sign hanging out saying:

KAY BOYLE is the author of many novels and short stories. "Crazy Hunter," "Primer for Combat," and "Avalanche" are some of her recent books.

'Six minutes to wait and thirty francs to pay.' So you go in through a contraption like a subway stile, one foreigner after another, an endless string of outcasts paying thirty francs each as they go. It was a cold December day this time that we went, a dozen or so of us who had survived Franco and Vichy, and so still had a name and an identity. But some of us didn't have overcoats, and we walked with our jacket collars turned up around our ears, and our hands in our pockets, knocking our feet together to keep the blood from stopping in the cold.



Drawing by Wilson

Have some pastry," said the Spaniard quickly. "My God, I can feel the cold now. Have some tea. Even after two years I can feel the cold." So they filed into the photograph place, he went on saying, and one by one, like a chain-gang passing, they paid their money down on the counter and passed into the booths beyond. "There was our group of Spaniards, and there were men from other countries, too," he said. "Czechs, Poles, students who might have been Hungarians once, and men with dark skins from the colonies. Exiles," he said, "eternally seeking to persuade themselves and others by means of a likeness reproduced on paper that they still had the right to a name and a physiognomy."

Into the curtained booths they passed, one after another, and fixed their eyes on the spot the woman indicated, and faced the mirrors and the glare. And once the invisible camera had opened and closed, they moved again, one by one, in single file, their shoulders hunched, their hands thrust in their pockets for warmth, to wait the six minutes huddled against the wall.

"And then the strange thing happened," the Spaniard said. "The finished photographs would come out of a slot in the photographic machine, strip after strip, and a girl with scissors in her hand would pick them up and glance through the crowd for the face as she cut them quickly. And the man to whom they belonged would push forward through the others, and take his photographs still damp and limp in his hand, and look at them curiously and uneasily, with a little display of the vanity he had left, and go out into the cold again. And then, suddenly a strip of photographs came out which belonged to no one in the place," said the Spaniard. He took a great swallow of his tea. "The girl with the scissors waved the little handful of photographs in the air, and no one went forward to claim them. 'He must be here. Where is he?' she said, 'Let him come through to

get them. This is holding everybody up.' She raised the photographs up high so that we all could see him, a thin, tired-looking young man with long black hair that he hadn't had the time or money to get cut, with a foulard knotted around his neck. He was certainly not in the photograph shop with us. None of us had seen him there. And then one of the Spaniards standing beside me in the crowd made a queer sound in his throat, and he called out: 'I knew him. We came from the same town, we went to school together. He was killed in Durango in 1936.' There was silence in the place," said the Spaniard, "and then the girl said, 'Are you trying to make a fool out of me?' But she did not say any more, and she put the photographs of the man who wasn't there aside. Then she picked up the next strip, and clipped it, and the one after that, and the men they belonged to pushed their way through the crowd and got them, and went out the door. But with the third strip the same thing happened—there was the photograph of a young man who wasn't in the room with us. He had a beard, and a scar down one side of his face, and another of the Spaniards called out, 'That's Amaro. That's my brother. He was shot in Guernica.' The girl did not say anything that time because the tears were running down his cheeks," said the Spaniard. "But the next strip, and the strip after that, it was just the same, and at the sight of the unclaimed photographs the voices would call out from the crowd in the shop, 'That's José Casals. I was with him in Madrid before they got him.' Or, 'That is Ramón Rodriquez. They killed him at Almeria.' They were there," said the Spaniard, "in spite of death. When we go out now, with our bellies full, we will find them in the dark, for they are always there."

The Spaniard gave me the letters he had written to his friends, and we went out, and we said goodbye at the top of the subway steps in the rain. "Write," he said. And his eyes were sad and bright in the city darkness.

So I write you now, Spaniard, that if I feel guilt it is not because I am a writer alienated from the soil of my own country for a little, but because there are writers and poets to whom the invitation to speak was given, a long time ago, and they made their answers.

"You are all mad," wrote Ezra Pound in 1937. "Spain is an emotional luxury to a gang of sap-headed dilettantes." "If I were a Spaniard I should be fighting for Franco," wrote Evelyn Waugh in the same year. "As an Englishman I am not in the predicament of choosing between two evils, I am not a fascist nor shall I become one unless it were the only alternative to Marxism." And T. S. Eliot opened the door a little way and whispered: "While I am naturally sympathetic, I still feel convinced that it is best that at least a few men of letters should remain isolated, and take no part in these collective activities." *

* "Author Take Sides," edited by Nancy Cunard, *Left Review*, London, 1937.

Busting the Aluminum Trust

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

Washington, February 27

AT A time when big business is rapidly getting bigger, it is pleasant to report that the most powerful monopoly of all is on the skids. Within the last twelve months competition has come to the aluminum industry; new producers are challenging the absolute rule exercised for half a century by the Aluminum Company of America. If the initial successes of the government's campaign against the aluminum monopoly are followed by early and vigorous action in the courts, the Truman Administration can win its biggest anti-trust victory. And an industry already four times as large as it was before the war can look forward to still greater expansion in the years ahead.

What has happened in the aluminum industry in the last few months provides dramatic evidence that the de-monopolizing process is an effective way of putting more men to work, creating new industrial markets, stimulating mass consumption—in short, that it pays dividends to the entire country in the form of higher living standards. "The preliminary results of the aluminum program," the Senate Small Business Committee pointed out a few weeks ago, "make an unanswerable argument for a strong national campaign against monopoly and the concentration of economic power."

When the Germans marched into Poland, the fifty-one-year-old aluminum industry was still small. With Alcoa the sole domestic producer of the primary metal, output amounted to less than 1 per cent of the country's steel production. Although potentially the most abundant metal on earth, aluminum was the principal raw material for only a few products—notably airplanes and cooking utensils. Its limited use at that time could be explained by the experience of the automobile industry. The automobile makers had cut the amount of aluminum in the average car from around seventy-five pounds in 1915 to eight pounds in 1939. They would have preferred to use more of a metal weighing only a third as much as steel, but when Alcoa arbitrarily raised its price from 19 cents a pound to 33 cents in 1915, they discovered the danger of relying on a single source of supply and turned to other materials. Alcoa's monopolistic position, besides penalizing the car-buying public, destroyed a market which would have absorbed the entire output of the aluminum industry in 1939.

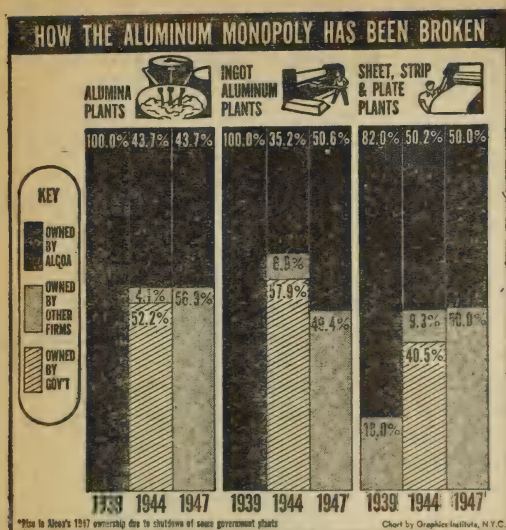
War demands necessitated a larger expansion of aluminum capacity than of any other major industrial metal. Although Alcoa resisted expansion for many months, with incalculable harm to the war effort, it finally took advantage of extremely favorable amortization laws and tripled its plant. Meanwhile the government had spent \$670,000,000 to build facilities which dwarfed Alcoa's investment and brought total capacity to seven times its pre-war size—various types of fabricating facilities were expanded as much as forty-five times. When the war ended, the government owned over half the industry's capacity, most of its plants having been designed, built, and operated by Alcoa.

In opposing expansion in 1940-41 Alcoa officials contended that war-built plants would stand idle in peace time for lack of markets. But before the Missouri entered Tokyo harbor, the company was seeking to extend its leases on some of the most desirable government plants and thus freeze out post-war competitors. A few months earlier—in March, 1945—a federal court of final appeal had handed down a long-awaited decision holding Alcoa to be an illegal monopoly in the production of aluminum ingot. (The court postponed issuance of a dissolution order, however, until the effects of the government's plant-disposal program on the competitive situation should become known.) Backed by this decision, the government canceled Alcoa's leases in August, 1945, and put the surplus plants on the auction block.

An epic struggle followed—with Alcoa battling desperately to preserve its dominance, and the government forces, led by Surplus Property Administrator Symington, determined to break the company's stranglehold. The fight revolved around the disposition of the huge government plant at Hurricane Creek, Arkansas. Using processes patented by Alcoa, this plant crushed low-grade Arkansas bauxite into alumina—the powder from which the pure metal is made—at costs low enough to compete with the alumina produced by Alcoa in its own plants from high-grade ore. By preventing the Reynolds Metals Company from leasing the plant Alcoa hoped to cut off the supplies needed to operate government ingot plants and thus block the entire disposal program. Alcoa, of course, flatly refused to release its patents unless the government agreed either to dismiss the anti-trust suit and end the threat of dissolution or to allow the company to take over some of the surplus plants.

The struggle continued for many weeks. Finally Symington called Alcoa's hand. In a letter to Senator O'Mahoney dated January 6, 1946, with copies to the

BRYANT PUTNEY, a Washington writer, was formerly connected with Editorial Research Reports.



press, he accused the company of "using its patents to obstruct the Reynolds transaction." He added, "No disposal of any plants to competitors will be possible unless Alcoa changes its attitude, or unless the courts, acting under the Sherman act, reorganize Alcoa so that its monopolistic power is broken." Four days later Alcoa threw in its cards, offering to grant royalty-free licenses on the strategic patents. (But because Alcoa still is holding out for the right to use any patent improvements developed by other companies, the license agreements have not yet actually been signed.)

With the deadlock broken, Reynolds at once signed a lease on Hurricane Creek, bought or leased seven ingot and fabricating plants—Reynolds has fabricated aluminum for many years—and began to produce the primary metal on a small scale in 1941. Henry Kaiser's Permanente Metals Corporation also entered the field, leasing the remaining government alumina plant, at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and taking over two ingot plants and a rolling mill in the state of Washington. Six fabricating plants were disposed of to smaller companies, and Alcoa was permitted to buy another. By the end of 1946 Reynolds and Kaiser had taken over all of the government's primary aluminum facilities—except several uneconomical plants—and all surplus sheet mills; together they controlled slightly over half the industry's facilities for producing raw aluminum.

In the space of a few months the beginnings of competition within the industry have brought about remarkable changes in the market outlook. Because there are three primary producers instead of one—and four times as much metal as before the war—aluminum is finding hundreds of new uses. It is going into freight cars, shingles, deep-freeze units, canoes, garage doors,

and curling irons, to name only a few. Before the war the country had produced a total of 23,000 aluminum window frames, but one Arizona company, buying its metal from Reynolds's Phoenix plant, now turns out as many every three days. The amount of aluminum currently going into housing materials alone is larger than our total annual output in pre-war years. With mills running full blast, producers are struggling to stay abreast of orders; delivery on some items takes a year.

Although rumors persist that a price rise is imminent, Alcoa has given no sign of returning to its pre-war policy of charging what it believed the traffic ought to bear. So far, the threat of dissolution and the changed conditions within the industry have been sufficient to prevent aluminum prices from skyrocketing like those of other metals. (During the First World War, when imports were cut off and demand soared, Alcoa brazenly raised its price from 19 to 38 cents a pound; between 1923 and 1940, with costs never exceeding 11½ cents, the company sold its product at prices ranging from 19 to 29 cents.) At present pig aluminum is still selling at the 1942 price of 14 cents—the lowest in history—and because of high-volume output the producers are making good profits. The favorable price is a stimulus to new uses, and aluminum is displacing steel, copper, and other expensive metals in a wide variety of products.

If genuine competition develops, further tremendous expansion is altogether probable within a few years. The automobile industry is again beginning to turn to aluminum, particularly for trucks and buses. Once the manufacturers are convinced that they no longer need to dance to Alcoa's tune, they will step up their demands enormously. Alcoa's engineers estimate that 500 pounds of aluminum can be advantageously used in a medium-sized passenger car—for doors, wheels, hood, and numerous engine parts—without materially changing designs or production machinery. At that rate of consumption twice the present aluminum output would be needed for the automobile industry alone.

The latent demand of the railroad industry has hardly begun to be felt. Use of aluminum is now limited mainly to passenger-car bodies on a few streamliners. But an aluminum hopper car can carry six and one-half more tons of coal than a steel car—and the sulphur in coal will not corrode aluminum as it does steel. An aluminum box car can be loaded with five to ten extra tons of freight. Ten such cars recently delivered to the Chicago and Alton were so efficient that they were put to use as express cars on passenger trains.

Only an acute shortage of metal prevented the navy from building the aluminum destroyer its architects developed in 1941. Alcoa is now erecting a plate mill to supply the wants of an almost untouched market in shipbuilding. Within a few years aluminum bulkheads like those in the Normandie will no longer be excep-

tional nor will aluminum decks and gangways. Housing likewise offers a vast market. Aluminum already is coming into wide use for roofing, siding, hardware, storm sash, screens, and other items. Construction of all-aluminum industrialized houses like those planned by Fuller, Lincoln, and Consolidated-Vultee will create a still greater demand.

But if the aluminum industry is to realize its almost limitless potentialities, Alcoa's monopoly must be completely smashed. Temporarily at least the company's two chief competitors depend on it for some of their raw materials. Kaiser is counting on Alcoa to supply nearly all of his 1947 bauxite requirements—under a contract that can be canceled on sixty days' notice. Even after they have developed economical and dependable bauxite supplies, Kaiser and Reynolds will be in a precarious competitive position. For Alcoa, besides controlling practically all high-grade domestic bauxite, owns a fleet of ships which can bring in foreign ores at low costs. Its power costs, a crucial factor in ingot production, are lower than those of its new rivals. And if it chooses, Alcoa can call upon its affiliate, the Aluminum Company of Canada, for aid in driving competitors to the wall. Thanks to war-time expansion subsidized by the United States, British, and Australian governments, the Canadian company is now the world's largest raw-aluminum producer, and its costs are so low—less

than 7 cents a pound—that the present 3-cent tariff could not prevent it from invading the American market.

Congress could bolster Alcoa's competitors and pave the way for expansion of the industry by carrying out the recent recommendations of the Senate Small Business Committee, which are that the bauxite tariff be lifted; that a special government corporation be created to replace the bungling War Assets Administration in winding up the plant-disposal program; and that the St. Lawrence and other public-power projects be speedily approved, in order to furnish the low-cost energy needed to put a number of ingot plants back into operation and make possible the construction of others. Even in the unlikely event that this aid should be forthcoming, however, the independents would still face formidable obstacles in cutting down Alcoa's lead. Attorney General Clark's advice to Congress a year and a half ago is still sound: "The best answer to the problem is to subdivide the company into efficient but competing units. Only in such a climate will the aluminum industry be able to operate, new and old assured of a fair opportunity to live and thrive."

Before long Alcoa will probably petition for dismissal of the pending anti-trust case. The government should head off this move by asking the court to order the company's dissolution without further delay. The job of de-monopolizing aluminum, now well started, should be finished.

India Comes into Its Own

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, February 24

IN ANALYZING the Indian situation a month ago I pointed out the many uncertain factors in it. In the meantime the Moslem League, ignoring the gesture of the Congress Party, has decided to demand the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, asserting that its decisions are invalid and illegal. The princes seemed tempted at one stage to follow the Moslem League's example and boycott the Constituent Assembly—a procedure which would have greatly strengthened Churchill's hand—but some important states have adopted the courageous line of negotiating directly with Nehru and his committee concerning their representation. Thus of the four main groups—the Congress Party, the Moslem

League, the smallest minorities, and the princes—all except the League and possibly some princes clearly accept the Constituent Assembly.

The Congress leaders could with reason have asked for an immediate break-up of the coalition. Appeasement of the Moslem League could obviously go no farther. The interim government was divided into two hostile sections, and administration was virtually at a standstill. Nehru and eight of his colleagues, including three representatives of minorities outside the Congress, finally told the Viceroy that there was no room in the government for both them and the Moslem League's nominees. The Viceroy communicated with the Labor government, and Attlee announced the results of the discussions in the House of Commons last week.

The Congress Party had raised the point of the propriety of the Moslem League remaining in office while repudiating the Constituent Assembly. The Moslem League had demanded the dissolution of the Constituent

SHIVA RAO, correspondent in India for The Nation and the Manchester Guardian, is on the staff of the Hindu of Madras.

Assembly, taking its cue from Churchill and the Tories. Attlee faced neither question positively. Instead, he adopted an entirely new line. He fixed the precise date for the British withdrawal from India as not later than June 19, 1948. And he took the unprecedented step of terminating Lord Wavell's career as Viceroy, explaining that it was only a war-time appointment and that the present juncture was an appropriate one for a change. Lord Mountbatten will relieve Lord Wavell next month and prepare the ground for the final transfer of power next year.

Churchill's intemperate outburst about Wavell's dismissal has only complicated an extremely difficult situation. The Congress leaders' ultimatum to the Viceroy clearly meant that they would resign if the Moslem League stayed in office. Wavell's sympathies ever since he assumed office have been with the Moslem League. The resignation of the Congress from the interim government would inevitably have been followed by its abandoning office in nine provinces out of eleven. Once that occurred, nothing could have prevented the Congress Party from renewing the struggle against the League on a mass scale.

Could Britain have controlled the situation under those circumstances? Attlee and the Cabinet obviously ruled out allowing such a development. What was the alternative? To compel the Moslem League to quit office—logically the correct policy—would have meant the lesser disaster, but disaster it would have been, with the interim government already hard put to administer the country. Attlee's declaration has one supreme merit: it keeps both the Congress Party and the Moslem League functioning inside the government. The spectacular step of dismissing the Viceroy, as Churchill unwisely put it, should not obscure this important point.

Nehru's reaction is significant. He called the declaration "wise" and "courageous," removing "all misconception and suspicion and bringing reality and a certain dynamic quality into the present situation." He renewed the invitation to the Moslem League to give up suspicion and fear and become "partners in this historic undertaking." The moment British rule disappears, declared Nehru, the responsibility for governing India will automatically devolve on the Indian people. Toward Britain he made a generous gesture. Earnestly hoping that the long past with its conflicts and ill-will was over, he looked forward "to a peaceful and cooperative transition and to the establishment of close and friendly relations



Caricature by Seligson
Lord Mountbatten

with the British people for the mutual advantage of both countries and for the advancement of the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world."

I asked Nehru yesterday about his plans for the future. He said he would first see whether the Moslem League enters the Constituent Assembly. If it does, Attlee's stipulation that the constitution must be framed by a fully representative Assembly will be satisfied. Britain can then, without further argument, transfer power.

I drew Nehru's attention to the statement of a prominent member of the Moslem League who said he appreciated the friendliness of Nehru's latest appeal but felt that only the recognition of Pakistan would solve the problem. Though Jinnah has not spoken and the League's executive has not yet met to consider Attlee's statement, as it will shortly, the pledge to transfer power by June of next year "to some form of central government for British India as a whole or in some areas to the existing provincial governments" may encourage the League to remain out of the Constituent Assembly. In that case Nehru will recommend to the Assembly that it proceed on a somewhat different basis.

Under the British Cabinet's long-term plan the union center government would control only three subjects—defense, external affairs, and communications—with the finance necessary for administration. If the Constituent Assembly without the League is not fully representative, there is no point in working for a weak center. The Assembly, therefore, while continuing to function, will not feel bound by compromises intended to attract the Moslem League. It will probably frame a constitution conceding the provinces the largest measure of autonomy but at the same time leave to the federal government at the center greater authority than the Labor government has recommended. Such a constitution would be acceptable to at least eight provinces and to a number of states.

What will the Moslem League do? Jinnah will wait for the parliamentary debates on India—as will the Congress leaders. He will await, too, the final outcome of the League's move to defy the Punjab ministry's restrictions on the formation of so-called volunteer corps—really private armies. Successful defiance will mean the League's control of the Punjab. A similar movement has already begun in the adjoining Northwestern Frontier Province, which is separated from Afghanistan by the Khyber Pass. Jinnah doubtless reckons that these efforts may bring all northwestern India from Karachi to Peshawar, including four provinces, under the League. What he has not considered is that the Hindus and Sikhs inhabiting this area will not meekly accept Moslem rule. So far the Punjab has escaped the horrors of large-scale riots like those that took place in Behar and Bengal. There is no guaranty that this immunity will continue if the Moslem League's direct-action campaign proves effective.

For the moment, however, Attlee has averted a major crisis in India by dropping Lord Wavell and fixing the date for British withdrawal. Congress leaders, including Nehru, will give Mountbatten time to formulate plans for that event. They expect him to recede into the background and gradually shed the autocratic powers of the Viceroy. They hope that the interim government will function effectively under Nehru's leadership. At present, owing to internal strains and frictions, grave social and economic problems do not receive the prompt and energetic attention they deserve.

Mountbatten must act quickly and boldly when he replaces Wavell in order to insure what Nehru calls "peaceful and cooperative transition." He must treat Nehru's government as if India were a full-fledged dominion preparing to leave the British Commonwealth next year.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THE Public Affairs Committee is, as most people know, a non-profit, educational organization devoted to providing the "facts" on just about everything in the field of economics and sociology. One of its more effective activities is publishing a series of "Public Affairs Pamphlets," at 10 cents each. And one of the better of these pamphlets (No. 121) is "Radio Is Yours" by Jerome H. Spingarn, formerly an attorney on the staff of the Federal Communications Commission, a man who knows more than a little about radio and who has written on it for *The Nation*. "Radio Is Yours," to the great pain of commercial broadcasters, proves that radio is no gift from the industry to the public. It says:

The public spent \$25 for receiving equipment to every \$1 which the broadcasters spent for transmitting equipment. The listeners' upkeep bill, too, was larger than the advertiser's. He spent 3 cents a day per receiver to the advertiser's 2 cents.

And if you've been hearing some of those awful spots about "advertising being essential to your job" that have been cluttering the air, or if you've been reading what broadcasters have been saying about the FCC, you'll be

interested in this remark made by Herbert Hoover when he was Secretary of Commerce, quoted by Mr. Spingarn:

It is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service, for news, for entertainment, for education, and for vital commercial purposes to be drowned in advertising chatter.

In thirty-one tightly written pages "Radio Is Yours" gives an excellent review of commercial radio, soap operas, and the famous FCC "Blue Book" of last year. It points out that as far back as 1928 the Federal Radio Commission, which later became the FCC, made it clear that "listeners are given no protection unless it is given to them by this commission."

A lucid account of the discussion of public issues on the radio defines the FCC's responsibility:

Thus the responsibility for managing a station and for observing and enforcing the principles of free speech rests upon the shoulders, not of the government, but of the station licensee. If he fails to give fair play, recourse can be had to the FCC, which makes an over-all review of the station's public service. It cannot order a station to give time to such and such a person or to put such and such a program on the air. It can, however, revoke a license or deny a renewal.

Illuminating paragraphs on the radio lobby describe the political and network pressures applied. Here is an interesting item:

Radio broadcasting is one of the most profitable industries in the country. In 1945 the four major and five regional networks . . . realized a broadcast income of \$20,842,506 on an original investment of \$14,531,288.

There is information on newspapers and radio, on FM, on the rights of the listener to good programs, on the activities of listeners' groups and radio councils, and there is a fairly detailed account of the operation of the fabulously successful Community Radio Council in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Finally there are these important words:

When groups or individuals feel that their local radio stations have failed to live up to their obligations to the public, they have a weapon that few of them realize is at hand. *They can ask the FCC to hold a hearing on the station's application for renewal and appear as witnesses.* Recently the FCC has held a few of its hearings in the field. If this practice is continued it will serve to encourage greater popular interest in radio administration.

But probably the chief reason why the radio industry dislikes "Radio Is Yours" is that Mr. Spingarn, in a recommended bibliography, lists "The Hucksters."

For copies of "Radio Is Yours" write the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East Thirty-eighth Street, New York 16, New York.

Prelude to Moscow, a special program giving background information about the Moscow conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, will be aired by the CBS Documentary Unit on Sunday, March 9, at 1 p.m., E.S.T. This is the unit that last week presented The Eagle's Brood, about juvenile delinquency, and in October dealt with domestic fascism in a program called The Empty Noose.





EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Where's That Buyers' Market?

AROUND the turn of the year there was a great hullabaloo, particularly in the business and financial press, about the approaching end of inflation. Big headlines were used to play up small price cuts; impressive articles assured us that the mounting tide of production was about to force down the cost of living; post-holiday department-store sales were hailed as evidence of the end of the sellers' market.

Here are a few specimens of price trend-spotting culled from many in my files:

Storm signals are blinking along the price shoals. This could be the beginning of the "readjustment" which people have been talking about.—*Business Week*, January 4.

That dollar in Mr. Consumer's pocket is about to get stronger and more self-respecting. Pretty soon it will be buying a lot more things than now.—*Wall Street Journal*, January 16.

There is mounting evidence in the files of the Washington fact-finders that prices generally have passed their peak, or certainly are approaching very close to the top level that may be expected.—Charles Hurd in the *New York Times*, January 12.

Toward the end of 1946 there was, it is true, a definite setback in food prices and almost sensational breaks in a few luxury items such as diamonds and furs. But simultaneous sharp increases in quotations for many industrial raw materials as well as numerous upward revisions in prices of finished goods made these cheery forecasts seem rather wishful. Very probably they were inspired in part at least by the desire to head off demands for higher wages. Their implied message to the workers was: Be patient, stay on the job, don't insist on more pay, and you will find the purchasing power of your dollars growing.

The workers have been showing a great deal of patience, but the bright hopes of lower living costs that were offered to them are fading. On January 15 the Bureau of Labor Statistics retail food index showed a decline of 1.1 per cent from the December 15, 1946, level. In the last five weeks, however, the trend has been all the other way, and the pressure on the housewife's purse will be still more severe when retail prices fully reflect the new highs established in wholesale markets. Just in the past week, between February 19 and 26, the *Journal of Commerce* index of thirty sensitive commodities has risen from 274.7 to 282.1, a new high. On November 19, 1946, it was 264.9.

There has been no lack of explanations for many of the price increases. The \$30 quotation for hogs in Chicago, which has attracted so much attention, is attributed to the reduced pig crop in the spring of 1936. A box-car shortage and increased government buying for relief, because of deteriorating food conditions in Europe, are held responsible for the rise in wheat. Cold weather in the Midwest is blamed

for the sharp rebound in butter prices, frosts in Florida for the recovery in citrus juices and tomatoes. However, "commodity analysts" quoted by the *Journal of Commerce* declare that although special reasons can be cited for recent price increases of individual commodities, "the explosive nature of the current burst in commodity prices can hardly be attributed to these factors alone." We must, they suggest, seek an explanation in "psychological factors." Toward the end of last year the air was filled with talk of an early recession, with the result that buyers became more cautious. Weeks passed, and no confirmatory evidence of a business setback appeared. Retail sales, railroad traffic, employment, and production, all stayed at high levels, and as a result business sentiment began to swing violently the other way.

The revival of inflationary psychology is particularly well illustrated in the textile field, where output is at record height, margins between costs and selling prices unusually wide, and earnings spectacular. With the growing availability of hard goods there was every reason to suppose that consumer appetites for soft goods would diminish, and many observers expected that textile prices would be among the first to be readjusted. Nevertheless, in the past few weeks we have seen cotton fibers, yarns and gray cloth, rayon yarns, and worsted fabrics all moving upward.

Commenting on the new highs hit by most commodity price indices, *Business Week* of February 22 complained: "That isn't what was supposed to happen with returning competition, and it's the opposite of what is needed for continuing good business. . . . Much healthier now would be the continuance of the shaking down that characterized December and early January. Booming business would cushion a good bit of readjustment without our really feeling it." It is also true that profits in most lines are now at levels which would permit price cutting and still leave stockholders some distance from the poorhouse. But while there is cream to be skimmed, business men are apt to forget about the plain-milk trade on which ultimately their fortunes must depend. So long as customers can be found at present prices, they instinctively resist "readjustment."

There is very little doubt that consumer resistance is increasing. The volume of retail sales is barely keeping up to last year's level, despite the much greater availability of goods, and the service and luxury trades have experienced a decided setback. These are warning signals that the leaders of business will ignore at their, and our, peril.

In a recent speech Dr. John D. Clark of the Presidential Board of Economic Advisers pointed out that while consumer incomes are not likely to increase this year, industrial production is expected to rise by 10 per cent. The main question, he said, is how to take the extra ten billion dollars of goods off the market. "If prices are not reduced and these goods pile up and business slackens, the price reductions will then take place but at the risk of a recession which, once started, might slip beyond our control." In other words, it is high time for business executives, particularly in those industries where price is determined by policy rather than by the interplay of market forces, to look for a safe path down from the inflationary heights. If they wait too long they may find the easy ways blocked and be forced to make a very precipitous descent.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Balzac in Limbo

BALZAC. By Stefan Zweig. Viking Press. \$3.75.

THERE is still no good life of Balzac in English. For the sake of one, I wish I could convey the nature of my disappointment with Stefan Zweig's attempt. The book has been praised for qualities which it undoubtedly possesses: it is a straightforward and well-ordered story; it springs from genuine sympathy with its subject; it has dignity and judgment; and its fulness of detail is flawed by very few lapses in accuracy. And yet I feel that the work is a superficial, almost an empty book, which leaves Balzac strangely unknown—a book which, stranger still, leaves one's curiosity unaroused.

Superficial works on Balzac are not new; they began with the reminiscences of contemporaries, Léon Gozlan and others; and factual studies, friendly or unfriendly, fill many volumes. But fair or foul, they all succeed in testifying to a greater, or at least a denser, reality than Zweig's more balanced account. I cannot render my impression better than by saying that in Zweig's book we seem to be looking through an inverted opera glass. Costumed figures bestir themselves intelligibly, miniature objects show up in clear enough light, but the scene fails to move us because of the distance—a distance which in nature would prevent our seeing anything, and which is here overcome only by an optical device.

The device is perhaps the simple technique of modern biography, which Stefan Zweig himself did much to make universal. I mean the willingness to explain all about a man's invisible insides while leaving mystery and incoherence to pile up around his works and deeds. Zweig tells us several times that Balzac was the greatest writer of his age, but no less often that his "language and style remained irredeemably defective." At the same time we hear that Balzac carved "his plastic prose" by endless revisions in galley proof. These contradictions might conceivably stand,

and might enlighten us, if we could examine with the biographer a sample of Balzac's work. But we are never given the chance. We hear of Balzac's wit, but are not offered a single morsel. In fact, I defy any reader of the book to remember anything that Balzac said—or even thought—on any but trivial subjects. For this great man has been somehow stripped into a case. To be sure, it is a case presented without malice or arrogance, but this negative merit does not raise the presentment to what Zweig intended or we hoped for—an illustrious life.

We know Zweig's intention from his clear and early statement of the "Balzac theme": his hero "will subordinate everything to the despotic sovereignty of his creative will." Brave words and very likely true, but requiring proof. The first bit of evidence put before us is unfortunate, for it is nothing more than Balzac's pretense to noble birth—a pretense common to French writers as far back as Racine and Voltaire, and which sprang rather from social compulsion than from the creative will. Later on we see will-power keeping Balzac at his desk and accomplishing the superhuman labors that finally killed him, but nowhere does Zweig come to grips with Balzac's own idea of the will. Calling it "grandiose" and "Promethean" does not help. It would have been better to tell us something about the psychiatric *idéologues* whom Balzac read, and to show us the difference between the doggedness that scribbles and the energy that creates. The prophetic fiction in which Balzac clothed both his conception and his feeling about will, "La Peau de chagrin," receives but casual mention, as do in fact most of Balzac's "imperishable masterpieces."

The biographer obviously assumes that everybody reads or has read Balzac. Nothing could be more mistaken. Zweig and literary Vienna, stirred up by Hugo von Hofmannsthal forty years ago, may have read Balzac for a time; novelists here and there, if they know French and if they are good enough critics to agree

with Henry James that all the roads of modern fiction lead back to Balzac, will remain devotees; but in spite of a great reputation and a supposedly accessible and exciting "realism," Balzac is anything but a popular author.

For one thing, he belongs to the category of fruit that have a bitter rind: his opening chapters are almost invariably repellent. The great machine which will shortly carry you along lumbers at the start. Then the substance of his novels is scarcely what it seems or what these oppressive introductions suggest. You think you are plowing through a sociologist's report or an interior decorator's catalogue, while in fact you are being hypnotized into sharing a metaphysical sensation—the author's hatred of matter, of trade, of the cumbersomeness of human living. There is, indeed, genuine sensuality in Balzac, but it is the sensuality of a wit like Rabelais, not of a hotel manager like Arnold Bennett. That is why Zweig is much righter when he calls Balzac a peasant than when he inconsistently dubs him a bourgeois. But class names are opprobrious and misleading; we should say rather that it is not so much observation that constitutes Balzac's great gift: it is fantasy—verging sometimes on melodrama—which uses the real, or better, the commonplace, in order to make you fear and despise it. He himself said, "After all, one invents what turns out true," and the novelists he wanted to surpass were Scott and Hoffmann.

That Balzac's vision turns out to resemble the "panorama of an age" is all to the good, but if we read the "Comédie humaine" as literally as a textbook we falsify history. The justification for paraphrasing Dante's title lies in the vision. In both men it is intellectual passion that sweeps along, irresistibly, the factual rubbish and the reader too. And it is Balzac's passionate vision that we do not once glimpse through Stefan Zweig's pages. What we see is a laborious hack in misery, in love, in debt. His great capacity for folly, financial and amorous, is minutely though gently described; yet we never learn why his

sound perceptions produced such colossal disasters. It was neglect of detail, of course, lack of real interest in money, intrigue, and people—the very objects Balzac is supposed to pursue. He absorbed them, which is a different thing, and we accordingly ask: Where in this "Life" is Balzac's devouring imagination, where is the world of ideas—his own and others'—where is the uniqueness of his "disciplined artistic intelligence"?

Should we not be told what the romanticists meant by the real, the terrible, the fantastic, and why Balzac admired Hoffmann? The latter's "Tales" have just been reprinted (edited by Christopher Lazare, illustrated by Richard Lindner; Wyn, \$7.50) with illustrations that show we do not understand what fantastic means; we make it pale and mawkish, or confuse it with the grotesque. Should we not also be made to recognize in the Gothic structure of the "Comédie humaine" the fact that Balzac's inspiration came through plot, character, or idea, since it has been found nearly impossible to arrange the separate novels in historical or biological order? The latest attempt by the veteran Balzac bibliographer, W. H. Royce ("Balzac as He Should Be Read," New York, Auguste Giraldi), is worth consulting, though it is marred in the first edition by too many typographical and other slips. There was need, moreover, for a discussion of Balzac's political ideas—even though unflattering to democracy—for they were a main concern in his life and a driving force in his writings.

In short, whether we start from Balzac's self-revelation or from the conventional view of the "Comédie" as an abstract of the times, we end up with a critical problem which Zweig's book leaves untouched. It is quite possible that Zweig, as a novelist *manqué*, had compelling reasons for not seeing it. He can hardly have thought that Balzac as a natural man was sufficiently interesting to warrant four hundred pages of text.

In the touching Postscript added by a friend we discover that in Zweig's earlier drafts there were parts when the biographer had been "tempted by his theme to sing an aria." These were cut out, on various advices which I deplore. For what we have now is *recitativo*

secco, a dry recital which calls for, and makes us perpetually expect, a music that fails to resound.

JACQUES BARZUN

Our Native Fascists

THE PLOTTERS. By John Roy Carlson. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.50.

UNDER COVER" and now "The Plotters" are two reference volumes that should be in the library of every American anti-fascist, for they are invaluable guidebooks through the morasses of native fascist movements in this country. Congressional committees of inquiry appointed to investigate these movements have so conspicuously failed to discharge their assignment that Mr. Carlson's work is about our only source of accurate information. As a good reporter, he is particularly careful and painstaking about names, dates, and persons present; and as a sincere and devoted anti-fascist, he avoids the common mistake of dismissing as insignificant the crackpot manifestations of fascist thinking. With these volumes at hand, one can readily identify the individuals and the various "front" organizations which make up the native fascist network in America. Since this is a major accomplishment in itself, Mr. Carlson is obviously justified in the feeling of satisfaction in his own work which he never bothers to conceal.

While gratefully acknowledging Carlson's merits as a sleuth and watch dog, one can still be somewhat dismayed by his lack of a theoretical understanding of some of the issues which he discusses with such an annoying show of omniscience. One should always be grateful for good reporting in any field, but for good reporting to be raised to the level of social analysis, it should be informed by some framework of sound theory. It is here that Carlson's work falls far short of its goal and is, indeed, actually misleading. Not only is "The Plotters" devoid of ideas, but many of the opinions expressed are highly dubious. For example, Mr. Carlson cites "four main underlying causes" of the rise of native fascist movements in America—the rise of labor as a powerful voice in national and world affairs, the social advances of the New Deal which have aroused antagonism in cer-

tain quarters, the upsurge of the U. S. S. R., and "the gross treatment by the U. S. S. R. of religious values and church dogmas." This type of analysis is based, or might well be based, upon what the native fascists themselves advance as reasons for their actions. One looks in vain for a suggestion that the concentration of economic power in the United States and the economic pressures brought to bear upon the lower and middle classes might have some relevance to the problem.

This same uncertainty of analysis is shown in Carlson's amusingly vague definition of his own ideological position. He is "a voting, fighting, thinking, forward-looking, middle-road American," who adheres to what might be called the "for-all-its-faults" theory of capitalist society. "All factors considered, including its failings," he still believes, and expresses the belief with some vehemence, in the capitalist order, quoting, as the words of an oracle, some fancy phrases of Eric Johnston. Then, in a fine burst of theory, he proceeds to specify the objectives which must be attained if the threat of native fascism is to be overcome. These include the elimination of slums, full benefits "to all who produce our economic wealth," jobs for all, industrial peace, the determination of "a fair and not an exorbitant profit on all business enterprise," and the decentralization of financial power. If these are the "musts" in a program to combat fascism, one can only marvel at Carlson's naivete in assuming that such objectives can be attained within the framework of the capitalist order.

As further evidence of a similar boyish ideological exuberance, I will quote one of Carlson's strictures on the race question. Anti-fascists are urged to stop "the cry of 'social-equality' propaganda," it being "more important for the Southern Negro and underprivileged white Americans to eat three well-balanced meals a day than to eat in a 'white' restaurant." Implicit in such a careless appraisal is the assumption that segregation has no bearing on the question of three well-balanced meals a day. To dismiss the fight against segregation as "social-equality propaganda" is, again, to follow the line of Gerald L. K. Smith. The plain truth is, and it has been demonstrated repeatedly in the

social sciences, that the factors Carlson has in mind when using such a phrase as "social equality" cannot be divorced from a consideration of what he calls "job, educational, recreational, and political opportunities."

While I intend to keep "The Plot-ter's" close at hand and have already had occasion to consult it frequently, I must say, to use General Marshall's phrase, that it is a most ineptly organized book. It has neither beginning nor end; and it is obviously padded. The removal of several long passages, and even of a chapter or two, would have sharpened the impact and clarified the meaning of the book as a whole. The long chapter on the American Communist Party is so much fustian, obviously included to certify the author as a middle-roader. The Communist Party may be the most dangerous subversive organization in America, but if it is, evidence of the fact is not to be found in this chapter.

One can only hope that Mr. Carlson will continue to ferret out the native fascists, of all hues and varieties, and that he will give us, every year or so, a volume based on his findings.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

The Airy and the Earth-Bound

SLOW MUSIC. By Genevieve Taggard. Harper and Brothers, \$2.

THE EARTH-BOUND, 1924-1944. By Janet Lewis. The Wells College Press. \$4.50.

MISS TAGGARD'S specialty is a peculiar kind of lyric, very frail, clear, disembodied; lark-song descending from way up high in the pure sky, or coming down from above the cloud. This is a difficult genre to sustain, or repeat; aiming at effects of innocence, of being "natural," Miss Taggard overdoes it a little. For example, her use of a *La-la-la* refrain is incongruous in the Hymn to Yellow, with its more literate vocabulary—*corona, flange, ritual, exuberance, ideal, sluice, calyx, vibration*; the disparate elements do not fuse. Nor is the same attempt in the Dialogue on Cider attended with any happier result; there it has the effect of reducing what already sounds childish enough to an even simpler level. Sophis-

tication is flimsy stuff, to be sure, with which to compose, but a false assumption of its lack can also lead to bathos. It is very, very hard to be simple and innocent; to *seem* so is even harder: and at what point must one give up being natural in order to avoid being careless? Miss Taggard knows too much about technique and texture, about color and sound, to spoil as many poems as she does with lapses into the flatly declarative—"travail of lost person always hunted for" (in *The Weed*), "asserting your nature, priceless and feminine" (in *Demeter*), or the gauche rhyme, "spirit—hear it" (*Gilfeather, Again*), or (I do not think this is meant to be funny) "dews-chartreuse" (*Problem of Evil into Cocoon*). There are so many poems in Miss Taggard's collection that are almost quite lovely. I think she would also do well not to write so much about poetry, poems, and poets: this can so easily invite accusations of self-consciousness, as if the writer were saying to the reader, "See! Look! I am one." No such accusation could be brought, for instance, against the author of the first stanza of *Gilfeather, Again*; but there are too many times when Miss Taggard seems to be giving herself airs, not receiving, or transmitting them, from the spirit.

Miss Lewis is a less ambitious, and more uniformly successful, poet. Less traveled than Miss Taggard, she reports only that which she has observed from her house, door yard, and the fields nearby. The statement is simple, the tone quiet; there is emotion, warmth, a richness that comes from concreteness of the imagery, and a subtlety in the modulation of the cadences. No fancy business, no spectacular wind-up, but ease of delivery, timing, control. Two poems, one of early, one of late, day, *Remembered Morning* and *Going Home* from the Party, on facing pages, invite, and reward, considerable study of their metrical patterns: there may be space enough to offer samples, the first stanza of the first poem, and the last of the latter:

The ax rings in the wood,
And the children come,
Laughing and wet from the river;
And all goes on as it should.
I hear the murmur and hum
Of their morning forever.

* * *

I heard the deft passing
Of small creatures tracing
Night paths and erasing
Day paths from the ground,
And the silence, deep-massing
In low-lying sound.

But may I venture one suggestion about *Remembered Morning*, Miss Lewis? You don't *have* to rhyme on *heart* at the end of the second stanza; why not get rid of that "parcel and part" business? You could, by repeating or varying the effect with which you end the lovely *Baby Goat* poem, bring down the same line, shortened, or lengthened a little—"The little noise of the clock/ goes on and on in my heart/on and on in my heart." There is nothing like a reviewer's arrogance.

Miss Lewis's book is beautifully made—set, printed, and bound by hand, its 47 pages issued in an edition limited to 300 copies, 40 of which have been signed by the author. Ten cents a page does not seem a very high price to pay for these poems; still, one might wish for the author a wider circulation, and more royalties. The question has been asked before, What is the matter with American publishers?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

A Roxborough Pastoral

SMALL TOWN. By Granville Hicks. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THE small town versus the city has reached the dizzy levels of Town Meeting of the Air debates, and voices of doom over microphones in the neighborhood of Times Square inform us that the city is obsolete. This perennial subject of controversy—"The devil made the small town," "I wouldn't live in New York if you gave me Park Avenue"—has inspired a wealth of interesting reading, with "Main Street" and "Middletown," Simeon Strunsky's *Topics of the Times* and the *New Yorker's* *The Talk of the Town* presenting the pros and cons of where to hang your hat.

Now comes Granville Hicks to tell us what it is like for an intellectual living in a small, upstate New York town. He calls his town "Roxborough"—though the bright young men of *Time* instantly ferreted out its real name, admits that it is a sort of suburb of Troy, and writes an honest and alto-

gether readable book about his daily rounds as a fire commissioner, a director of the Community League, a member of the P. T. A., and a general getter-up of square dances, skits, and Christmas-present funds for good causes. For this he had a thorough training as a member of the Communist Party, whose lifeblood flows by way of plenums (meetings to you), caucuses, and agitpropping ("agitational propaganda" to you).

Though he has long since abandoned the hope of getting the Wooden Horse of the Communists past the walls of his neighboring Troy, and has definitely come out from among the comrades, there remains with Mr. Hicks a laudable Dale Carnegie determination to make friends however boresome they may be, and influence some of the duller set of people confined within any town limits. At least so we gather from "Small Town."

As a native New Yorker who never ventured much west of the Hudson until he was well into his thirties but who has since then spent many delightful winters in small towns on Martha's Vineyard, and many gruesome ones in small towns in Illinois and Oklahoma, this reviewer can't see what all the shooting's for. You simply can't generalize. An intellectual like Mr. Hicks can find in one election district in Manhattan all the outlets for his community interests that he can find in Roxborough, except possibly the fire department, and at that he can be a buff like Evans Clark.

When Colonel Robert Ingersoll visited Belleville, Illinois, the radical editor of the *Belleville Democrat* took him up to a high place for a view of the town. "How many people have you got here?" asked the old agnostic. "About ten thousand," replied the editor. "I mean real people," said the Colonel. "Oh, them," said the editor, "about ten."

Though Mr. Hicks can come up with no such proportion, his book is always readable, even if you don't regard square dancing and P. T. A. meetings as the height of democratic hilarity. Throughout it he worries aloud because, despite all his efforts, he doesn't seem to be popular in Roxborough. Don't be concerned, Mr. Hicks. When the majority of the people of Roxbor-

ough begin to like you and your ideas, then is the time to worry. For you will discover that, through a mysterious process of small-town osmosis, they will have infiltrated (remember that word?) into your intellectual preserves, and you will begin to think that American legionnaires and other droopy small-town characters are pretty good fellers after all.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

The Argument from Design

HUMAN DESTINY. By Lecomte du Noüy. Longmans, Green and Company. \$3.50.

THERE are several varieties of scientists. One variety holds that science and religion do not mix; among them are fervent believers, and others not so fervent. Then there is a group which discovers religion by studying the "facts" of science. Lecomte du Noüy, a French biophysicist with American affiliations, belongs to the latter. He tells us that a critical examination of the scientific "capital" accumulated by man "leads inevitably to the idea of God." Faith, therefore, is no longer just a matter of belief—an emotional reaction of man to his Maker—but rests solidly upon a scientific foundation. This view, Noüy declares, is in violent conflict with that which states that skepticism, destructive materialism, and atheism are consequences of a scientific interpretation of nature.

What is the leitmotif running through the book? Certain "facts" stand out in the course of evolution which still await explanation: the beginning of life; the evolution of life; the appearance of man and the human brain; the birth of thought and the development of moral and spiritual ideas. Since science offers no explanation, at present, of these "facts," Noüy comes forward with his "tele-finalist" theory of evolution, which states that it is impossible to attribute the birth of life, its evolution, and the manifestation of cerebral activity to a "simple play of chance"—the "chance" which dominates the activities of the inorganic world. Therefore it is necessary to introduce a "transcendent, extra-earthly force . . . evolution is comprehensible if we admit that it is dominated by a finality, a precise and distant

goal . . ."; and so we reach the superforce, the God.

This "God" idea is strengthened by the following reasoning: evolution has reached a point where future progress rests upon the further development of one single organ, the brain. This means that what had been "physical" development is now replaced by "psychological" development; and "psychological" evolution means an improvement in moral and spiritual ideas. Opposition to "psychological" evolution is contrary to a "directing will" and represents "absolute evil." On the other hand, that which makes man evolve spiritually is "good."

String these pieces together and they make words, words of the type one finds in the writings of the alchemists, but with this difference—that Noüy garnishes his metaphysics with the sauce of science.

What is obvious is that "life" and "evolution" need much more "explaining"; what is not obvious—to me—is that Noüy's hypothesis "explains" anything at all. Skeptics will not be convinced; believers need no convincing; and the clergy will seize upon this work of a scientist to lend added support to their preachings.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Soviet Statistics

A GUIDE TO THE SOVIET UNION.

By William Mandel. Dial Press. \$5.

THIS book contains a great deal of factual information on many aspects of the U. S. S. R., from medicine to foreign policy, from geography to architecture. Like all informational compendiums it is designed not for steady reading but as a sourcebook for the student of Russia eager to get at facts and figures. The author, who speaks Russian and has worked in the Soviet Union, has served as research associate of the American-Russian Institute and as Russian expert for the United Press, and is at present Hoover Institute Fellow in Slavic Studies at Stanford University. He is therefore well equipped by training and by knowledge of the Russian language—a qualification all too rare among those who write on Russian affairs—to prepare a handbook of this type based on Russian sources.

His volume, however, would have

been far more useful for the general reader if he had, in fact, made it a compilation of information and not attempted at the same time to offer a running analysis of conditions in the Soviet Union. As it is, he does not present sufficient analytical material to interest those who want to find thoughtful interpretation; and yet—because, in a commendable attempt to be objective, he has filled his pages with the views of various commentators on Russia—the facts and figures a busy person would like to get at quickly are sometimes buried in a mass of quotations from writers on Russia and excerpts from various documents. In spite of this technical complication, Mr. Mandel's volume, which is written in a spirit friendly to the U. S. S. R., should usefully fill a niche on all reference shelves, all the more because it contains a detailed index and helpful end maps.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

A GREAT critic once maintained that the best way for a novice to make the acquaintance of Shakespeare was to read him straight through without pausing to seek explanations and without pondering difficulties. Let such a one, he said, "read on through brightness and obscurity, through integrity and corruption" and only "when the pleasures of novelty have ceased" pause to read the commentators or attempt to solve problems. Whether Johnson would have argued that something could be said for acting the plays in a similar manner I do not know, but the visiting company headed by Donald Wolfitt, now established at the Century Theater, seems to approach its task in that spirit. Mr. Wolfitt thinks nothing of playing *Lear* two nights in succession, then appearing twice the next day as *Touchstone*, and returning to *Lear* again the following evening. He and his companions plunge headlong through scenes which more finicky performers would not approach without months of fasting and prayer. To them the old question whether "*King Lear*" can be acted is answered as the man who was once asked whether or not he believed in adult baptism answered that question. "Do I believe in it?" he exclaimed. "Why,

man, I've seen it done." Mr. Wolfitt simply acts "*King Lear*," and that is that.

In the daily press the enterprise has received a pretty chilly reception, and anyone who expects either the spruceness and care of, say, the Theater Guild's "*Winter's Tale*" or the relative lavishness and the virtuosity of the Old Vic company is sure to be disappointed. According to the program, the present company has for years been playing Shakespeare up and down England with occasional visits to London, where during the height of the blitz it managed to keep open the only legitimate theater then in operation by offering hour-long programs of excerpts advertised as "Lunch-Time Shakespeare." The costumes and the scenery look as though they might date from that time, and the direction, as well as the performances, is rather rough and ready. The leading lady, Rosalind Iden, has a pleasing stage presence and a clear, expressive speaking voice—as well as legs which fill her namesake's hose very agreeably. Just how good an actor Mr. Wolfitt would seem in a part to which he had devoted the whole of his attention is difficult to say, and under the present circumstances it is evident only that he is a valiant war horse who does the impossible better than most could do it. The members of the supporting company vary from the pretty good—for example, John Wynyard as Jacques—to the pretty awful—example not given.

Obviously a reviewer needs to be careful to whom he recommends performances like these. They are certainly not for those who tend to regard Shakespeare as a bore who can be rendered tolerable only when some well-known theatrical personality chooses to contribute the interest of his presence. Neither, on the other hand, are they for the connoisseurs who assert a proprietary interest in the sacred text, who resent any rough hands laid upon it, and who will tolerate a performance only if it affords an opportunity to debate fine points. But there are others who think Shakespeare an interesting writer, who can read or see him performed without being perpetually on the qui vive to be sure that neither they nor anyone else is missing anything. I count myself among these last, and for such as us there is something to be said for the opportunity to witness a performance of a play as seldom acted as "*King Lear*" or even to see again one of the more familiar works which our grandfathers saw a great deal more often than we shall ever see it.

Take the case of "As You Like It." It happened to go on the night of the blizzard, and there have been few occasions during the course of my life when the Bard's contention that the winter wind is not half so unkind as man's ingratitude seemed more open to question. The curtain had only to rise to reveal the fact that one was not to expect anything elaborate in the matter of scenery, though the childishly simple device of turning around a few screens to indicate a change from the Duke's court to the Forest of Arden actually worked well enough. Not much more time had to elapse before it was equally evident that no new interpretations were to be looked for. But I soon discovered that I need only relax comfortably in my seat to pass a very agreeable evening listening to some of the simplest, gentlest, and sunniest words ever written by mortal man. What is more, I got also, in due time, the reward which I seldom fail to receive from any performance of even the most familiar of the plays—namely, bits of dialogue as new to me as though I had never heard Shakespeare. This time one of them was a sentence spoken to the obdurate Phoebe, who has just refused once more the advances of her faithful shepherd. Says Rosalind, leaning confidentially toward her, "Sell while you can; you are not for all markets." Now that is not what is commonly called Shakespearean. It is, however, something even better. The special tone of playful, mocking cynicism is precisely Rosalind's own. Somebody other than Shakespeare might have written it. Only she could have said it.

The announced repertory of Mr. Wolfitt's company includes, in addition

SPECIAL FOOD PARCEL FOR OVERSEAS

No. 57 — \$6.95

INCL. POSTAGE, PACKING, INSURANCE

This parcel specially made up of items frequently requested from overseas

- 12 oz. meat loaf (beef)
- 1/2 lb. sweet cocoa milk
- 1 lb. honey
- 3/4 lb. vegetable fat
- 1 lb. dried prunes
- 1/2 lb. chocolate
- 1 lb. coffee
- 1/4 lb. egg powder
- 1/2 lb. milk powder
- 4 oz. soap

Write for prices and further information on parcels made up to order.

J. KOHLS

PERSONAL PARCEL SERVICE

315 WEST 102nd ST. NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Academy 2-3844

to the plays already mentioned, "The Merchant of Venice," "Hamlet," and Ben Jonson's "Volpone." The last has certainly not been seen here for many years except in the translation of a German rewriting given many seasons ago by the Theater Guild.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE more ambitious and serious of the youngest generation of American painters live south of Twenty-third Street, are shown now and then on Fifty-seventh Street (at Art of This Century, Betty Parsons Gallery, the Egan Gallery, and one or two other places), but never figure in the big annual group shows and get almost no publicity. They are all more or less abstract in mode, betray the influence of Picasso, Matisse, Miró, or Klee, and half or more come out of Hans Hofmann's school on West Eighth Street. A group of these young painters, the year before this, used to show regularly at the Jane Street Gallery just off Eighth Avenue. After that gallery—which was something of a cooperative enterprise—closed, they remained known as the Jane Street Group, and they are now receiving a show at the small new Gallery Neuf (342 East Seventy-ninth Street), which is run by a young writer from New Orleans, Kenneth Lawrence Beaudoin. Mr. Beaudoin also publishes a little magazine, *Iconograph*, and has a wife, Gertrude Barrer, who is one of the most promising young painters in the country.

The members of the Jane Street Group are Nell Blaine, Frances Eckstein, Ken Ervin, Ida Fischer, Albert Kresch, Sterling Poin Dexter, Judith Rothschild, and Hyde Solomon. None of these artists—not even Nell Blaine, the most developed of them—is anywhere near fulfillment as yet, and it would be unfair to attempt to draw up a critical balance sheet of their individual accomplishments. Suffice it to say that except for Miss Eckstein, who paints nice but irrelevant flower pieces, they are all ambitious and serious, and seem uncompromisingly determined to prolong and widen the path marked out by Matisse, the cubists, Arp, and Mondrian. My one provisional criticism, founded on a short acquaintance with their work, is that they have perhaps too narrow and too sectarian a conception of what being an artist involves.

The Gallery Neuf itself is the center of a tendency quite different from that represented by the Jane Street Group. This tendency, first made known by Steve Wheeler, takes its point of departure from Northwestern Indian art—more specifically that of the Haidas. Most of the work produced under this inspiration is still too literal in its dependence, too imitative of the influence itself, and too mechanical in execution. And it is, moreover, a style that lends itself to the fabrication of pastiches of Klee, who was himself considerably influenced by primitive or barbaric art.

Gertrude Barrer, who had her first show at the Gallery Neuf last month, is however, one artist who succeeds in assimilating Klee and Haida art to her own personality. In Miss Barrer's hands Klee's influence serves admirably to expand the absolutely flat and formal patterns of Northwestern Indian art and render them permeable to contemporary feeling. A more delicate linearism breaks up and softens the stiff, stylized patterns, and floating washes of brownish-grayish color assert the picture plane without permitting that frozen, flat decorativeness which usually results when Haida or South Sea art is transposed too directly into easel painting. Miss Barrer is not a large and heroic talent; her effects are still minor at best and somewhat restricted—as must needs be the case with anyone who goes to school with Klee. But her gift is as indisputable as the physical presence itself of her pictures. One can only hope that she escapes those social and cultural handicaps that have in the past generally combined to frustrate female talent in the plastic arts.

Rufino Tamayo's recent show, at the Valentine Gallery, only repeated the point previously made by his painting. This painting, while of the highest seriousness and awareness, and compounded of the best ingredients in the way of paint quality, format, and even inventiveness, fails to come off except in isolated single pictures. Thus a Tamayo "problem" arises. Though Picasso's massive example has formed his design and dictated his brush-handling, Tamayo's originality is beyond question, especially on the score of color, over which he has thrown a typically hot, dark Mexican cast. And he remains always an interesting and seemingly powerful painter. But interest is not enough, and power is only relative, and the appearance of it can be obtained sometimes at the cost of its substance.

I believe Tamayo's error to be the same as that made so frequently by Picasso since 1930—an error which seems to have been established as canon by the latest generation of French painters. That error consists in pursuing expressiveness and emotional emphasis beyond the coherence of style. It has led Tamayo and the younger French into an academic trap: emotion is not only expressed, it is *illustrated*. That it is denoted, instead of being embodied. Instead of dissolving his emotion into the abstract elements of style—which is what the old masters and Delacroix did just as much as the cubists—and renouncing any part of feeling, that his style cannot order and unify Tamayo, like Picasso in his weaker moments, localizes the excess emotion—the emotion that his artistic means cannot yet large or strong enough to digest—in gestures, the grimace on a face, the swelling calf of a leg, in anatomical distortions that have no relation to the premises upon which the rest of the picture has been built. This amounts in the last analysis to an attempt to avoid the problems of plastic unity by appealing directly, in a different language from that of painting, to the spectator's susceptibility to literature, which includes stage effects.

If Tamayo were not as good a painter as he is, one would not bother to point all this out. But since he is such a good painter, at least in potentiality, one not only points all this out—one also concludes that if so good a painter can make so crude a mistake, then painting in general has lost confidence in itself. In the face of current events painting feels, apparently, that it must be more than itself: it must be epic poetry, it must be theater, it must be rhetoric, it must be an atomic bomb, it must be the Rights of Man. But the greatest painter of our time, Matisse, preeminently demonstrated the sincerity and penetration that go with the kind of greatness particular to twentieth-century painting by saying that he wanted his art to be an armchair for the tired business man.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

OLIN DOWNES'S first article on the New York Philharmonic crisis, in which he evaded the issues, was bad enough; but even worse was his second article, in which he dealt

MOTION PICTURES

DARRYL F. ZANUCK Presents

DANA ANDREWS
in
BOOMERANG

with
JANE WYATT • LEE J. COBB

—PLUS BIG STAGE SHOW—

KATHERINE DUNHAM and Her Dancers
ERNESTO LECUONA

Extra Added Attraction • Special
SID CAESER • PHIL REGAN

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

PAULETTE GODDARD

FRED MacMURRAY in

'SUDDENLY IT'S SPRING'

with **MACDONALD CAREY • ARLEEN WHELAN**
A MITCHELL LEISEN Production • A PARAMOUNT Picture

—IN PERSON—

JOHNNY LONG & HIS ORCHESTRA
JOAN EDWARDS

PLUS EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LEWIS & VAN • BUDDY LESTER

DON RAKEF AT THE ORGAN

Doors Open
at 8:15 A. M.
55¢
TO 1 P. M.
(Tax. Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A smash hit of
enormous pro-
portions." —
Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by **GARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with **JOSHUA LOGAN**

"A REWARDING COMEDY." —**Barnes, Her. Trib.**

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by **NORMAN KRASNA**

Directed by **MR. LOGAN**

BOOTH Theatre, 45th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A HAPPY HIT." —**Coleman, Mirror**

HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by **ANITA LOOS**

Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"BULL'S-EYE." —**Barnes, Herald Tribune**

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by **IRVING BERLIN**

Book by **HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS**

with **RAY MIDDLETON** Directed by **Joshua Logan**
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

TO PLACE AN ADVERTISEMENT
CALL Barclay 7-1066

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st St.
86th St.
86th St.
86th St.
86th St.
86th St.
86th St.
86th St.

BROOKLYN

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE
HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"BIG BOUNCING MUSICAL." —**New York Herald Tribune**

DENNIS MORGAN
JACK CARSON

'THE TIME
THE PLACE
AND THE GIRL'

IN TECHNICOLOR

JANIS PAGE • MATTHA VICKERS • E. Z. SAKALL

—AND—

'THE FALCON'S ADVENTURE'
TOM CONWAY • MADGE MEREDITH

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENNEDY
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"EXCITING SPY STORY." —**N. Y. World-Telegram**

JAMES CAGNEY

'13 Rue Madeleine'

ANNABELLA • RICHARD CONTE

—AND—

'SWEETHEART OF SIGMA CHI'
PHIL REGAN • ELYSE KNOX

CONCERT

CARNEGIE HALL, **SUN., MARCH 9 at 8:30**

SIMON BARERE

"...one recalls Busoni and Paderewski."

TICKETS AT BOX OFFICE

—**New York Times**

Buy Your Books Through **THE NATION**



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation*.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The **NATION**

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

with them with beclouding indirection and evasion.

Thus he began with a hullabaloo about the misbehavior of Rodzinski, who had had "ample time to make any complaints, public or private . . . at the appropriate moment and in the most effective way," but whose "suddenly proffered resignation" had "resulted in forcing the Philharmonic-Symphony on the spur of the moment to choose its conductors for the balance of this season and next with a haste that . . . cannot be for the best good of the famous artistic organization which Dr. Rodzinski professes to love so much." One must suppose Rodzinski had done a lot of complaining before the point when he was offered a new contract that he had either to accept or refuse; and actually it was the Philharmonic that created the emergency Mr. Downes described, by dismissing Rodzinski immediately when he resigned as of next October.

Next Mr. Downes devoted a couple of paragraphs to Rodzinski's complaints and to doubts of their accuracy or justification, before conceding that "the permanent conductor must be engaged on the basis of his abilities, then given undisputed authority in purely artistic matters, and held responsible for the results"—and only to add: "But there must be flexible cooperation and practical adjustment all around," and "The conductor's ascendancy with his board will always depend largely upon his acumen, personal force, and public power." Which brought him to "the question of paramount importance . . . the one of the double-barreled managerial relation of Mr. Judson and the orchestra."

On this question Thomson had been forthright and clear: "Arthur Judson is unsuited by the nature and magnitude of his business interests to manage with the necessary self-effacement a major intellectual institution doing business with his other interests." But Mr. Downes found it necessary to begin with an explanation of how natural it had been for the Philharmonic, twenty-five years ago, to engage as its manager a man who "was already the manager of another orchestra—the Philadelphia—and of a number of individual artists," since "it was the period of big combinations in business, finance, railroading, and all the rest of it." Now, however, that period is near its end, "business and politics are changing their methods," and besides "there is not too close a comparison between a manager

who had half a dozen artists and a great orchestra under his control . . . and the manager who controls hundreds of artists with one hand . . . and directs . . . the affairs of a leading American orchestra with the other." In this roundabout way Mr. Downes arrived at a shadowy hint that Mr. Judson should no longer be manager of the Philharmonic; and it was also a way for Mr. Downes to say that Mr. Judson should go but the Philharmonic directors had not done wrong in engaging him originally.

Then Mr. Downes completed his maneuver by continuing: "Every director of the Philharmonic-Symphony whom we know . . . commends Mr. Judson's management. His transactions in all details that affect the Philharmonic-Symphony, including the soloists and conductors . . . their fees, commissions . . . go down on paper and are submitted each season to the careful scrutiny of the . . . board. Mr. Judson's counsel is sought by the members of that board and by many other orchestras who seek his advice as well as his collaboration in their affairs. . . ." That is, Mr. Judson should go but not because of anything wrong he had done as manager.

And the rest was more of same. "In the light of all these things, the subject of his relations with the Philharmonic-Symphony is open to reconsideration." This carried implications which were at once denied: "There is no doubt of the practical effectiveness of the present arrangements but they can be open to criticism in principle. The policies and procedure of an orchestra such as the Philharmonic-Symphony," Mr. Downes elaborated in a deathless sentence, "must be as remote from the slightest suspicion of outside influence or interest as Caesar's wife." This again carried implications that were at once denied: "The situation is not of any individual's making, or of anyone's ability or integrity. It is one occasioned by the development of social and musical conditions of today." And so on.

If in his first article Mr. Downes wrote as the critic of a conservative paper, in his second he carried this to the point of acting virtually as a Philharmonic mouthpiece. His statement about the fees and commissions for Columbia Concerts Corporation conductors and soloists all being set down on the Philharmonic books was similar to the statement by Mr. Charles Triller of the Philharmonic board, who in addition revealed how small the amounts

paid to Columbia Concerts were. Perhaps Mr. Triller and Mr. Downes really thought these amounts were Mr. Judson's entire stake in his Philharmonic managership; but you may be sure Mr. Judson himself knew better. What he is concerned with—in the appearances of Columbia Concerts artists with the Philharmonic—is not the few thousands that Columbia Concerts makes on these appearances, but the many thousands it makes on the increased number of engagements and the higher fees which these artists get all over the country as a result of their Philharmonic appearances. And the objection to the head of Columbia Concerts being manager of the Philharmonic is, as I pointed out, the possibility this creates of his using appearances with the orchestra to build up the prestige and commercial value of the artists he manages.

Mr. Downes wrote that other orchestras "seek his advice as well as his collaboration in their affairs." More correctly, Mr. Judson has influence over other orchestras because of his control of certain soloists whom they need as box-office attractions—influence which he can use to make them engage other soloists whom they don't care about. He exercises additional influence on some of these orchestras through their conductors, who are under his management and owe their posts to him. And here again his control of the New York Philharmonic is valuable to him, since he can dangle before them the possibilities of guest appearances with that orchestra.

Mr. Judson can afford, then, to donate his commissions from the Philharmonic to the orchestra's pension fund. He could afford to give up the salary he gets as manager. More important, he could relinquish the managership itself, and he would continue to exercise control through his conductors, through the Philharmonic board members who seek his counsel, and above all through the highly influential board member who is the lawyer of Columbia Broadcasting System, Columbia Recording Corporation, and Columbia Concerts Corporation (the Philharmonic's prestige is commercially valuable to Columbia Broadcasting and Columbia Recording, and Philharmonic appearances are a means of building up the prestige and commercial values of the recording company's artists).

To liberate the Philharmonic from Mr. Judson one would have to liberate it from those through whom he could control it.

Letters to the Editors

A Bund Offshoot?

Dear Sirs: The letter which Cecil Hourani, secretary of the Arab Office, contributed to your January 11 issue would have been more informative had Mr. Hourani seen fit to say a few words concerning the origin and background of the Arab Office.

Nation readers would be interested in knowing, for example, that the *Arab News Bulletin* published by Mr. Hourani's office, in a late 1946 issue, described the Arab quisling-in-chief, Amin el Hussein, the so-called Grand Mufti, as "a single-minded and courageous patriot."

This "single-minded and courageous patriot" is the same man who advised Himmler as to the best methods to use in executing Jews, who helped Hitler form his Arab Legion, who worked as the trusted associate of the Nazis during the war, and who addressed American soldiers of Near Eastern extraction over the Axis short-wave radio advising them to desert. . . .

Americans will also be interested to learn that Mr. Hourani's office, a propaganda agency representing an alien master, has been ready to use its extensive resources in making common cause with the evil forces that are bent upon stirring up religious and racial dissension here in our own country. Last spring the Anti-Nazi League exposed a typical instance in a series of newspaper advertisements quoting a letter from a notorious "nationalistic" anti-Semitic agitator, one H. L. Smith of Philadelphia—who also served as local chairman for Gerald L. K. Smith's activities—in which he requested the Arab Office to send a speaker to his propaganda group. The letter of invitation left no doubt whatever as to the kind of group involved, for in it Smith wrote that "democracy is nothing but Jewocracy" and went on to refer to the Jews of Philadelphia as "kikes." Anwar Nashashibi, most prominent spokesman for the Arab Office, accepted Smith's invitation with alacrity.

Although Nashashibi was later summarily recalled from Washington, Mr. Hourani has been quite ready to assist the same divisive elements in America, and the Anti-Nazi League possesses documentary evidence of at least one outstanding effort of Mr. Hourani's along these lines.

There can be little doubt, despite the splendid Oxford phrases which Mr. Hourani has learned to write, that it is part of the purpose and intention of the Arab Office in America to assist anti-Semitic and anti-democratic movements, wherever such assistance will help accomplish the Arab purposes. In this respect the methods and propaganda of the Arab Office and its related "indigenous" agencies are not dissimilar to some of those of the late unlamented German American Bund.

JAMES H. SHELDON,
Administrative Chairman,
Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League
New York, February 18

To Resolve a Discord

[Reports of the deportations of Hungarians from Slovakia and of the strained relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary provided the occasion for this exchange of letters. Rustem Vambery is a leading Hungarian liberal, formerly professor of law at the University of Budapest. Jan Masaryk is Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.]

Dear Mr. Masaryk: Whatever the antagonism between your Premyslids and our Arpad dynasty when both died out at the beginning of the fourteenth century, or between George of Podiebrad and Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, at the end of the fifteenth, sincere friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary are extremely desirable at present, both from the point of view of our two countries and from that of Europe as a whole. . . .

It cannot be denied that the relationship between Slovaks and Magyars is now far from satisfactory, quite aside from the dispute over the exchange of populations. I am familiar with the methods that have been used to revive a hectic nationalism in most countries of Europe, and I am sure that the reports of atrocities have been exaggerated, but I cannot dismiss certain facts that cloud the horizon.

I am sure that as a true representative of that humanitarianism which is a component of the Czechoslovak national ideology you will agree with me that every effort should be made to eliminate the roots of this deplorable conflict. Being aware of the intrinsically views of the Slovak National Council, I realize

how delicately the Czechoslovak government has to handle this problem. I do not close my eyes to the Hungarian government's indiscriminate expulsion of the German minority or dare to assert that the revisionist mentality fostered by the twenty-five-year Horthy regime has turned democratic overnight. . . .

Five years ago democratic Hungarians living in this country formed a Committee for a New Democratic Hungary, of which I became chairman. Sincere friendship with countries adjacent to Hungary was paramount in our political program. Should we fail to achieve this end, our adversaries, the Hungarian reactionaries and revisionists, would triumph by stressing the futility of our efforts. I do not think I need to convince you, the indefatigable champion of the democratic spirit of Czechoslovakia, that only a truly democratic and friendly Hungary can assure the safety and economic prosperity of your republic.

Prompted by these motives, though lacking any official capacity, I venture to ask you, when you return to your native land, to use your political wisdom and authority to convince the government of the Czechoslovak Republic of the necessity of paving the way for an understanding between the Slovak and the Magyar people. Only by viewing the problem from both sides, without emotional bias or political prejudice, can any progress be made toward resolving this unfortunate discord.

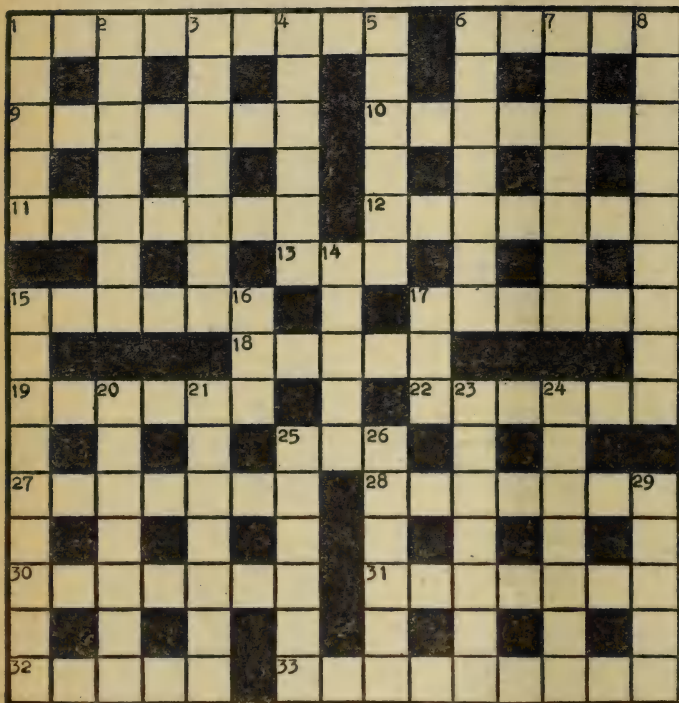
RUSTEM VAMBERY
New York, December 20

Dear Mr. Vambery: I appreciated your letter of December 20, and I agree with its contents. You know that for a long time I have tried and failed to find a safe path toward a lasting understanding between our two nations. I do not hesitate to say that unnecessary obstacles have sometimes been placed on it from both sides. A friendly, democratic Hungary is a condition sine qua non for a calm period of political weather in Central Europe. How I wish it would come now and be lasting! I will talk with President Benes when I get back, and, believe me, I will not give up, as long as I live, trying in my humble way to bring into being the ideals without which life is not very satisfactory.

JAN MASARYK
Lake Success, January 16

Crossword Puzzle No. 202

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 He's just a nipper (4 & 5)
- 6 O. K. son, they are out of the way
- 9 Nice zoo of comparatively later date
- 10 Apple that begins as Eve began
- 11 English poet (1552-1599)
- 12 Details (anag.)
- 13 Opposite direction to N. N. W.
- 15 Put pep in a marionette
- 17 Wooden breakwater
- 18 It's not the center of the target, Daisy
- 19 Not cut, fortunately, one night in ancient Rome
- 22 Science, in short, splits the atom. That's lucky for us!
- 25 Florence probably hates to be called this
- 27 "What's - - - - -? That which we call a rose. By any other name would smell as sweet" (2, 1, 4)
- 28 Old body with a house in Washington
- 30 "An inner keel placed right over the outer keel" (dictionary)
- 31 An impressive type
- 32 Port of the dissipated one?
- 33 Not necessarily peers of the realm

DOWN

- 1 A Captain of Horse Marines
- 2 Feature of the movies which suggests difficulty in approaching the cathedral
- 3 So flies to Florence
- 4 Happens

- 5 Diatribe
- 6 Run, Abel (anag.)
- 7 Some do their welcome
- 8 Presumed state of Rabbi ben Ezra
- 14 It would need magic to teach some people to
- 15 He won't be in to a meal
- 16 Point on which the ballet dancer excels
- 17 The stone of "purest ray serene," as the poet put it
- 20 Ha! tea in this may have been taken by our troops in France
- 21 Bond of union
- 23 Everybody welcome! (3 & 4)
- 24 Row over a cat? Just the reverse
- 25 Flower called "ragged lady"
- 26 Choice mixed potion
- 29 Of interest to actors, anglers and gamblers

□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 201

ACROSS:—1 BURGUNDY; 5 WRITHE; 10 COLLUDE; 11 WINDSOR; 12 EYELET; 14 INFIDELS; 16 LOUNGED; 17 ESHER; 18 ASIA; 20 STREETS; 22 LEES; 24 HABIT; 26 SLATHER; 29 FRESHERS; 30 RAVAGE; 32 UTOPIAN; 33 OPALINE; 34 SLEDGE; 35 SHADIEST.

DOWN:—1 BUCKET; 2 ROLLERS; 3 UKULELES; 4 DEER; 6 RANCID; 7 TASSELS; 8 EURASIAN; 9 TWANG; 13 TORTILE; 14 INVESTS; 15 FEATHER; 19 ALL FOURS; 21 SARABAND; 23 EYESORE; 25 IMAGINE; 26 SHYING; 27 ARENA; 28 BEREFT; 31 MOTH.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACQUES BARZUN, professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of "The Teacher in America," "Darwin, Marx, Wagner," "Romanticism and the Modern Ego," and other books.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation*, is the author of "Southern California Country," "Brothers Under the Skin," and other books.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse, including "The Summer Landscape" and "Out of the Jewel." He has published a translation of Lorca's poems and edited the Spanish Loyalist anthology "And Spain Sings."

McALISTER COLEMAN, a liberal journalist, is the author of "Men and Coal."

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

VERA MICHELES DEAN, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, is the author of "The Four Cornerstones of Peace" and "Europe in Retreat." A new book, "Russia: Menace or Promise," will be published this month.

Advertising Rates

GENERAL ADVERTISING
per page—\$300

PUBLISHERS' AND LOCAL
per page—\$240

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
per inch—\$7.39

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (six words)

minimum three lines

Call or write the
Advertising Department
for
Discounts and Deadlines!

THE *Nation*
TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 15, 1947

NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

BLINDLY, WITHOUT GENERAL PUBLIC understanding or consent, without even a clear picture of what lies at the end, the United States takes its first steps along the road of big-power politics. That "help" for starving Greece also means financial support for the Greek government in its war against the guerrilla forces is taken for granted. The probability that it will also lead to similar support of the Turkish government is also unofficially admitted. But the full meaning of these facts is blurred; first, no doubt, by a desire to keep the fat out of the fire during the Moscow meetings; second, by traditional State Department reluctance to explain complicated and threatening situations to the American public. The tendency is to use homeopathic methods of enlightenment. First the people are offered a little pellet named "relief for starving people"; then a dose of "economic support for the Greek government"; then a suggestion that the Communist threat in the Balkans is behind it all. But much more is involved. Propping up a rotten, reactionary oligarchy in Greece is an act that makes sense only in terms of very large strategic purposes. Surely we do not propose to take over what are euphemistically described as "Britain's obligations" out of love of the ruling group in Greece. We do it as part of a broad plan to contain Russia within its present area of influence. What will this plan involve in Turkey—in Palestine, and the rest of the Middle East—in North Africa? What effect will it have on the revolutionary changes that today threaten the corrupt and decadent groups in power in those areas? What influence will it have on our policy in Germany; on our relations with the near-socialist governments of Western Europe? What will such a plan do to the United Nations and the hope of using that body as a means of establishing and guarding international security? These are a few of the questions Americans should ask their representatives and officials in Washington before—not after—the die is finally cast in Greece.

✱

IN HIS HOUSE OF COMMONS SPEECH OF March 6, Winston Churchill again exposed the insincerity of the Tory case against the government's decision to leave India in 1948. Oppressed by the fact, and unable to deny its truth, that Britain lacks both the force and

the desire to govern India against its will, Mr. Churchill could only plead Britain's sacred duty of protecting minorities, presumably in the hope that morality would overcome discretion. To judge by his proposal to call upon the United Nations for "aid or advice," it was a despairing hope. The Tory leader's logic is curious and revealing. Reduced to its essentials it runs as follows: By announcing Britain's early withdrawal from India the Labor Party has wrecked the chances of unity in India, upon which the right to liberty depends. Therefore the United Nations should attempt to bring the Indian parties together. For what purpose? The question is a pertinent one, for if the United Nations succeeded in creating unity, Britain would then be able to keep its promise, which is the last thing Mr. Churchill desires. The war-time leader once declared that he had not become Prime Minister in order to liquidate the Empire, but in the pinch of absolute necessity he would permit Britain to become the client of the Trusteeship Council. After all, a mandate to govern India after the Palestine model might put off the evil day of departure for another fifteen or twenty years and frustrate British socialism into the bargain.

✱

IF THE NEWSPRINT SHORTAGE BECAME SO severe that American periodicals were forced to suspend operation, would the *New York Times* offer a full page, once a week, to *The Nation*, for such use as we might make of it? We are inclined to wonder. There is no need to wonder about the fellowship of the press in Britain, however, for when the fuel crisis forced the government to ban all magazines, including weekly journals of opinion, at least five daily newspapers, themselves curtailed by restrictions, immediately offered the hospitality of their pages to the *New Statesman and Nation*, a publication somewhat comparable to *The Nation* in America. A recent edition of the *News Chronicle* carrying a page turned over to the *New Statesman's* editors has reached America. As the editor of the *New Statesman's* "London Diary" wrote in the *News Chronicle* that day, we "are not sure that anything of this kind could happen in any other country. Here is proof . . . that the special function of the political weeklies is fully appreciated" in England.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	289
The Lewis Case	291
Andrei Contra Mundum	292

CARTOON by Schloss	293
--------------------	-----

ARTICLES

Must Politics Control Housing? by Charles Abrams	293
Moscow Overture by Alexander Werth	294
As a Frenchman Sees Us by Bertrand de la Salle	296
How Deep Is Britain's Crisis? by Aylmer Vallance	297
The German Cartels and AMG by George Lobbenberg	299
Is Your Name Gonzales? by Carey McWilliams	302
In One Ear by Low Frankel	304
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	305

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Scientist and Society by Hans Reichenbach	306
Uncle! Uncle! by R. P. Blackmur	307
Varick Street A Poem by Elizabeth Bishop	308
Boring from Within by Albert Guérard	309
Haydn—The Life and Works by Charles B. Farrell	310
The Misanthrope by Harold Rosenberg	311
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	312
Music by B. H. Haggin	313

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS	315
------------------------	-----

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 203 by Jack Barrett	316
---	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is Indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ARCHBISHOP McINTYRE'S DENUNCIATION OF the Austin-Mahoney anti-discrimination bill as "formed after a communistic pattern" is surely one of the most fantastic charges ever made against this or any similar measure. Quite as astonishing is the argument upon which it rests. According to the Archbishop, "The bill states that education is the function of the state. Education is not the function of the state. Education is the function of the parent. If the statement that education is a state function is written into the law it will permit future encroachments on the parental function of education. That is what we mean by the infiltration of communistic ideas." And if public education administered by the state is what the Archbishop means by communism, then as a high official of his church he is taking a stand against a basic principle of our democratic system. We wish to state our vigorous twentieth-century belief in the wisdom of our Founding Fathers in charging the state with the responsibility of education. Moreover, we believe that it is the collective duty of citizens to see that no discrimination on account of race, color, or religion deprives their children of what they can rightfully claim from the state. In our view the sponsors of the Austin-Mahoney bill are trying to fulfil that duty. We only wish they had not agreed to water down its provisions in deference to the archaic and bigoted views of the Archbishop and his confreres.

★

FRAGMENT OF A SCENARIO FROM A MOVIE that Leo McCarey will probably never make: Spike of Brooklyn—"Oh, Fadder, I have sinned." Low Baritone Voice—"What have you done, my son?" Spike—"Fadder, I went tuh see duh Dodgeuhs play duh Cahds." Low Baritone Voice—"My son, that was a very grave sin. You knew that the Catholic Youth Organization of Brooklyn had withdrawn its membership from the Dodger Knot-Hole Club as long as Mr. Durocher is allowed to manage the team." Spike—"I know, Fadder. I used tuh get tuh see duh Dodgeuhs t'ree times a year for free. Now it cost me a buck ten tuh see dem bums." Low Baritone Voice—"You know, Spike, that Father Vincent J. Powell, director of our Brooklyn C. Y. O., has disapproved of Mr. Durocher's recent . . . uh . . . marriage to a lady with a . . . a sort of Mexican divorce. This has convinced us, as Father Powell said, that Mr. Durocher's example will be a powerful force for undermining the spiritual training of our young boys." Spike—"I know, Fadder. I am sorry I sinned." Low Baritone Voice—"You must do penance, my son. You must make five . . . five, that is . . . ah . . . five . . . what did you say the score was, my son?"

★

AS A FOOTNOTE TO KEITH HUTCHISON'S article on page 305, we recommend to readers a glance at the annual report of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and

Company. Sales of the colossus of the chemical world reached a new high last year, and profits were commensurate. Du Pont boasts that the index of sales prices of its products is unchanged from the 1939 level despite a 64 per cent rise in material costs and a 57 per cent increase in average hour wages. Nevertheless, it is able to show a net operating profit before federal taxes of 22 cents on the sales dollar—a figure that suggests a decline in unit costs compared to pre-war times that might well be reflected in lower prices.

The Lewis Case

THE Supreme Court's majority decision upholding the conviction of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers for contempt of court has inevitably revived Mr. Dooley's gibe about the court following the election returns. In our view this is too simple and cynical an interpretation and one that fails to explain why some of the most liberal justices were in the majority, while some of the more conservative supported the defendants' case in whole or in part. The fact is that both the legal and social issues involved were extremely complex, leaving plenty of room for honest differences of opinion.

Here are the major questions which the court was required to answer:

1. Was the government barred by the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia acts from seeking an injunction in a labor dispute? Five justices—Vinson, Black, Reed, Douglas, and Burton—argued that it was not, after combing the records to discover what was the intent of Congress. But such questions of intent are nearly always debatable and other justices were able to argue with equal cogency that Congress had not meant to leave in the hands of government a legal weapon whose use it was denying to private employers. On this point we are inclined to agree with the minority, especially as the Smith-Connally act, while providing for government seizure of struck properties, specifically omitted, as Justice Rutledge pointed out, "resort to injunctive relief."

2. Assuming that the Norris-LaGuardia act does not apply to the government, was the government in fact the employer of the coal-miners? The defendants claimed it was not since the benefits and liabilities of ownership continued to accrue to private persons. However, the United Mine Workers had, in fact, signed a contract with Secretary Krug, who represented the government, providing the miners with substantial improvements in conditions. It was therefore in a contractual employee-employer relation with the government.

3. Had the District Court the right to issue a restraining order to secure the status quo pending determination of its authority to act on the government's

application for an injunction? Justices Rutledge and Murphy claim that such an order was jurisdictionally invalid and hence its violation was not sufficient cause for sustaining the conviction for contempt. On this point, however, we feel that Justice Frankfurter was right in declaring: "When in a real controversy, such as is now here, an appeal is made to law, the issue must not be left to the personal judgment of one of the parties." It was in attempting to set himself above the courts that Lewis made his fatal error. By ignoring the initial restraining order he in effect delivered himself and his union into the hands of the government, which was able to contend that, regardless of the applicability of the Norris-LaGuardia act, the defendants were in contempt.

In view of Lewis's behavior it is difficult not to agree with the seven justices who upheld the conviction while reducing the fine imposed on the United Mine Workers by Judge Goldsborough. But the issues at stake are bigger than Mr. Lewis, and the decision has implications which have led some commentators—Max Lerner in *PM*, for example—to talk of "labor's Dred Scott case."

We think this may prove to be too tragic a view. Nevertheless the danger, suggested by Justice Murphy in his dissenting opinion, that government seizure of plants and facilities may be used "as a subterfuge for breaking any and all strikes in private industries" cannot be altogether ignored. In Washington, as in Moscow and Albany, the doctrine that public servants cannot be allowed to strike under any circumstances is acquiring the force of dogma. And if this doctrine were to be regularly enforced by injunction on unions whose members had theoretically become government employees through use of the seizure power, the rights of labor certainly would be drastically reduced.

However, the power of seizure rests on the War Labor Disputes Act, which expires July 1. Will Congress reenact it in permanent form, as the President is said to desire and as some influential papers suggest? That seems to us improbable, if only because most employers recognize that it would lead to the socialization of labor relations and, in the not so long run, to the socialization of key industries too. For the government cannot undertake to bail out industries which fail to come to terms with their workers unless it is prepared to negotiate labor contracts and enforce them on both sides. At the very least, the seizure technique means compulsory arbitration, which management likes as little as the unions. We suspect, therefore, that business men will oppose renewal of the War Labor Disputes Act in any form while continuing to press for debilitation of the Wagner act, a ban on the closed shop, and prohibition of industry-wide bargaining. It is such measures, rather than government by injunction, which are still the greatest danger facing labor.

Andrei Contra Mundum

IF ANDREI GROMYKO does not receive the N. A. M.'s free-enterprise medal it is only because the custodians of that august body's destinies are not following the current debates on atomic energy in the U. N. Security Council. For last Wednesday old pokerface lashed out in a vicious attack on the central thesis of the American plan, the proposal that the United States abandon its present private monopoly of the world's greatest source of power and place it in the safekeeping of a public international body. Senator McKellar has already taken his stand against this astonishing concept that challenges the basic tenets of American capitalism—"I pray God we will never have the agreement." Other Senators, standing guard over our sacred cows, will soon be alerted to repel the enemy. It is ironical to hear Soviet representative Gromyko so convincingly sounding the alarm.

The first and last sections of Gromyko's speech added little to his former contributions on the subject. Russia wants first of all a convention outlawing atomic weapons; Russia wants finally the control system set up within the authority of the Security Council and subject to its veto. But the new attack was squarely aimed at the powers of the Atomic Development Authority, which constitutes the very heart and guts of the American proposal. Mr. Gromyko left little unsaid in his criticism. Asserting at the outset that the Soviet Union would yield to no state in its insistence that "strict international control and inspection should be established," he proceeded to chisel away at the scheme that has been under consideration for nine months until nothing was left but a frail and shaky skeleton through which the tempests of international discord blew with chilling blast. The Baruch plan represented "the desire of one country to impose its will in questions of atomic control on other countries regardless of their legitimate interests." Brushing aside the Atomic Energy Commission's proviso that "there should be as little interference as may be with the economic plans and present private, corporate relationships in the several countries involved," Gromyko insisted that the ADA's "unlimited" powers of inspection would mean "a crude interference in the internal affairs of states." Handing over the ownership and management of atomic-energy installations to the ADA would result in a gigantic world cartel under American dominance, hogtying the economic life of the nations of the world and particularly that of the Soviet Union. "Only people who have lost the sense of reality can seriously believe in the possibility of creating such arrangements."

And that was that. No wonder gloom hangs low over Lake Success and some cynics are beginning to wonder when the Sperry plant will revert to its former functions.

Now, there are two aspects of Mr. Gromyko's attack that are worth considering. In the first place, in building his case he made great use of a statement issued by the Council of British Atomic Scientists on January 20, 1947. This statement was a frank attempt to bring together the American and the Russian positions. It admitted that certain measures in the Baruch plan "may be construed as maintaining the dominance of the United States in the field of atomic energy." It agreed that a convention outlawing atomic weapons might be a good thing. It suggested that limitations on the powers of inspection of the ADA might usefully be defined. It had several proposals for freeing scientific research and promoting the peaceful application of nuclear discoveries. But it also stressed—stressed with such firmness that Mr. Gromyko could not possibly have overlooked it—that in the scientists' opinion the Atomic Development Authority had to have full powers of ownership and management over nuclear fuel installation. It is worth while quoting one paragraph in the British statement in full on this point:

An alternative and less ambitious suggestion is to limit the function of ADA to the inspection of plants and control over the distribution of products. In this connection we are impressed with the strength of the case made in the Lilienthal report for giving to ADA positive responsibility for production and ownership and with the difficulties outlined there of maintaining an effective inspection under any conditions. There is considerable doubt as to whether a control scheme not containing this feature would offer sufficient security.

In the second place, as late as February 18 Mr. Gromyko himself seemed to be inclined to this position, for on that date, in an amendment to the interim report of the Atomic Energy Commission, he proposed that, immediately after an appropriate convention or conventions should be put into effect, "inspection, supervision, and management on the part of an international organ [be] applied in regard to all existing plants for the production of final atomic materials (nuclear fuel)."

What is significantly lacking in the latest Gromyko statement is a positive outline of the Russian concept of an international control and inspection scheme. By implication, what he appears to suggest is an arrangement that rests mainly on the good faith of the contracting powers—not only the benign intentions of the great powers but also the dubious good-will of Spain and Argentina. We cannot think that Russia, which of all nations would benefit least from the prolongation of the present armed truce, wishes to let matters rest here.

The next step is clearly to resume discussions within the Atomic Energy Commission. Russia will have the chance there of stating its case not only negatively but positively. We believe there is a common ground that can be found. And assuredly it is to no one's advantage to give up the search at this point.

Must Politics Control Housing?

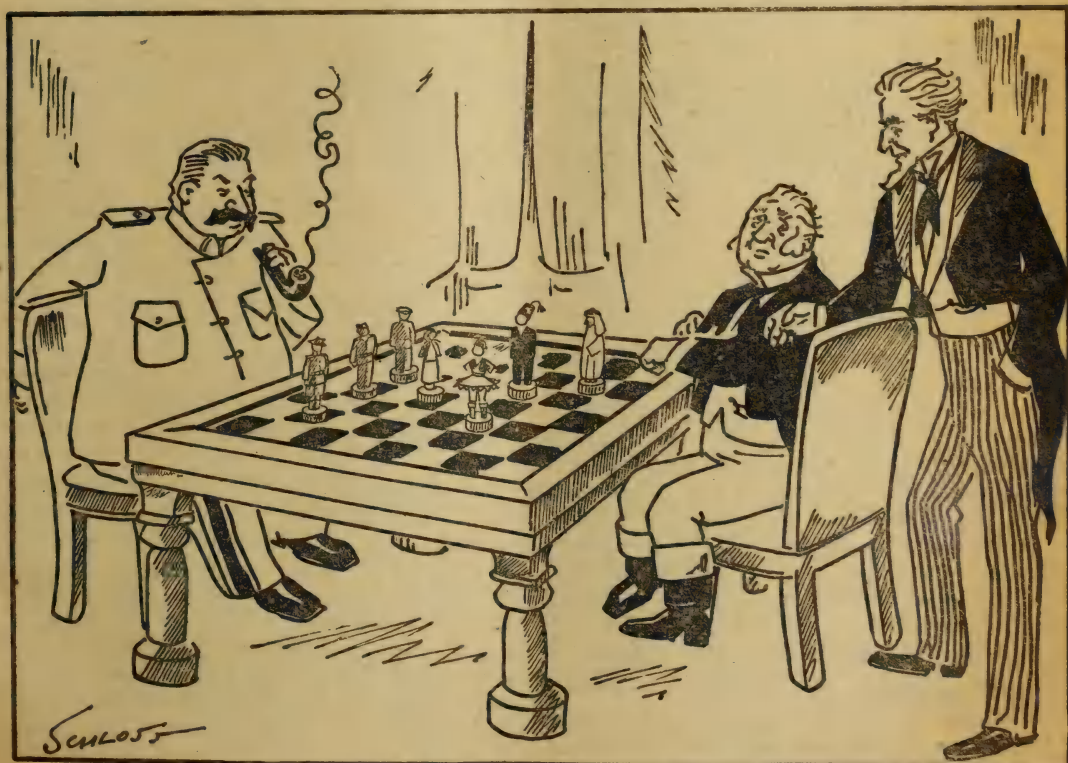
BY CHARLES ABRAMS

THE attempt by Mayor O'Dwyer to get control of the New York City Housing Authority, if it is successful, may deal a deathblow to the cause of decent housing in the United States.

The New York City Housing Authority was the first to function in the country, and the laws of forty states now follow its legislative formula. Eight hundred housing authorities operate under that formula today. It was fashioned on the principle that a local political body vested with the power of landlord over more than a third of a city's people should be above suspicion. The mayor who dominates a housing authority dominates the political destiny of a city. The power to select localities for slum clearance is the power to demolish blocks where hostile voters are too numerous and to re-tenant the section with persons who vote right. Giving away apartments to the underprivileged is a most effective way of gaining political support.

Public policy from the beginning has sought to erect buffers against political interference with housing by the local administration, although admitting that authority members must be sufficiently responsible to the city to enable the mayor to remove them for incompetence. The five members of the board set up in New York had staggered terms of office so that no one administration would control the whole membership. Another safeguard was that not more than one city official could be a member. This gave the city representation without the chance to dominate. A third safeguard was that members were to receive no compensation; appointments were intended to go to persons of established position rather than to political worthies. Money, according to the formula, was to be borrowed from private sources, and one of the main factors assuring the availability of private funds was the guaranty of freedom from political influence.

While an argument might be made for having a paid chairman, this item in the Mayor's proposal is irrelevant in the present controversy. The main issue is the Mayor's insistence that the housing authority is a municipal agency and should be under his control. But since housing concerns the general health and welfare, it is also a responsibility of the state and federal govern-



"I'll take over from here, John."

ments. In fact, the subsidies paid by the federal government and the state of New York are larger than the subsidies so far contributed by the city. The authority is authorized to be a federal agent and has acted in that capacity in the building of war-housing projects. It is for this reason that it has been given independent powers—to borrow money, select its own counsel, condemn property, and issue bonds.

The Mayor desires to control the authority, first, because he believes that, as Mayor, he should bear the responsibility for housing, get the credit for the performance or take the blame for its failure; and, second, because he claims that the housing authority has not performed its functions properly. In the first regard, what does the Mayor's bill propose? It would end the present members' terms of office and give the present Mayor the right to appoint one member for six years, one for four years, and one for two; thereafter all terms would be for six years. This means that the present Mayor would control all the appointments during his

own administration but that neither his successor nor any future mayor would be similarly privileged. The legislation amounts therefore to vesting power in the present Mayor without so changing the formula that future mayors would have similar responsibility.

As for the second contention on which the demand for legislation is based, namely, that the housing authority has not performed its functions properly, anyone who has read the record must conclude that this is simply not true. The New York City Housing Authority has turned in one of the finest performances in the history of public operations. Its construction costs compare favorably with private enterprise, an achievement in itself for a public body. The willingness of financial houses to provide funds at as little as 1.5 per cent a year when less than ten years ago no lender was willing to lend an authority money at any price attests to public confidence in the agency. It has kept free of politics—which is perhaps the main reason in some quarters for the present effort to scuttle it.

Moscow Overture

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, March 7

BY THE time this issue of *The Nation* reaches the bookstalls, readers will have undoubtedly read more than enough about Marshall's first words on landing at Moscow, Bevin's fur boots, Bidault's hat, and a variety of other items concerning this twentieth-century Congress of Vienna. *Le Congrès s'amuse*. But one somehow doubts that there is going to be much real gaiety. For one thing, the setting is not very conducive to a happy-go-lucky blend of work and entertainment. The weather is awful. A blizzard has been raging for days, and March so far has been more winter-like than the earlier months of a relatively mild Moscow winter. Nearly everyone has a cold or the influenza. One or two of the Allied correspondents arrived wrapped in picturesque fur garments suitable for the Arctic; perhaps they were right in not banking on the early coming of spring, but the Russians thought their clothes were funny. Snow plows are now clearing the main streets of a non-stop accumulation of snow, but the sidewalks are still icebound and slippery, and delegates who want to go sightseeing on foot had better learn the characteristic Moscow "winter shuffle."

In the four main hotels—the Moskva, normally re-

served for Russians, the Metropole, the National, and the Savoy, where mostly foreigners stay—there has been feverish activity by scores of painters, cleaners, paperhangers, electricians, and plumbers to make everything smart and comfortable for the delegates and incoming newspapermen. No doubt some of them will write plenty of dirt anyway about what they saw "behind the iron curtain" once the conference is over, but Moscow is nevertheless making an effort to smarten up and make a good impression. In the British, American, and French embassies, too, there has been much shifting of beds and office furniture, and five plane loads of State Department files are said to have been landed at the Moscow airfield yesterday, rather to the surprise of the Russians, who knew the conference would be complicated but did not think it would be quite so complicated as all that.

Moscow will have more foreign correspondents than ever before in its history. In addition to the resident correspondents there will be thirty-six Americans, twenty British, and a sprinkling of French and others. The Moscow telegraph promises to cope with all their copy adequately. But there is going to be a problem of transportation, for distances are great between the various places where the reporters will live and the ministers will meet, between where the ministers will live and the press conferences will be held; and in Moscow you don't just hop into a taxi.

What other countries apart from the Big Four will

ALEXANDER WERTH is special correspondent in Moscow for *The Nation*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *British Broadcasting Corporation*.

send diplomats to Moscow nobody knows. In Prague, for example, they haven't the vaguest idea who will go to Moscow and when. "It is all a question of procedure," they say. Nor does anyone know to what extent or in what capacity the small powers will be associated with the conference. That will be one of the first things for the Foreign Ministers to settle, and it may take days before this and other procedural questions are decided. And then there will be all the rest to discuss and agree upon. "It will take a year," some Allied diplomats say resignedly. This conference, it is generally thought, will be only the opening phase, and delegates are already wondering whether stages two, three, four, etc., will take place in Moscow or somewhere else.

To the Russians it was important for political reasons that at least the first phase of the peace conference on Germany should be held here. Stalin will want to keep in closest touch with the conference's decisions, and the Soviet delegation, probably more than any other, will want to refer all major decisions to their government. Stalin's resignation of his post as Minister of the Armed Forces is widely considered an indication that he will devote even more time than hitherto to foreign affairs, which he clearly recognizes as Russia's chief problem. Those who interpret the move in this manner consider it a good sign, for Stalin has shown realism and flexibility in dealing with foreign countries, a gift for compromise, and a capacity for pouring oil on waters whenever these begin to be too troubled. On such occasions he has come out with emphatic statements to the effect that ideological differences must not interfere with the practical unity among the Big Four so necessary for building the post-war world.

The Russians are certainly most anxious to make the conference a success; a breakdown would be a calamity that no one cares to think about. No doubt there will be plenty of difficult moments, and the press abroad will from time to time have banner headlines announcing an imminent breakdown. But the Russians are confident that this will not happen. The settlement of the German problem is vitally important to Russia, though as one Russian soldier remarked to me the other day, "It isn't everything. Maybe our average citizen isn't very Far East conscious, but we aren't forgetting that after Germany there's still Japan, and we don't like the way things have been shaping up there."

One has the impression that on the eve of the conference the Russians are anxious to be reasonable and frank on a great number of questions. Take the former Japanese Pacific islands, for example. Better still, take the new agreement with Poland, which seems to say: Here's your answer Mr. Acheson. Would an aggressive, expanding Russia calmly make all these concessions to Poland, cutting down by half Poland's coal deliveries and above all letting the Poles put the Krakow-Kattowice-

Przemysl railway back on European gauge when Russian gauge would be so valuable to an aggressive, expanding Russia? The agreement with Poland will greatly heighten the prestige and authority of the Polish government both inside and outside Poland, and will tend to cancel out much of the criticism that has piled up abroad in connection with the Polish elections. Clearly the agreement is not just for the moral effect. It presupposes continued, close cooperation between the two countries and the fullest Russian support to Poland on the question of Poland's western border.

But the main question at the conference will still be Germany, and while on a number of points the Russians have not yet stated their position clearly—to what extent, for example, will they support the latest French scheme for the Ruhr?—it is interesting that in the last few weeks numerous serious articles and official pronouncements, notably Marshal Sokolovsky's, have concentrated on the state of affairs in western Germany. Without dwelling on the reasons which led to the economic fusion of the British and American zones, the Russians see in this fusion a danger signal. The spectacular charges are sufficiently familiar to need no repeating here: that Anglo-American capitalism is so eager to turn western Germany into an industrial citadel for the Western European economic bloc that it is resuscitating German capitalist trusts, combines, and cartels and taking little or no notice of the problems of democratization and denazification. In all this scheming to make Germany a capitalist country largely dominated by American capital—to which the British seem resigned—the Russians allege that the demilitarization goal is being pushed into the background.

Generally in the Soviet press no clear distinction is made in this matter between the British and the Americans, but a question which is greatly interesting the Russians is this: To what extent, if at all, have the British got an independent policy—independent of America? Do the British want nationalization of the Ruhr industries; do they want a democratic or at least a Social Democratic Germany? And if they want it, will they press for it or do as America tells them? In other words, the question whether Britain is evolving a policy of its own is considered an extremely important one, to which the conference should give an answer.

There have been indications of a tentative rapprochement with England—first, the Bevin-Stalin exchange of messages with a view to revising the Anglo-Soviet alliance, then the three columns a day for two days running given to Bevin's speech in the Russian press, together with a full presentation of the British case in Palestine. It is felt here that certain American ideas—for example, those of Dulles on western Germany—are not entirely palatable to Labor England, and it is hoped that some common ground may be found with England for the

settlement of the German problem. Incidentally, the British fuel crisis, although it has been given little space in the Russian press, has not been dismissed simply as one of those messes into which capitalist countries always get themselves but has been regarded as an indication that England, far from being tied to America in all things, is on the contrary sharing many of Europe's economic troubles.

England's position in relation to America and "England's choice" between Big Two and Big Three or Big Four policies is engaging a great deal of the attention of Russian political observers. This question has begun to interest them particularly since the last American elec-

tion. For example, in the last issue of the Russian Academy of Science's serious political monthly, *World Politics and Economy*, three long articles, taking up more than half of the issue, were devoted to various aspects of future Anglo-American relations. One main subject of discussion in these articles was the extent to which England is dependent on America and the extent to which it is a political and economic rival of America. Will England and America always be on the same side of the fence? Probably not. And where does France come in?

Altogether the pattern of this conference is likely to be a good deal more complicated and interesting than the pattern of the 1946 discussions.

As a Frenchman Sees Us

BY BERTRAND DE LA SALLE

WHEN I arrived in the United States, the question of Franco-American relations was uppermost in my mind. On this subject my visit has been most enlightening, enabling me to revise a mistaken impression. Before I came I believed that Americans had lost much of their traditional sympathy for France. The official policy of this country since the war seemed to reflect a growing indifference to our needs and even to our opinions on international problems.

It was during my tour of the Middle West that I came to appreciate the abiding quality of American friendship for France; New York and Washington are too cosmopolitan to serve as a gauge of American feeling. Frenchmen often suspect the Middle West of isolationism, but from what I was able to observe, its isolationist days are over. Many Midwesterners manifest an almost sentimental friendship for France.

I could not help wondering why the American people's sympathy for France finds so little expression in official policy. Millions of Americans are contributing generously through private channels to the reconstruction of our devastated cities, but when the French government applies for a loan from the United States, it receives barely a fraction of what is needed to set France on its feet again. I came to the conclusion that public opinion has not much influence on American foreign policy. Domestic policy is closely geared to public opinion; the average citizen feels that his views play a role in determining the conduct of public affairs. But international relations are carried on over his head.

Most Americans believe it is enough to have repudi-

ated isolationism. They do not seem to realize that in coming out from isolationism they have entered the world community and must now grapple with world problems, choose between different solutions, weigh opposing policies. If they do realize it, their tendency is to say, "Well, that's what we have a government for." The people show a docility about foreign policy that one would never find, I think, among the French or even the English.

By tradition and temperament Americans seem to me anti-imperialist and inclined to regard with suspicion the colonial empires of France and Britain. Their response to events abroad is defensive, even though the United States has emerged from the war as the dominant world power. The rest of the world, however, clearly sees that America's line of defense is now far outside its borders. One might even say that the new eastern frontier of the United States is at the Dardanelles. In point of fact, boundary lines have lost their importance: disorder in any part of the world has immediate repercussions in Washington.

America's problem today is the same that has preoccupied England and France since the sixteenth century—to keep the trade routes open. Freedom of the seas, a freedom guaranteed by the British fleet, was a vital factor in the development of the country. Freedom of the skies must now be established. The United States produces and operates more planes than any other nation; it must be assured that they can land in friendly territory. This depends not on the open ports and commercial agreements that made England and France colonial powers but on acceptance of the idea of "one world" and collective security. That idea can never be made a fact unless the United States becomes its guarantor.

At present I feel there is a danger that the American

BERTRAND DE LA SALLE is a French lawyer and writer who has been lecturing in the United States.

crusade for "one world" may be deflected from its course. One world must be based on those universally valid civilized ideas which should be common to all humanity. It cannot and should not be an American world; it would be absurd to expect Russians or Moslems to behave like Americans. Yet people in the United States tend to think that the economic system which created their prosperity is an integral part of civilization, as indispensable as guaranties of individual liberty.

I was astonished to discover how passionately Americans of all social strata still uphold the capitalist system. There is the unquestioning, almost religious faith that might have characterized a disciple of Adam Smith at the turn of the nineteenth century. But perhaps an even more astonishing thing was my own astonishment. Twenty years ago a young Frenchman just out of the *Ecole des Sciences Politiques* would hardly have been surprised to discover this attitude among Americans. It is we Europeans who have changed.

All this was made very plain to me by the election campaign. For years Europeans have been accustomed to think of America as the country of Roosevelt and the New Deal. But the America to which I came was campaigning vigorously for a return to the *laissez faire* doctrine of the Manchester School. Not many people in Europe imagine they can rebuild their country by applying the comfortable theory of *laissez faire*. I could not

but reflect that the rich Americans are indulging a whim, buying a luxury item, as it were. Yet one man said to me, "How can you French afford the luxury of socialism when you are all but bankrupt?" And another remarked, "At least in France you are sensible enough to tolerate the black market, which is a free market; the English are too shortsighted to allow even that."

Despite their apparent confidence, however, the Americans are obsessed by the fear of another economic crisis. I understand their uneasiness, for should a depression come, they would lose not only their life savings but, more important, their faith. They would have less cause for fear if they did not associate the concepts of democracy and capitalism. Americans think that any blow to capitalism is a blow to democracy; while in Western Europe it is thought that democratic principles can be upheld whatever economic system is adopted.

I have never been able to accept the Marxist theory that a country's economic system determines its form of government and its culture. That is why I regret to see the United States try to make friendly peoples conform to its own economic beliefs. I don't think that we shall ever achieve the goal of one world by insisting that it be a capitalist world. Nor do I think that the existence of diverse economic regimes is an obstacle to the building of a peaceful, unified world, provided the great principles of civilization are respected.

How Deep Is Britain's Crisis?

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, March 1

WHAT the British people wanted is not in doubt. They wanted a plan, a blueprint for action, a set of clear, decisive orders for Operation Crisis. What they have got, in the eagerly awaited White Paper issued last week-end, is a masterly analysis of the situation couched in language more appropriate for readers of the *Economist* than for the man in the street and ending with a list of goals whose attainment, so far as governmental policy is concerned, is left largely a matter of pious aspiration. On certain assumptions, it is argued, catastrophe can be avoided. Some things are essential; many are desirable. Action to pursue the objectives set is to be promoted by conferences between Ministers and the representatives of employers and employed in all the main industries—a procedure followed

last spring with significantly meager results. But for the moment all that the government has done is to present a framework within which, it is hoped, a Benthamite nation supposedly intent on self-preservation is expected to respond to the spur of hard, not to say menacing, facts.

Is the framework itself realistic? The key to the crisis is, by general consent, Britain's balance of foreign payments. In 1947, it is estimated, there will have to be an increase of £350,000,000 in the cost of imports, for which foreign exchange must be found. Since last year's imports were barely 70 per cent of the 1938 volume, and since we ran down our inventories of raw materials to the tune of at least £60,000,000, this estimate is almost certainly conservative—especially as (according to the White Paper) no steps are to be taken to restrict the intake of tobacco, petroleum products, or consumers' goods. Indeed, the figure of £60,000,000 provided for the purchase of machinery and equipment (including ships) from abroad seems very small if suffi-

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's London correspondent and one of its staff contributors.

cient headway is to be made in the essential retooling of British industry. It will surely be necessary to increase this sum.

Let it be assumed, however, that outgoings on account of imports will in fact not exceed the £1,450,000,000 postulated. The other large item calling for foreign exchange is net government expenditure abroad. This, it is forecast, will fall from £300,000,000 in 1946 to £175,000,000 in 1947. How this reduction is to be effected when the White Paper on Defense, published ten days ago, provides for a relatively insignificant reduction in the strength of the armed forces is not made clear, and seems to contain a large element of wishful thinking. Equally optimistic is the forecast that the value of exports and reexports will rise to £1,200,000,000 in 1947, as compared with £900,000,000 in 1946, and that there will be an increase of £25,000,000 in "invisible" net receipts from abroad. The effects of the present paralysis of industry caused by the disruption of the electricity supply are bound to extend over several months and to limit seriously delivery of goods for export. Outside government circles the opinion is general that we shall do well in 1947 if we succeed in maintaining the rate of exports reached in the last quarter of 1946; that would give a figure for 1947 which would be about £100,000,000 less than the rate predicted by the White Paper.

The arithmetic can be summed up in the following table, which gives the realized results for 1946 and two sets of estimates for 1947—A and B. A is the estimate of the White Paper; B is a more pessimistic but probably not less realistic estimate.

	£ Millions		
	1946	1947 A	B
<i>Outgoings</i>			
Imports	1,100	1,450	1,450
Government expenditure abroad (net)	300	175	250
Total	1,400	1,625	1,700
<i>Income</i>			
Exports and reexports	900	1,200	1,100
"Invisibles"	50	75	50
Total	950	1,275	1,150
<i>Deficit</i>	450	350	550

The difference between estimates A and B is that in the one case there is a deficit of £350,000,000 in the balance of foreign payments and in the other a deficit of £550,000,000. In both cases the figure underestimates the amounts which will have to be drawn on the United States and Canadian dollar loans, since, apart from the added strain which "convertibility" will impose on sterling next July, the direction of Britain's post-war foreign trade is resulting in a disproportionately large unfavorable balance with the "hard-currency" countries.

On the basis of the White Paper estimates, our dollar credits may last until the summer of 1948. If less optimistic forecasts are accepted, the exhaustion point will be in sight at the end of this year.

This being the diagnosis, the treatment prescribed is sadly lacking in precision. The cure is naturally seen to lie in increased production, particularly in the basic industries—coal, electric power, steel, transport, and agriculture. The coal industry is asked to produce in 1947 a total of 200,000,000 tons of coal, deep-mined and open-cast; and to make this possible it is hoped that by the end of the year the mining labor force will rise from 695,000 to 730,000. To promote this increase, underground miners will be exempt from conscription for the next five years, and the White Paper refers to the possibility of securing, after training, the employment of some Polish and other foreign labor. But is this coal target high enough? To insure against the danger of repetition of this winter's disaster we shall have to set aside for inventories at least 12,000,000 tons of coal next summer—three times last year's rate of seasonal accumulation. It seems doubtful, therefore, whether the postulated increase in coal output will be sufficient to sustain full employment in coal-consuming industries unless there is not merely a drastic rationing of domestic consumption of fuel and power but also the enforcement of a ruthless system of priorities in favor of essential and against luxury and non-essential industry.

How drastically the government intends to act in this direction no one yet knows; nor is it clear how the hoped-for increase of production in other basic industries is to be obtained without direction of labor—a policy which the government explicitly discards. On the assumption that there will be some intake (no figure is specified) of foreign workers, that some women can be induced (by means again unspecified) to enter or reenter industry, and that the figure of unemployment can be kept down throughout the year to 400,000, it is hoped that in the course of 1947 the numbers in civilian employment will rise from 18,100,000 to 18,400,000; but it is admitted that this increase is likely to be spread over a wide range of occupations, essential and unessential. Moreover, in notoriously undermanned industries such as textiles, where an increase of 70,000 is postulated, no hint is given as to the means whereby this additional labor is to be recruited. There is no clear-cut wage policy that will attract workers, no precise plan for incentives.

The White Paper, in short, suffers from one fundamental defect—the absence of priorities. Defense is not to be neglected—"the fruits of the war must not be jettisoned"; and so we are to carry 1,600,000 men and women in the armed forces and in munitions. Social well-being must not be jeopardized; so we are to con-

tinue, if timber supplies allow, our program of domestic house-building, we are to raise the school-leaving age, and we are to import not merely enough food but sufficient tobacco, films, and marginal luxuries to keep up the public morale. Finally, at one and the same time we are asked to recognize that on a long-term view disaster stares us in the face unless the immense arrears of reequipment in industry and transport are made good. In what order of importance does the government place its three objectives? The White Paper will be searched in vain for a precise answer. But that reequipment is not given a high priority must, I fear, be inferred not only from the small part played by machinery in the coming year's import program but from the fact that the proposed allocation of our resources for industrial maintenance and retooling is put only 15 per cent higher than in a normal pre-war year. It looks, in fact, as if reequipment has been relegated to the position of a residual item after what are conceived to be the minimum demands of defense, consumption, and social betterment have been met.

"In our determination to avoid the waste of unemployment, we must not destroy the essential flexibility of our economic life." In this magisterial sentence the White Paper admits that it has found no solution to the problem which has faced the Labor government ever since it took office—how to carry out effective planning without measures of compulsion repugnant to its

conception of political democracy. Over the four-fifths of British industry which is still controlled by private enterprise it has little power: it can exhort but it cannot command; and if it decides that it cannot secure more intensive effort by labor without imposing, through special taxes or a "stop" on profits, equal sacrifices on the capitalist, then the whole "flexibility" of private enterprise may be destroyed.

There is no question now of the British people underestimating the gravity of the situation in which the country is placed. The present stoppage of production due to a month of arctic weather and the depletion of coal stocks has brought home strikingly to the man in the street the cold, hard fact that full employment cannot be obtained by acts of Parliament or by "cheap money" but is dependent ultimately on physical resources. The White Paper has made it painfully clear that unless we can put our balance of payments into better shape during the next twelve months, there is likely to be a physical shortage not only of food but of raw materials to keep the factory wheels turning. What the public has learned from the White Paper is the alarming extent to which Britain is "over-committed"—in foreign policy, in consumption of basic coal and steel, and in the pursuit of social welfare. What it wanted was to be told quite simply how its coat must be cut to fit the cloth, and how the cloth itself can be stretched. To neither of those questions has it been given a very clear answer.

The German Cartels and AMG

BY GEORGE LOBBENBERG

OUT of the haze of argumentation and speculation which has obscured American economic policy in Germany for the past twenty months a pattern familiar to observers of the American scene is gradually emerging. Our administrators in Berlin, unwilling to face the fact that a socialization program cannot be coordinated with the stimulation of free enterprise, are trying piously to reconcile the principles of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act with the practice of making billion-dollar loans to German industry. This curious gap between theory and reality is simply a reflection of the situation in the United States, where we have on the one

hand a few large corporations dominating key fields in industry and finance and on the other a set of laws, as well as the necessary administrators in Washington, which are supposed to see that a few large corporations do not dominate these fields.

In conformity with the pattern, we have put at the head of our Berlin Economics Division a business man whose principal aim is to get the German industrial machine in working order as soon as possible. Brigadier General William H. Draper describes himself in "Who's Who" as an "investment banker and army officer." He began his banking career with the National City Bank, later became assistant treasurer of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York, and in 1927 joined Dillon, Read and Company. Ten years later he was made a vice-president of that firm. Since 1940 General Draper has been on leave of absence for duty with the army's General Staff. (It is interesting to recall that Dillon, Read acted as principal underwriter for the bonds floated in

GEORGE LOBBENBERG, after serving with the Third Army in Normandy and the Rhineland, spent eighteen months investigating I. G. Farben and the Ruhr steel industries. He is now in business in New York and writing on current economic subjects.

the United States by the Vereinigte Stahlwerke Aktiengesellschaft of Düsseldorf, Germany's and Europe's largest steel trust. From 1925 to 1928 Vereinigte Stahlwerke and its subsidiaries obtained loans here amounting to \$122,815,000. This money was used to modernize



Caricature by Sellgson
General Draper

and expand the Ruhr industries in preparation for a German rearmament program which started full operation in 1933—the year the bonds defaulted in New York, on orders of a German Nazi government financed with Ruhr money.)

But while the appointment of General Draper served our practical purposes, we had to make obeisance, too, to the anti-trust ideas that have been ingrained in American economic thought since the 1890's. In consequence we also sent to Ger-

many a group of trust-busters and cartel investigators, being careful, however, to subordinate them to the business man and general in charge of the Economics Division. This second group is headed by James S. Martin, chief proponent of the much-debated decartelization law which was simultaneously proclaimed, in versions differing slightly in content, in the American and British zones in the middle of February. Martin, an energetic and hard-working former professor of economics, took over the remains of the once proud Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets, which was shorn of most of its powers after the Treasury's defeat in a clash with the War and State departments over German policy in 1945. Today Martin's section is only one of many in General Draper's division.

This arrangement would have done no serious harm—except the loss of face which such legal and economic shenanigans cause Americans to suffer in the eyes of pragmatic Europeans—had it not been for two circumstances. The first was the catastrophic economic situation of post-war Germany, which was aggravated by the creation of new zonal borders and by the absence of a strong, centralized governmental system. The second was the continuing conflict with representatives of the three other occupying powers caused by the divergent economic theories which our administrators tried to apply in Germany. In meetings of the Allied Control Council and other inter-Allied bodies the British, French, and Russian negotiators soon realized that while one group of Americans demanded the destruction of German trusts and cartels—which, by the way, are not at all the same thing—another group sought the best means of reviving

them, wanting above all else to put German industry back on its feet.

It should not be forgotten that while we “dissolved” the huge I. G. Farben combine even before the proclamation of the decartelization law, the company still exists in its component parts, which are, of course, scattered through the four zones. To illustrate this in a somewhat simplified manner, we said in effect to the Interessengemeinschaft Farbenindustrie A. G. in the American zone: “Henceforward you will be four companies—Interessen A. G.; Gemeinschaft, Inc.; Farben Corporation; and Industrie, Ltd. Now go ahead and compete like good boys!” Under the pressure of public opinion in the United States and Allied countries we purged the Nazi directors and managers, but we still overlooked the basic fact that I. G. was in the main a vertically integrated trust, with each group of companies geared to mesh its operations with those of another group. Since such integration is absolutely essential for production under the post-war economic conditions of Germany and Europe, the remaining I. G. firms will have to continue de facto co-ordination, though de jure, of course, they are no longer a group, at least as long as the law remains in its present form.

In the New York *Herald Tribune* of last January 2 the Alsops asserted that General Draper realized this need for planned industrial co-ordination. “German poverty,” they said, “is such that German reconstruction cannot be accomplished without what amounts to bold socialistic planning. On this all who know the facts are agreed, including Clay’s brilliant economic adviser, Brigadier General William Draper, a former partner in the decidedly non-socialist banking house of Dillon, Read.” Yet Generals Clay and Draper are among the foremost proponents of the plan of the Anglo-American Economic Board to pour almost three billion dollars’ worth of raw materials and supplies into Germany in order to make the country “self-sufficient.” This plan, as reported by the New York *Times* of January 1 under the headline “U. S. and Britain to Prime Pump of German Industry,” calls for the shipment of \$1,042,000,000 worth of supplies to Germany in 1947 alone. German exports are expected to reach \$350,000,000 this year. The *Times* report continued:

These imports, whose costs will be advanced through loans by the occupying powers, are expected to be continued annually so that, by 1950, \$2,952,000,000 will have been poured into German industry to put the merged zones on a self-sustaining basis. Since the profits from exports are immediately taken to pay for imports, the ultimate cost to the two powers at the end of that period is expected to be at least \$1,025,000,000.

The plan has already received the blessing of Messrs. Dulles and Vandenberg and has been included in Mr. Hoover’s first report on the German economic situation.

It would seem to be a well-devised scheme—except that in figuring out the ultimate cost to the occupying powers it neglects to take into account the item of competing products. German exports are already offering some competition—in toys and cameras—to United States and British firms, and this will certainly increase in the future if the foregoing figures can be taken seriously. In an international sellers' market the effect of such competition on American and British home industries is negligible, but by 1950 key members of the National Association of Manufacturers may be surprised at the way their program of German reindustrialization is beginning to backfire in South American and European markets.

Neither the scheme itself, however, nor the recent proposal of Assistant Secretary of War Petersen that American banks participate in the refinancing of German industries would seem to bear out the Alsops' hopeful prophecy of "bold socialistic planning" under War Department sponsorship.

In the British zone also we find traces of economic double-talk. Foreign Minister Bevin has definitely committed the British government to the socialization of German heavy industry, that is, iron, coal, steel, and machinery, all of which have been placed under British controllers. Yet the former German coal and steel cartels have so far remained in full operation in the Ruhr, if under Military Government supervision. Being designed to coordinate production, price, and marketing policies, cartels form an ideal transition to industrial nationalization. Centralizing policy-making as they do, they provide the logical framework for the imposition of over-all controls.

But both Mr. Chambers, the head of the British Military Government's Finance Division, and his assistant, Colonel Kellam, shrewd and skilful counterpart of our own decartelizer, Mr. Martin, realize the repugnance of some Americans to the word "cartel." Therefore the simultaneous proclamation of the decartelization law in the United States and British zones came as no surprise to informed observers. As long as the machinery remains available for future use, neither Chambers nor Kellam considers it important whether it is called a cartel or a board—and if the American public is made happy by hearing that German cartels are now "smashed once and for all," so much the better.

As if in confirmation of these suspicions, J. K. Galbraith, an editor of *Fortune*, who until recently was in charge of the State Department's Division for Economic Affairs of Occupied Countries, wrote in *Fortune's* January issue that "German cartels and combines could again, with a little rejuvenation, assume their former positions of power." In anticipation apparently of Mr. Hoover's report he indicated that the American public will have to be prepared for a program of large-scale German

industrial "rejuvenation," a program already being sold under the label of "pump-priming." *Fortune's* Ruhr report (December, 1946), which contained a remarkably frank analysis of United States foreign policy, noted that "two years ago anyone who predicted that the United States and Britain would be striving to rebuild the heart of industrial Germany would have had the Secret Service on his tail. Now there simply isn't any other course. . . . We must stay in Germany, attack the colossal task of watching and reforming, reconstruct currency, help rebuild, stimulate free enterprise, see that the country is fed more." Humane as this statement may be, it reveals with painful clarity the contradictions underlying the economic farce that has been going on in Germany for the past year and a half.

Advocates of the stimulation of free enterprise abroad seem to overlook one of the primary economic facts of life: that free competition is a very nice and desirable thing—provided a country is rich enough in resources, man-power, and capital to afford it. Thus while we may "advance" sufficient sums to Germany to start up certain "chosen-instrument" industrial firms, no commercial banker or government economist will ever be visionary enough to demand the refinancing of all the German companies that must be resuscitated in order to obtain a working competitive system. Pump-priming will inevitably result in the revival of the old German industrial combines, under one name or another. Only a policy of socialization of German industry can safely satisfy the urgent need for goods of Germany and Europe. Unless we adopt such a policy, we shall run the double risk of reviving a system that has been the backbone of German nationalism for over a hundred years and of reinstating many Nazi managers and industrialists in their former positions of power.



Courtesy of Aufbau

Is Your Name Gonzales?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 5

IN THE Westminster and El Modeno school districts of Orange County, California, there live about 5,000 persons of Mexican descent, most of them citizens of the United States. The children of these families are segregated in school, as are children of Mexican descent in most of the other school districts of "the citrus belt." In some localities segregation has been accomplished by a fancy gerrymandering of districts, but the more common practice has been simply to assign all children with Spanish or Mexican names to a separate school. Occasionally the school authorities inspect the children so that the offspring of a Mexican mother whose name may be O'Shaughnessy will not slip into the wrong school. The period of segregation has varied somewhat from district to district, but usually it extends from the first through the sixth or eighth grade.

Curiously enough, this practice has never been sanctioned by California law. The School Code authorizes separate schools for Indian children and children of Chinese, Japanese, or "Mongolian" parentage but is conspicuously silent on the subject of Negro and Mexican children. In fact, many years ago the Supreme Court of the state held that a local school board could not refuse admission to a Negro student.

On March 21, 1945, Judge Paul J. McCormick of the federal District Court handed down a notable decision in a suit brought by a number of Mexican American parents in Westminster challenging the constitutionality of segregation. Judge McCormick ruled that segregation of Mexican youngsters found no justification in the laws of California and, furthermore, was a clear denial of the "equal-protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. To the contention of the school authorities that Mexican children were segregated because of a language handicap, Judge McCormick replied that if these children were retarded in English it was because of the conditions under which they were taught. He went on to point out that segregation prevented children of Mexican descent from "deriving a common cultural attitude, . . . which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals," and tended "to foster antagonism" by suggesting an inferiority which

in fact did not exist. The school districts promptly appealed the decision, and on December 10, 1946, the case was argued before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. If it finally reaches the United States Supreme Court, the decision may sound the death knell of Jim Crow in education.

For a number of reasons the Westminster case is a perfect one for testing the constitutionality of segregated schools. Although the school districts at first contended that Mexicans were a distinct, and by implication an "inferior," race, they finally felt obliged to say that race was not a factor in their policy. With the "racial issue" not directly involved, the court will be compelled to examine the social and educational consequences of segregated schools in a realistic manner.

The Westminster case was carefully prepared and ably tried. For perhaps the first time in a test case of this sort expert social scientists were called as witnesses. A number of distinguished anthropologists from the University of California completely demolished the "racial" argument, and nationally known educators exposed the fallacy of the "language handicap." Since the school districts elected to appeal on the judgment issue alone, Judge McCormick's finding as to the facts will have to be accepted. When the case reached the Circuit Court, the American Jewish Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Lawyers' Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Japanese American Citizens' League promptly filed *amicus curiae* briefs, and Robert W. Kenny as Attorney General filed one in which he took the same position. Only a refusal by the school districts to appeal from an adverse decision by the Ninth Circuit Court or an extremely narrow interpretation of the issues in the Supreme Court can prevent this case from making judicial and social history.

The brief filed by the American Jewish Congress, which I understand was largely the work of the late Alexander H. Pekelis, is a brilliant and devastating analysis of the social effects and the unconstitutionality of segregation. Since the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) the constitutionality of most segregation devices has rested upon the familiar "separate but equal" contention. This assumes, the brief points out, that the provision of identical physical facilities constitutes equality of treatment (not even these so-called identical facilities are ever really so). The American Jewish Congress has effectively scotched this

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor of The Nation, is the author of a number of books on racial minorities in the United States.

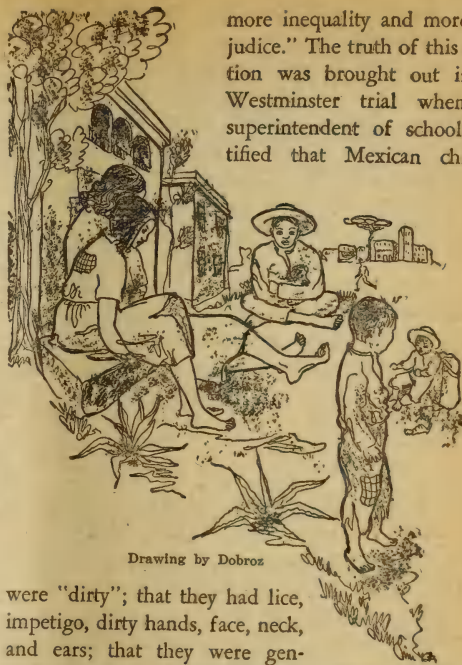
argument by asserting that equality is determined not by the physical identity of things or facilities furnished, but by the identity or substantial similarity of their *values*—in short, by the community judgment attached to them. There can be no question that the segregated school has a very low value in the eyes of the community.

The doctrine of segregation as developed in the Plessy case and similar decisions has also been supported by the assumption that "the law follows the *mores*," that, in the threadbare phrase, "since the law did not create the prejudice, it is powerless to correct it." The brief of the American Jewish Congress exposes this ancient but enduring fallacy. It shows that the actual chain of social causation is somewhat as follows: (a) a pre-existing social inequality finds (b) legislative or judicial declaration, which in turn leads (c) to the assignment of separate, and hence inferior, facilities. At this point the legal sanctions for segregation become not effects but causes. "When a more or less inarticulate social feeling of racial superiority," to quote from the brief, "is clothed with the dignity of an official law, that feeling acquires a concreteness and assertiveness which it did not possess before. The stricter the law or discriminatory segregation the stronger and the more articulate the feeling of social distance. And the stronger that feeling the stricter the law and the more difficult its amendment or repeal. In such setting the very roots of democratic processes are threatened, and no reliance can be placed on their correcting effect."

It is precisely this aspect of segregation that Justice Harlan condemned so vigorously in his memorable dissenting opinions in the Plessy and Civil Rights cases. It is also what Chief Justice Stone had in mind when he suggested that "legislation which restricts those political processes which can ordinarily be expected to bring about repeal of undesirable legislation" should be subjected to "a more exacting scrutiny under the general prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment than are most other types of legislation."

The rationalization that the law merely follows the *mores* and hence does not play a causative role in shaping social attitudes and relationships certainly relegates the law to a curiously degraded function in modern society. Presumably if the *mores* sanctioned head-hunting, the Supreme Court would still bow to local custom. This ostrich-like attitude on the part of the judiciary comes in for a sound lashing in the brief of the American Jewish Congress. "When . . . government officials follow the lowest level of community thinking, they betray their function of political leadership. Where prejudice is legalized, where bigotry is given official sanction, where prestige of law is lent to bias, there ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and hatred assert themselves openly and operate as a *right*. An official action based on a discriminatory classification breeds in turn

more inequality and more prejudice." The truth of this assertion was brought out in the Westminster trial when the superintendent of schools testified that Mexican children



Drawing by Dobros

were "dirty"; that they had lice, impetigo, dirty hands, face, neck, and ears; that they were generally inferior to the white children in personal hygiene.

The Supreme Court, if the Westminster case reaches it, will be asked to pass upon a question that is certain to be raised again and again in cases involving racial discrimination. Article 55-c of the United Nations Charter, ratified as a treaty by the Senate, provides that "the United Nations shall promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights, and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, and religion." The Act of Chapultepec, March 6, 1945, goes farther and provides that the nation signing the agreement shall "make every effort to prevent in their respective countries all acts which may provoke discrimination among individuals because of race or religion." Since treaty provisions prevail over inconsistent state enactments, declarations of this type are binding upon the states as well as upon the federal government.

The Westminster case has historical as well as social significance. In 1907 the Department of Justice at the request of Theodore Roosevelt filed suit in the federal courts of California to prevent the San Francisco school board from carrying into effect an ordinance requiring the segregation of Japanese students in the public schools of the city. The moment this suit was filed, the Southern bourgeois in Congress were up in arms, for they recognized that if segregated schools could be proscribed in California, they could be proscribed in Mississippi. President Roosevelt's efforts were defeated at that time by a coalition of Western and Southern representatives in Congress. Today this coalition

has been completely disrupted. A glance at the vote of Western Senators and Representatives on such measures as the poll tax and the FEPC will show that the West is nowadays asserting national leadership in the fight against discrimination. It is not surprising, therefore, that the case which gives promise of vindicating Justice Harlan's famous contention that "the Constitution is color-blind" should have arisen in California.

The Westminster case is but one of many current indications that the Mexican minority throughout the Southwest has begun to attain real social and political maturity. The suit was not "rigged," "inspired," or "promoted" by any cause committee. It was filed because rank-and-file citizens of Mexican descent in Southern California realized that they had long since "had enough."

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

LISTENERS who heard the Columbia Broadcasting System's production of "The Eagle's Brood" ten days ago and the same network's "Prelude to Moscow" on Sunday last, and who remember "The Empty Noose" broadcast of last October, may well wonder why CBS is sticking its neck out



to do documentaries about such controversial—especially to radio—topics as domestic fascism, juvenile delinquency, and the background of the Moscow conference. These programs provide information so complete as to tend to mold listener opinion and reaction. And as almost everyone knows, the radio industry has not been notable for providing such leadership.

The explanation lies in the tall, thin, and immaculate Ed Murrow and the not so tall, or so thin, Bill Paley. Murrow is known as the war-time chief of bureau in Europe for CBS, the newscaster from London with the consistently liberal approach and the flair for the "little man's" side of the news. Paley is chairman of the board of CBS—the boss of the network.

While covering fascism in Europe, Murrow saw first hand how unprepared were the "little men" to cope with national problems. Paley got much the same view, during the war, in the radio section of the Psychological Warfare Division at SHAEF. In addition, both men had the opportunity to learn all about the fine documentary work being done by the British Broadcasting System. When Paley returned to CBS late in 1945, he began to crack the whip over its pro-

gram operation. This he split into two sections: all programming except public affairs and news he placed under Davidson Taylor, who had been with Paley at SHAEF. To head the public-affairs and news section he brought Murrow back from London.

Given a free hand, Murrow set out to build a radio version of the documentary film. He wanted to get such an effect as Pare Lorentz, for one, got in "The River" and "The Plow That Broke the Plains." He also wanted to solve the distribution problem, which kept socially important documentaries from reaching mass audiences, and at the same time to avoid the regularly scheduled broadcast, with its looming deadlines and its inevitable stultifying of the most able writers and producers.

Documentaries, of course, were not new to radio. The "March of Time" broadcasts included much excellent commentary, though the problem presented was rarely solved for the listener. Norman Corwin did a fine documentary series, "People to People," until the weekly deadline broke his health. Indeed, radio aired so many documentary shows during the war that the industry in general has been coasting ever since. Murrow's documentary unit is different in using every trick in the kit-bag of commercial radio, plus a few that are beyond the ledger mentalities of sponsors.

There are no deadlines: writers, producers, and researchers take all the time they need. A mass audience is assured by the simple device of canceling popular night-time commercial programs and taking this time for the documentary. Impact is obtained through "big-name" players and the "dramatization" format. Quality is insured by the use of top-drawer writers and producers. And efficiency is constantly tested and checked by the devices of the research department. (As simple a factor as the title of a program is decided only after the slide-rule specialists have tried every tentative title on their listener panels.)

The canceling of a commercial immediately convinces affiliated stations that the program is important and that they should carry it—165 out of a possible 168 stations aired "The Eagle's Brood." Ample coverage is made doubly sure by the use of network promotion brochures and the simple trick of giving advance notice to the national officers of organizations interested in the problem to be treated. These organizations in turn advise their local branches, and the manager of the local station gets calls from listeners asking when the documentary in question is to be heard.

The cost to CBS of these programs is considerable, obviously. Production is not stinted, and in addition the sponsor of the canceled commercial must have his expenses refunded. But they make for what Ed Murrow calls "the right kind of radio journalism." In presenting them, radio, through CBS, reveals its awareness that it cannot escape responsibility by farming out the time to advertisers.

In the past radio has been like the printer—putting words on the air, as the printer sets them in type, for anyone that comes along. Now for the first time radio is taking over the functions of the publisher, exercising judgment on subject matter and treatment. In this business of reporting and analyzing the key issues of the day in the public interest, CBS is even going beyond the average newspaper publisher, for it is grinding no ax of its own.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Are Profits Too High?

LAST year the chroniclers of the chambers of commerce pictured Mr. American Business struggling like Christian in the Slough of Despond. Beset by Trade Union Demons, hindered at every step by Bureaucracy's Thorny Entanglements, stripped in the Robber's Cave of Internal Revenue, he seemed doomed to end in the fell clutches of Giant Despair. But now that the poor Pilgrim has reckoned the profits and losses of his 1946 wanderings, it appears that he did make Progress after all and is sitting very pretty on a Delectable Mountain of Profit.

The most complete evidence of this statement yet to hand is the March Letter of the National City Bank of New York. "Annual reports so far published for 1946," this excellent authority declares, "show that American business in the aggregate had a substantially higher net income than in 1945 . . . and that it realized returns on sales and net worth which made 1946 one of the better years in its checkered history." It was indeed. The 840 manufacturing corporations whose accounts are summarized by the bank earned an average return of 11.9 per cent on their net worth, a record surpassed in only two years since 1925. All but three of the twenty-three industrial groups for which particulars are given enjoyed higher profits than in 1945, the exceptions being agricultural implements—down 4.6 per cent; electrical equipment and radio—down 41.1 per cent; and transportation equipment—down 51 per cent. The following table shows results for other important industries:

Companies in Group	Net Income After Taxes	Percentage of Increase over 1945	Percentage Return on Net Worth
15 meat packing	\$ 67,857,000	96.7	19.9
39 beverage	154,841,000	109.6	32.9
36 cotton goods	62,622,000	208.3	23.8
49 other textile	116,527,000	148.4	24.7
17 rubber products . . .	123,290,000	99.7	20.5
33 pulp and paper . . .	89,387,000	135.0	13.7
38 chemical	189,099,000	46.1	13.6
16 petroleum	76,334,000	19.0	9.8
30 iron and steel . . .	236,190,000	47.0	7.3

Profit figures such as these, however much pleasure they may afford to investors, are probably more than a little embarrassing to a good many corporation executives. Three months ago, when Robert Nathan presented the C. I. O. with his study of profit trends, it was possible—though not entirely wise—for his critics to suggest that he was guessing wildly. In the first six months of 1946 profits of leading corporations as reported by the National City Bank had been appreciably below those for the first half of 1945. For the first nine months, as the New York *Sun* happily pointed out on December 11, net income of 250 corporations was only one per cent higher than in the corresponding period of

1945. But Mr. Nathan had correctly gauged the strength of the rising tide, and in the final quarter of 1946 the incoming flood of profits brought the total for the twelve months high above the previous year's mark. There is every indication that this tide has not yet begun to recede.

With events tending to bear out Mr. Nathan's estimates, the apologists for big business have begun to hunt for alibis. In an editorial entitled Explaining Larger Profits, the *Journal of Commerce* of February 21 claimed that "currently reported profits . . . grossly exaggerate the true earning power of many businesses. Because of the 80 per cent rise in the commodity price level that has occurred, conventional accounting practices too often overstate profits." This statement hardly does justice to modern corporation accountancy, which tends to understate rather than overstate earnings. A great many companies, for instance, have adopted the "Lifo" (last in, first out) method of dealing with inventories, which largely eliminates speculative profits in times of rising material prices while guarding against losses in periods of recession. In addition it will be found that a great many corporations have set aside, out of profits, large reserves against a fall in prices.

Another commentator, Edward H. Collins, who writes a regular column for the New York *Times*, does not attempt to explain away high profits but seeks to justify them as self-evidently beneficial to the community. In support of his position he quotes the London *Economist*: "High profits and high wages are—inflation apart—both of them signs of high activity. They are at once the means to, and the product of, a high standard of living." Accepting the truth of this statement, does it follow that the greater the return earned by capital the greater the general prosperity? I suggest that it is very possible for profits to be too high both for the good of the community and for the good of business itself. According to the National City Bank, the highest average rate of return on net worth for leading corporations since 1925 was the 12.8 per cent scored in 1929. Was it just a coincidence that the greatest crash of all time followed immediately? Even conservative economists now admit that among the causes of that débâcle was the fact that the benefits of increasing productivity were not being adequately distributed in the form either of higher wages or lower prices and that consequently too large a share of the national income was accruing to the owners of capital.

There is danger, I think, that this mistake will be repeated in 1947 unless, as I suggested last week, business men take early steps to adjust prices, as they can well afford to do in view of the profit figures quoted above. In this opinion I appear to have the unexpected but welcome support of the International Harvester Company, which has just announced a series of price cuts estimated to save customers \$20,000,000 a year. "We believe strongly," says Fowler McCormick, chairman of the company, "that the best way to distribute the gains of rising productivity is through lowering prices. We are cutting now, although there is every promise that we can sell everything we can make this year and next at present prices." This move parallels that made by Ford recently and is definitely in the right direction. But we have yet to see whether these two price cutters are lone pioneers, or leaders of a procession along the highway to sustained prosperity.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Scientist and Society

EINSTEIN: HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

By Philipp Frank. Alfred A. Knopf.
\$4.50.

THE recognition of the scientist is usually restricted to his social group. Great discoveries, particularly if they concern mathematical theories, remain unknown to the public even when they change the foundations of a science and supply the material of work for a generation of scientists. The public responds to practical applications, not to theoretical constructions. There are a few exceptions to this rule: for instance, the world hypothesis of Copernicus has stirred up the imagination of the intellectual world ever since its first publication. The scientific event of our time in the field of theoretical science was Einstein's discovery of the theory of relativity.

The analogy with Copernicus is more than a parallelism of public fame. Einstein's theory refers to the same subject matter as the doctrine of Copernicus; in fact, it discards Copernicus's theory as far as it is meant to represent a unique truth. What Copernicus claimed was to have disproved the conception of Ptolemy, according to which the earth is at rest and the celestial bodies in motion around it, and to have demonstrated the opposite conception, according to which the earth moves around the sun along with the other planets. Einstein showed that this absolutism is untenable, that both Ptolemy and Copernicus are right in what they assert but mistaken in what they attack. Motion is relative; it can only be described relative to a system of reference, and though a celestial motion described with respect to the earth as an immovable system of reference is of a rather involved nature, it is as real as a motion referred to the sun as an immovable center. Seldom has Hegel's and Marx's dialectical law found so striking a verification. The thesis of Ptolemy was refuted by the antithesis of Copernicus; Einstein's synthesis shows both thesis and antithesis to be of a limited validity and unites the truth of both conceptions on a higher level.

The author of the revolution on a higher level has found his biographer in Philipp Frank. No other writer could have been as competent for this task as Frank. Himself a theoretical physicist, he has followed the development of Einstein's theories from the early days when they were known only to a small group of experts; and his personal contacts with Einstein date from 1910, when Einstein, then professor in the University of Prague, recommended Frank as his successor to the chair of theoretical physics. Frank has always combined with his work in physics an interest in the philosophical aspects of this science, and has become a leading man in the field of philosophy of science.

Frank's book presents an account of Einstein's life within the frame of a description of the philosophical situation of physics. The older conceptions which led to the difficulties overcome by Einstein's theory are well presented, and in a form easily understandable to the layman. It would have been interesting to go from this historical background to a description of the implications of Einstein's theory for modern scientific philosophy; the theory of relativity is not in itself a philosophy, but requires a philosophical interpretation. While Frank criticizes successfully some of the wrong interpretations, he does not discuss the better ones, presumably because it would have made the book too technical.

The presentation of Einstein's life is an interesting one; many little anecdotes illustrate the account and help to convey a vivid picture of this great personality to the reader. One would have liked to know a little more about the early childhood of the genius, and furthermore, to have some psychological account of the origin of his discoveries. But that is hard to get, since the subject of the account has always been rather taciturn about the ways that led him to his discoveries.

Frank devotes much attention to the development which made the author of abstract theories a public figure. This part of the book is particularly well

done. One begins to understand how it happened that a man whose intellectual life centered in mathematical theories was drawn into the focus of public attention and thus compelled to participate in public life. There is a tragedy in this development. His deeply rooted feeling of social responsibility induced Einstein to join many a group that fought for the right of the underprivileged classes, in particular the Zionist movement, while on the other hand the innate individualism of this great man deterred him from any more active association with political groups. The desire to be left alone, to have the time for intensive concentration on his work, has often torn Einstein away from associations which in the beginning he had the good-will to follow through. The interplay of these two tendencies, of the will to help others and the need for isolation, explains the discrepancy between his great achievements in the intellectual field and his sketchy and disrupted contributions in the political area.

This tension was made much greater when the implication of Einstein's theory led to a technical application of an unheard-of kind—to the construction of the atom bomb. The equivalence of mass and energy was an early result of the theory of relativity; that it might lead to technical applications was obvious from the beginning. That its first practical utilization was to be an atom bomb, however, was a tragic fate which nobody had imagined might befall the successor of Copernicus. The pacifist who had opposed war as the greatest social evil was compelled by social conditions to supply the most destructive weapon of warfare; and we learn from Frank's book that Einstein even took an active part in promoting the research that led to the construction of the bomb. The Nazis had concentrated on Einstein all their hatred of purely intellectual achievements; they had besmirched him with all the filth they were so capable of producing; they had attacked him as a Jew, as a liberal, and as the author of the greatest theoretical construction of modern physics. His answer

was to induce the nations that fought the Nazis to develop a weapon which he knew the Nazis were looking for and which in their hands would have exterminated liberty all over the world. Logical as this answer is, it will forever be the symbol of the tragic conflict into which the scientist is drawn in a socially disorganized world.

Frank's book supplies an excellent account of all these developments; its analysis goes back to the time around 1920 when Einstein was attacked by a group of advocates of a "common-sense physics," who were unable to understand the theory of relativity and called it a logical absurdity. At the same time the leading scientists of the world had recognized Einstein's theory in all its significance; and during a trip around the world Einstein had the occasion to explain his ideas to the public and the men of science in various countries. Seen before this background, the personality of the man becomes particularly attractive; his natural kindness, his simplicity and modesty, the unpretentious style of his life constitute a striking contrast to the fame of his scientific ideas. Frank's book will be welcomed by all those who would like to read a complete account of the work and the life of a man who has been so much talked about and whose achievements so few understand.

HANS REICHENBACH

Uncle! Uncle!

THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER. By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Illustrated by Alexander Calder. With an Essay by Robert Penn Warren. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.75.

HERE is a text of Coleridge's poem, a set of pictures which illustrate nothing so little as the text, a critical and scholarly essay on the poem by Mr. Warren of some twenty thousand words, and a set of notes to the essay. There is no index. The book is expensive.

It is a book full of shocks. The first is the dedicatory drawing, of Malcolm Cowley, amiable to the point of life, looking out of Mr. Calder's front window. Like a good visitor, Mr. Cowley shows no signs of wondering what he is doing there, and I suppose we ought not to wonder either, for we are visitors too; but just the same I suspect Mr.

Cowley is really the Prodigal Son putting his best possible face on the discovery that he has returned to the wrong parents. Inside, he is crying, *Uncle! Uncle!*

This is very shocking, Mr. Calder's dedication of Coleridge to Mr. Cowley. The next shock is the wide-open big print of the poem where all the human figures, the three gallants, all the sailors, the pilot, the boy, the hermit, and the old fellow himself, are nudely naked, with a singular effect of being fresh out of the scrotum-tightening sea. The lonesome Spirit from the South Pole seems in this respect a little more at home in the water; but as to his companion daemons you cannot tell, for you see only their heads, which look like radiator-cap sculpture in 1934, or late exiles returning. The Albatross is in a hurry to be a sitting duck, and succeeds. The water-snakes are doing charades in honor of the Gila monster. Visually and in its ambience Coleridge's poem has become puerile; and puerility, when it comes at the end of a cycle, follows sterility. I do not know whether I make myself plain. Mr. Calder's art is all right when you can blow life or fun into it, but it can do nothing as wind harp to a great poem but be childish and driveling.

Drivel is always shocking; it is the breakdown of mature speech; but it is no more shocking than the stench of the dead horse which Mr. Warren drags over the first half of his fifty-seven-page essay, and entirely through his notes. The dead horse is bad scholarship and stultified criticism. Mr. Warren is a good poet, perhaps the best novelist we have, and an unusually able interpretative critic. What in the name of all the muses is he doing with dead horse in high and public forum? The stench is precisely what Coleridge's poem survives; and what we want from a critic of Mr. Warren's talent is the elucidation of what is living; our senses are only distracted and our sensibility disordered when Mr. Warren brings us to his elucidation through a vast amount of other people's misapprehension, misjudgment, and belittlement of everything that makes possible either the writing or the reading of great poetry. As a professor, Mr. Warren must instruct his students in clearing away dead scholarship; as a critic, he should use what is

In the current issue of PARTISAN REVIEW

•
ARTHUR KOESTLER

London Letter

•
JAMES BURNHAM

Observations on Kafka

•
GRANVILLE HICKS

The Future of Socialism

•
OTHER FEATURES:

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

Caligari and Hitler

ISAAC ROSENFELD

The Brigadier (a story)

MARY MCCARTHY

Theatre Chronicle

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

The Good, the True,
and the Beautiful

WILLIAM BARRETT

Dialogue on Anxiety

JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY

Henry Moore

•
CONTRIBUTIONS BY:

R. P. Blackmur, Gertrude Buckman, Richard Chase, Louis Clair, Elizabeth Hardwick, Barbara Howes, Wylie Sypher, Peter Viereck

PARTISAN REVIEW
45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

I enclose ☐ three dollars for one year
☐ five dollars for two years

of PARTISAN REVIEW, beginning with the issue. (Add 60¢ a year for Canadian and foreign postage.)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....

ZONE..... STATE.....

VARICK STREET

At night the factories
struggle awake,
wretched uneasy buildings
veined with pipes
attempt their work.
Trying to breathe
the elongated nostrils
haired with spikes
give off such stench, too.
*And I shall sell you sell you
sell you of course, my dear, and you'll sell me.*

On certain floors
certain wonders.
Pale dirty light,
some captured iceberg
being prevented from melting.
See the mechanical moons,
sick, being made
to wax and wane
at somebody's instigation.
*And I shall sell you sell you
sell you of course, my dear, and you'll sell me.*

Lights music of love
work on. The presses
print calendars
I suppose, the moons
make medicine
or confectionery. Our bed
shrinks from the soot
and hapless odors
hold us close.
*And I shall sell you sell you
sell you of course, my dear, and you'll sell me.*

ELIZABETH BISHOP

living scholarship on living poetry and ignore—in the face of criticism—the rest. It is only in this way that scholarship gains from criticism its contingent discipline; and it is from such scholarship that criticism gains, if ever, its provisional certainty—by which I mean, gains direction, relevance, and the power to discover through attacking real problems something of what actually happens in the poetry being criticized. To rehearse artificial problems—problems of error no longer vital—is to issue in that kind of drivel which is the breakdown not so much of speech as of thought itself.

The shocking thing is that in the free institution of literature as we have it our scholars and critics seem self-committed by some rule of manners not gentlemanly to carry along with them an almost suicidal burden of known error in fact and proved incompetence in response. Mr. Warren wobbles under the burden of Griggs and Lowes and many others and even when he throws it off he never quite recovers; his left shoulder remains a little lower than his right. The result of this institutional game is not unlike that of football as a school for life—a warping of emphasis and a disproportion of the muscles. To drag dead horse becomes an obsessive temptation.

But literature *is* a free institution, and to play the burdensome game is no part of its dogma: it does nothing to express its vital purpose; and Mr. Warren, after, and even while, giving a long and technically competent example of how to play the game, proceeds with his own shining purpose. We see his good works, and they glorify that version of the heaven of man's mind which is poetry. He shows us the glory and the horror—and all the mighty hunting of whole human adventure—which live and move like inertia itself in "The Ancient Mariner." He makes the renewing act of full response; he *uses* the poem; and the use, by the contagion of momentous participation in an act which Coleridge did not begin but discovered and which is not now done but goes on, is open to continuous discovery. That is, Mr. Warren elucidates the symbols—of light and dark, wind and sea, moon and storm, crime and punishment, man and imagination—by which the poem moves as fully created

Puerto Rican Paradox

By VINCENZO PETRULLO

Scenic splendor hiding hunger; American citizens denied the right to vote; alien customs superimposed on a Spanish heritage—these are the contradictions of this over-populated, restless island. An unbiased picture of Puerto Rico today, major colonial problem of the United States. **\$3.00**

Your bookstore or
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS • Philadelphia 4, Pa.

and thereby inexhaustible. We see how it is that the stress and the tensions between the symbols interanimate the words beyond any force of narrative or allegory and give the whole poem "expressive integration" and a kind of absolute momentum of its own. Perhaps Mr. Warren does this by bringing to the poem things not previously there; but the poem called for them, as it calls again in fresh readings; and we see that they are now there, and that if, as I believe, Mr. Warren's citations of Coleridge's prose are justly chosen, Coleridge would have accepted them as a further imaginative revelation of the truth: implicit in the great symbolic stress of the actual already there.

Thus—and this is the most shocking thing of all, the shock of delight—Mr. Warren redeems his heavy pawn. Let us see along what lines he does so. There is the line of what he calls the primary theme of the poem—the sacramental vision of life, which he believes Coleridge only indicated in the fable of the poem, the bare narrative of the voyage out, the murder, the punishment, the dark night, and the voyage back. It is the characteristic fable of the saint's life; it is how we understand the source of compassion and the power of charity; we recognize in it an element of ourselves which as we do not dare to imitate its ordeal we cannot hope to attain. It is the sacrament we know by the small refusal. This is the theological theme which we get around by psychological means because we cannot reach it by symbolic means. Mr. Warren is right to discuss the aesthetics of that failure; it is a primary failure in the approach of mass education to the arts; but it is a pity he had to discuss it in terms of the record of bad readings of Coleridge's poem. Only good readings bring him home.

Home is in his second line, which is nearer at hand. This is what he calls the secondary theme of the poem: the poet hunting down his imagination, and the imagination, so to speak, hunting down the poet who has evoked it; with the booty quarried everywhere and nowhere, created in the hunt, haunting the hunter and the hunt in the full reversal of roles, the symbolic life of the poem itself: what *all* the parts participate in and draw on. This is the theme of purpose and being, of vitality and

identity, the theme of the *unacknowledgeable role*—not the unacknowledged legislation—of the poet's calling. Again, Mr. Warren is right to discuss this theme, and especially in terms of "The Ancient Mariner," for Coleridge gave that theme its richest and most mature expression in English, and so left behind him very potent symbols of his calling.

We are a race that lives so little in the actual that we need constantly to be reminded by great symbols of what business we are about. It is Mr. Warren's exemplary task to make us bring with us the right equipment to see what the great symbols in Coleridge's poems affect in ourselves. It is not his task, and no way exemplary—it is never the critic's task—to blow into the momentary and artificial life of controversy the dead—however contemporary, it is

still dead—history of the misapprehensions and stupidities which prevent access to the symbols at all. Great poetry *remains* fresh; but criticism must be made fresh each time. If Mr. Warren did not so evidently know this I could not say it aloud but only, like Mr. Cowley, cry silently, Uncle! Uncle!

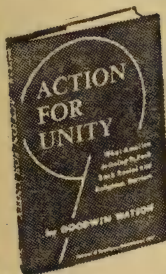
R. P. BLACKMUR

Boring from Within

RELIGION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. By V. T. Thayer. The Viking Press. \$2.75.

IN 1848, when he heard the rumbling of social and democratic changes, the "liberal" and "Voltairean" Adolphe Thiers exclaimed, "Let us rush to the feet of the bishops!" There is something of this feeling in many minds today. A religion is good for the people. If we

AT LAST— A practical program against discrimination and for community unity **ACTION FOR UNITY** by GOODWIN WATSON



Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

"PROFESSOR WATSON, together with other social scientists, has conducted a searching analysis of the anti-discrimination movements under the sponsorship of the American Jewish Congress. His findings are published in a lively little book, **ACTION FOR UNITY**, that could be read with profit by every adult American with a stake in that movement. The book is not only an absorbing analytical narrative of the current battle against bigotry; it is a useful weapon in that battle."—Albert Deutsch in *PM*

\$2.00 at your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS, 49 E. 33rd St., New York 16

want to save the good old ways, there is no better means than the old-time religion.

Hence an insidious and ubiquitous effort to establish closer cooperation between religion, that is, the churches, and public education. It is this trend that Dr. V. T. Thayer studies and denounces. In his eyes, it is a danger, for ever since the Bill of Rights "the American Way" has implied the complete separation of church and state, and the common school as the matrix of the commonwealth.

The peril may not seem pressing, but "eternal vigilance" is a wise rule, and the churches are the most formidable of all lobbies. The entering wedge is religious instruction given in "released time." The second move is the half-concealed subsidizing of parochial schools—free textbooks or, in California, free school buses. Then come open subsidies; finally we are heading for the regime that prevailed in Alsace under German rule, and which the French felt bound to respect: all state schools to be sectarian, in proportion to the numbers of each denomination.

This, to Dr. Thayer, is sheer clericalism, and an abomination. He too stands for "the good old ways," the eternal verities as revealed to the Founding Fathers. He has the eighteenth-century belief that everyone should be allowed to seek salvation according to his own law. That belief was not really pluralistic. It implied that under the historical variety of sects there was a common law, the natural law. The sects would ultimately fade away. Their traditional tenets and ceremonies had nothing to do with morality, anyway. Dr. Thayer quotes Dr. Negley K. Teeters to the effect that in twenty-nine penitentiaries 71.8 per cent of the inmates were affiliated with some religion, as against 46.6 per cent of the population as a whole.

Perhaps we should go back to the "good old days," the old-time religion of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, and Tom Paine, "Common Sense for the Common School." Perhaps on the contrary we should recognize pluralism more fully, and give up the thought of making undogmatic Christianity—the faith of the Savoyard Vicar—the basic religion of the state. In this little book Dr. Thayer raises many problems. He does so quietly, modestly, perhaps a little reticently. He still seems to feel that it is "un-American" to indulge in religious controversy. The secularists, whom he defends, are officially in possession. But they shall not hold their advantage very long, or deserve to hold it, unless they are ready to offer positive reasons for their historical privilege.

ALBERT GUERARD

Haydn—The Life and Works

HAYDN: A Creative Life in Music.

By Karl Geiringer. W. W. Norton and Company. \$5.

DR. KARL GEIRINGER'S new biography of Haydn is frequently a good and useful book, but it somehow evades being the really valuable book it deserved to be. The biographical section is well done—as a short, summary life; but short, summary biographies, even though more summary than the present one, are all we have ever had in English; it is time, and Dr. Geiringer is the necessary scholar, for a less terse account. Most of the actual facts and anecdotes seem to have got into Dr.

Geiringer's story, but the corroborative detail intended to lend artistic verisimilitude is frequently left out. For example, we are again retold from Griesinger that Haydn wrote 768 pages of music during his London visits, but we must still turn to Botstiber (Pohl, III, 91-2) to discover what compositions they contained; similarly none of the extant programs of the London concerts are given. More serious is Dr. Geiringer's frequent habit of paraphrasing rather than quoting much of even the most interesting of the correspondence: such a letter as that of January 8, 1791, to Frau von Genzinger describing the first arrival in London—it is the source of information about that event—deserves being printed rather than merely utilized.

However, the treatment of background material, particularly for the exciting first English trip, may be taken as a model of informative and unobtrusive excellence, and it is this, together with the fuller account of Haydn's ancestry, which forms the bulk of the new biographical material appearing in English. Dr. Geiringer, doubtless assuming knowledge of his indebtedness to Pohl-Botstiber, and beyond them to Dies, Griesinger, and the other early sources, has lightly documented his biography. I suggest this to be essentially a mistake, since it must always be helpful to the student without access to these books to have reliable knowledge of the primary sources. And sometimes Dr. Geiringer is led to make statements that seem to require corroborating where none is forthcoming, as the following: "Leaving England, and this time he knew it was for good, was by no means easy. . . . His English admirers were not aware of Haydn's inner struggles; to them the matter had a different aspect. The King had invited Haydn to take up his residence in England and the master had refused. . . ." Dr. Geiringer's reasons for this conclusion are probably sound; but I for one am curious to know what they are.

For one accomplishment Dr. Geiringer deserves special credit. He is the one transplanted German musicologist known to the reviewer who in writing a book for the general American public has shown any really intelligent signs of adapting his material to the requirements of that public. Except for one

New worlds for
the mind

Nature

AND

Man

By PAUL WEISS

Professor of Philosophy,
Yale University

■ A study of ethical theory which radically revises such basic concepts as causation, determinism, freedom, individuality, life, man and the self. Richly rewarding for everyone interested in ethics, psychology, medicine, metaphysics, or the philosophy of contemporary thought. \$3.50



unnecessary jab at Dr. Kuhac—who incorrectly claimed Haydn as a Croat—the book is entirely free from offensive pan-Germanism, and the English, though not distinguished, is clear and precise—and it is English, for a wonder, and not transliterated German (Drs. Einstein, Sachs, Apel, Schrader, and Lang should take note).

Unfortunately, the musical section of the book is much less good than the biographical section. Any discussion of Haydn's music must inevitably bear comparison with Tovey; and Dr. Geiringer's study cannot compare. Tovey, even where his data were incomplete, had a remarkable genius for striking directly at first—and consequently illuminating—principles, and this is the one thing Dr. Geiringer fails to achieve. Dr. Geiringer knows intimately, and discusses in some detail much music not treated before in English, but at the best he conducts a sort of Cook's tour of interesting data without ever getting at the meat of Haydn's mental processes, and at times this inability to penetrate the surface traps him into being actually misleading. For example, German musicology has two convenient eighteenth-century pigeonholes: contrapuntal music is "Baroque" and "learned"; homophonic music "rococo" and "galant." These labels have a certain specious reasonableness when applied to secondary composers; however, for Mozart, and Haydn, black and white categories simply break down. But when Dr. Geiringer discovers Haydn writing fugal finales in his Op. 20 quartets, automatically he slaps on the "learned" label and makes the expected contrast with "rococo," despite the fact that twenty years ago Tovey convincingly demonstrated in his article in Cobbett's "Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music"—which must remain the classic examination of Haydn's musical development—that these fugues are anything but a return to the past. Again, Tovey was greatly concerned about the evolution, which he lacked the material to trace, of Haydn's orchestral technique in the "lost" middle-period symphonies. The critical edition breaks off after the first fifty, and Haydn's symphonies vanish from view, exhibiting very crude tutti combined with fantastic solo passages; and they only reappear, in accessible modern editions, with the Paris

symphonies of a dozen years later, exhibiting Haydn's mature and flexible tutti-writing combined with infinite caution over exposed solos. But Dr. Geiringer is so little aware of this matter that in discussing all the latter symphonies he has practically nothing to say about orchestral technique. Although the musical section contains much information not otherwise readily available, the absence of a large perspective reduces it all to secondary value; and the kindest light in which to view the section is as a useful supplement to Tovey's various Haydn essays.

The absence of a catalogue of Haydn's works is a serious flaw; but Dr. Geiringer has supplied a chapter on the difficulties involved in making one—they are indeed formidable—and has explained privately to a friend of the reviewer that at present, with most of the materials for such a catalogue isolated in Europe, he did not feel prepared to attempt one. The catalogue appended to his article in Thompson's "International Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians" was not compiled by him but by Thompson, which is presumably why it was not reprinted.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

The Misanthrope

THE COLLECTED WRITINGS OF AMBROSE BIERCE. The Citadel Press. \$4.

THE vogue among publishers for low-priced one-volume Collected Works which is currently contributing to American literary education also has its drawbacks. For the effect of reading everything an author has written is by

no means always to make us know him better than we did when he was identified for us by a few works which had come to represent his special signature. Every author, no matter how original, by the inescapable process of learning his art from others and by the residue of those others and of the raw and accidental in his art, is at times estranged in his creation from that unique, ever-expanding Word which marks him off from his fellow-artists and from the mere craftsman. It is the function of criticism, a form of myth-making, to restore him to himself, to reveal and define the limits of his identity, that which he does not have in common with anyone else, and not always with himself, that Whole, unveiled only at intervals, which is incommensurable with the sum of his life and his labors. Collected Works—except for the critic, who discards as he reads—far from heightening the image provided by criticism, or replacing it with a more faithful one, tend to spread and blur it by bringing into focus the foreign material which the artist absorbed.

It is especially for a writer like Ambrose Bierce, a "mysterious figure" in the popular sense, a semi-littérateur and journalist, impure in artistic motivation, practicing his profession on the borderline of the featureless magazine thriller and the columnist's human-interest story, a Western American without formal education but spontaneously drawn to the themes and gestures of the most extreme European aestheticism: death, terror, fantasy and the incommunicable, the evocation of entranced states, black humor, deliberate cruelty, aristocratic pose, elegance—it is

REAL UNITED STATES MONEY



THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
MEMORIAL HALF DOLLAR

"A SYMBOL OF DEMOCRACY"

This coin should be in every American Home. The life story of Booker T. Washington inscribed on the reverse side. Philadelphia and San Francisco Coins, \$1.00 each. Denver Coins, \$1.50 each. Add 10c Postage for each coin up to 3 coins; 1c to each coin thereafter.

Proceeds to be used in establishing an
INDUSTRIAL TRAINING PROGRAM
FOR NEGRO YOUTH.

SEND YOUR ORDER TODAY!
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
BIRTHPLACE MEMORIAL
ROCKY MOUNT, VA.
Send reply to Dept. N.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

especially for such a genuine literary dragon and valuable adulterated American mixture, upon whom few modernist literary masks would fit, or fail to fit, that we need critical work done and a critical edition.

Here we have, if not all of Bierce, at least too much, more than 800 pages: the tales of the Civil War and other violent deaths of "In the Midst of Life," the narratives of the supernatural of "Can Such Things Be?" and "Negligible Tales," the slapstick sadistic farces of "The Parenticide Club," the wise-cracks in prose and verse of "The Devil's Dictionary," and the ironical inventions of the "Fantastic Fables," among whose short paragraphs are some of the only perfect things Bierce wrote—for instance, the fable of the sad encounter between the Moral Principle and the Material Interest. "The Monk and the Hangman's Daughter," of which Bierce was not the author, is also included, for the rather odd reason "that a good part of Bierce's literary reputation is based on this tale"—a fact convenient to show how accurate a myth can be, since this Gothic tale of sin and madness sums up Bierce's moods and literary affiliation better than any single piece he did write.

Along with Poe, Bierce was one of those rare birds in American literature—a Dandy, in Baudelaire's sense of the term. The Dandy opposes to society, and to the human world generally, not some principle but himself, his temperament, his dreamed-of depths, his talent for shocking, hoaxing, and dizzying his readers. An aesthetic Enemy of the People, Bierce exploited whatever was most questionable in his personality,

dramatizing his sense of guilt and perdition in theatrical horrors and a costume of malice. What appear to be genuine pathological states often give a sharpened realism to the spectacles of hangings, suicides, and deaths from fright which entertained his imagination. Movement suddenly stops dead in his scenes; his victim's mind splits in two, so that he watches his fate with the detachment of a spectator; a horse and rider hang suspended in space; armies crawl in nightmare silences through blood-coated forests—curious waxwork dioramas clotted in the vertigo of fear.

Out there in his West Coast newspaper office Bierce was somehow seized by that hypnosis of evil and that defiance that have inspired so much of modern literature from symbolism to Dada and surrealism. Probably because of his provincialism, however, his work lacks conscious relations with what was going on both in contemporaneous literary movements and in the spirit of man. As a result it shows no internal development and falls short of aesthetic conviction. His misanthropy, which Clifton Fadiman features in an introduction, often satisfies itself with mere bladder-whacking of greed and social folly. As if he doubted his ability to convey his sensations of menace and ruin, Bierce repeatedly overdoes his effects—the horrors of war are not enough; he must work it out so that the soldier slays his own father or his wife and child—and mauls his reader with trick endings, punch lines, and strained rhetoric. Again and again everything turns on passages like: "So horrible a cry I had never heard nor conceived; it utterly unnerved me; I was conscious for a moment of nothing but my own terror." Soon monotony begins to rise like a gas out of this bulk of pages.

Yet behind Bierce's overstuffed prose, inflexible reiteration, Chamber of Horrors showmanship, and hand-cranked plot machinery, there do lie genuine poetic intuitions, as in "The Death of Halpin Frayser," authentic sensations of mystery and ancestral doom, and occasional daring perceptions of human nature. One is bound to try to imagine what Bierce might have achieved had he lived in a milieu where it was possible to take literature seriously.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

IN THE early nineteen-thirties various established American playwrights searched their consciences anew and came forth with plays different from anything they had previously attempted and intended as answers to the demand of critics for socially conscious drama. Sidney Howard's contribution was "Yellow Jack," a chronicle history of the work of Walter Reed and his associates on the yellow-fever mosquito, written in collaboration with Paul de Kruif and first produced in 1934. The dramatic method, which calls for a nearly bare stage with a good deal of flashing on and off of lights, is pretty close to that of the Living Newspaper except that frankly didactic lectures directed straight at the audience are avoided, and inevitably this method seems a bit old-fashioned in the revival which the American Repertory Theater has just undertaken. I am, moreover, inclined to suspect that history is about to repeat itself. Several at least of the reviewers greeted the new production with precisely those exclamations of modified rapture which they usually reserve for a performance they do not really like as much as they think they should, and I shall have to enter a minority report.

The truth of the matter is that no one has ever discovered, so far at least, a very satisfactory method of conveying information in dramatic form. Any reasonably mature reader can learn more about either yellow fever or the scientific method by devoting fifteen minutes to reading a competent exposition of the subject than he can by an evening in the theater, and he will spare himself the inevitable tediousness resulting from all the lost motion involved in the attempt to put into dialogue form material which is never actually spoken as dialogue. People who favor this sort of thing generally think that they are demonstrating the essential seriousness of their minds, but the man who wants to get his history, his economics, his politics, and his science from novels and plays is not serious but frivolous, and unless we wish to develop a society in which no one ever consents to learn anything except by the radio or the movies, the sort of thing that "Yellow Jack" represents ought to be frowned upon rather than encouraged. In the good old days when the shelves of Sunday School libraries groaned under

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

EX-PAC

asst. public relations director with strong magazine and newspaper experience seeks position with aggressive organization.

Box 1690, c/o The Nation
20 Vesey St., New York 7

The
AMERICAN RED CROSS

Carries On!

+ Give Gladly +

the weight of cautionary tales and instructive dialogues, in which every subject under the sun was reduced to a form supposed to be palatable to the young, no one ever supposed that such works were great or were intended for any except the temporarily or permanently immature.

Mr. Howard may not have been a great dramatist. He could, however, certainly create believable situations and write believable dialogue. No one who knew only the present play would ever believe that he was capable of either. Writing in any other form he would, I am sure, never have employed the maid with a duster to explain that it was just ten years ago today that the old master went away, but his lounging statements who talk in stilted colloquialisms about who died yesterday are not a whit more convincing, and the humor thrown in sounds like the jocosity of a Sunday School superintendent. Who can really believe that scientists working on a great problem spend half their time telling one another in words of one syllable what scientific method is? Or that young assistants, while the big boss is peering absently into a microscope, sketch for his benefit the early history of his specialty? And if anyone does believe that they spend half their time in such employments as these, does he also believe that they spend the other half striking stained-glass attitudes whenever some experiment comes off?

Adult theater" is what a certain kind of critic habitually calls this sort of thing, but the word which obviously fits is "childish."

The production of "Yellow Jack" marks a change in policy for the organization responsible for it, and it will be offered for a limited run uninterrupted by other items in the repertory. I am told that new financial arrangements seem to guarantee the survival of the company at least to the end of this season, and I should like to call the attention of those who are planning next year's activities to certain matters which involve both the choice of plays and the approach to a possible public. No one would maintain that "Henry VIII" is, Shakespeare at his best; few, I think, that "John Gabriel Borkman" is the best of Ibsen or that "What Every Woman Knows" is the best of Barrie. Undoubtedly good plays of the second rank deserve a hearing, but the present company seems to have made a sort of cult of the worthy second best. Could we not have more often plays of brilliance and passion and power, and does

not their absence tend cumulatively to suggest a tepidness which threatens to grow merely dreary? A successful repertory company ought to aim at being something more than the well-meaning producer of well-meaning plays, but unfortunately the appeal from Miss La Gallienne which has been inserted into the program of "Yellow Jack" tends to stress exclusively the duty of New Yorkers to patronize so well-meaning an enterprise. Never before in history has the citizen been so insistently called on to support so many worthy causes. Every newspaper and every morning's mail urges upon him the duty of joining this, or subscribing to that. Inescapably, in most cases, the appeal is the only appeal which it is possible to make. But does a theater really need to present itself as merely one more obligation which the harassed citizen must assume? Is he really likely to go to the theater because he thinks he ought to? Would it not be better simply to promise him delights?

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN RECOGNITION of Koussevitzky's service to American composers they gave him a testimonial dinner a year ago, and more recently the League of Composers gave a concert in his honor which provided him with the opportunity for some of the portentous pronouncements that he loves to make and that tend to get out of control—like "The supreme goal of the composer is to conquer time—to be in the past, in the present, and in the future, to convey the infinity of thought, emotion, and ideal, symbolizing eternity."

A little closer to earth was his contention that "no matter how much is done for the composer—it is not enough! Because the composer is the ever-living source, the life-giving oxygen without which music cannot exist." And his statement later on that "in music a score completed at the desk of the composer is only the beginning of the work to be accomplished; its fulfillment demands the cooperation of an auxiliary energy and a body of active and organized forces." The two statements complement each other: the composer is the source of what is brought to fulfillment by an auxiliary energy. And this means more than it appears to mean.

Its meaning is revealed by a letter from a musician who was able to listen to Koussevitzky's recording of Copland's "Appalachian Spring" with the score, and who is indignant about "the cuts (disgraceful), the bad playing (surprising), and the conductor's liberties with the score: at one place the music races twice as fast as the composer indicates. . . . To thousands of listeners that music will sound as Koussevitzky plays it, not as Copland conceived it." Koussevitzky once characterized a critic who had demanded obedience to the composer's score as a man who "doesn't want the music to be alive"; and from his changes of slow to fast (and fast to slow, also) in Copland's "Appalachian Spring" it is evident that he means those words about the music of living as well as dead composers. One cannot do enough for the composer; and the conductor doesn't do enough for him when he merely plays his music: Koussevitzky's own "cooperation" in its "fulfillment" has been imposition of changes in the shape of the work and its character and meaning that the composer has had to accept if he wanted it performed.

Did Mr. Copland, in his speech at that testimonial dinner he helped to

A NEWS ENCYCLOPEDIA That Grows Every Day "INDISPENSABLE."—William L. Shirer

■ The only weekly news service which grows into an encyclopedia. This unique news service digests and cross indexes without bias all the important news of 70 newspapers, 10 magazines and hundreds of Government releases into just 25 minutes of reading a week.

- Completely news indexed
- Find any fact of the last 6 years in seconds
- Edited weekly
- Presents facts only—without bias
- Covers 70 newspapers, 10 magazines and hundreds of news releases
- Only 25 minutes a week to read all the domestic and international news

NO BIAS—JUST FACTS

At a glance you can tell what happened in every important international situation, you can read the facts of every industrial, political and domestic news event without any editorial coloring whatsoever.

COMPLETELY CROSS INDEXED

FACTS ON FILE cross indexes every major topic for future reference and grows into an annual encyclopedia of news history.

story. You can keep informed without stacks of magazines and clippings. Weekly news and index service, \$35.00 a year. Bound volumes are available from 1941 through 1944. \$20.00 each. Send for fully descriptive free booklet today.

FACTS ON FILE

Dept. 103, 516 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COL SEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
59th ST.
Bet. LEX. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"REAL AND EXCITING."—PM

HENRY FONDA
VICTOR MATURE
LINDA DARNELL

'MY DARLING CLEMENTINE'

Adapted from STUART M. LAKE'S Book

—AND—

'WAKE UP AND DREAM'

J'NE HAYER • JOHN PAYNE

Based on ROBERT NATHAN'S Novel

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KIPPORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
5'way & 62 St.

"BIG BOUNCING MUSICAL."—New York Herald Tribune

DENNIS MORGAN
JACK CARSON

'THE TIME THE PLACE AND THE GIRL'

IN TECHNICOLOR

JANIS PAGE • MARTHA VICKERS • S. Z. SAKALL

—AND—

'THE FALCON'S ADVENTURE'

TOM CONWAY • MADGE MEREDITH

MOTION PICTURE

PAULETTE GODDARD

FRED MacMURRAY in

'SUDDENLY IT'S SPRING'

with MACDONALD CAREY • ARLEN WHelan
A MITCHELL LEISEN Production • A PARAMOUNT Picture

—IN PERSON—

JOHNNY LONG & HIS ORCHESTRA
JOAN EDWARDS

PLUS EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LEWIS & VAN BUDDY LESTER

DON BAKER AT THE ORGAN

Doors Open
at 8:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4250
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

MAX GORDON presents

MARCH ELDREDGE "YEARS AGO"

The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON
Directed by Garson Kanin
MANFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-8050
Eve. 8:40. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATIONS TOP MUSICAL REVIEW

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York: NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Buffalo: ERLANGER Thea.—with Betty KEAN

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT"—Life Magazine

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50

☐ with Consumers Union . . \$9.25 You Save \$1.25

☐ with Harper's Magazine

and Consumers Union . \$11.75 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ One Year \$6 ☐ Two Years \$10 ☐ Three Years \$14

☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

8-16-47

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"DEFINITELY A HIT"—*Marches*, Sun

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

105TH Theatre, 45th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40
Moves to MUSIC BOX Monday, March 17

"A HAPPY HIT"—*Columbian Mirror*

HELEN HAYES in

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT"—*Barnes, Herald Tribune*

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Musical and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eve. 8:30 Sharp. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

TO PLACE AN AD CALL
BARCLAY 7-1066

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

arrange, say that grateful as the composers were to Koussevitzky for his performances of his altered versions of their works they would be even more grateful for performances of their own versions? Or did he realize that this would be an appeal for a humble and enlightened conception of the performer's relation to the composer that Koussevitzky already had shown himself to be incapable of?

What I would call the definitive performance of the Prelude to Wagner's "Meistersinger"—Toscanini's with the N. B. C. Symphony—is excellently reproduced on a Victor single disc (11-9385; \$1). On another single (10-1277; \$75) are two spirituals, "Soon-A Will Be Done" and "Set Down, Servant," beautifully sung by Robert Shaw's Collegiate Chorale. And on still another (11-9386; \$1) are the sailors' three solo dances from Leonard Bernstein's music for "Fancy Free," well-performed by the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler and excellently recorded, but in need of the dancing of Lang, Kriza, and Robbins.

Dvorak's Cello Concerto is a work I have not cared much for even when it was played by Casals or Feuermann with distinguished musical taste and style. And I don't care for it at all as it is sentimentalized in the performance by Piatigorsky with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, which has been issued by Columbia (Set 658; \$5.85). What I mean by musical taste is exemplified by the horn solo on the first side, which brought tears to my eyes with the exquisite inflection of the beautiful sound; what I mean by sentimentalizing is exemplified by the exaggerated nuances of tone and pace in Piatigorsky's treatment of the same melody on the second side. A string player who listened with me was more disturbed than I by Piatigorsky's occasional deviations from pitch; but these constituted the only technical flaw in his playing. The recorded sound of the orchestra is spacious and agreeable, but without the warmth and splendor it should have; and it is blanketed occasionally by the cello.

The nine Scarlatti sonatas that Sylvia Marlowe has recorded for Musicraft (Set 72; \$3.85) include some fine ones; but Miss Marlowe's harpsichord-playing is hammered-out spectacular sonority and nervous excitement or it is stodgy and dull. Spectacular sonority seems also to have been the objective in recording; and surfaces are poor.

Liberated Antiques

Dear Sirs: The third annual National Antiques Show is being held this year through March 16 at Madison Square Garden. Of particular interest to readers of *The Nation* will be a number of "liberated" antiques—*objets d'art* that were kept in hiding during the dark years of the Nazi occupation or were stolen by the Nazis and have since been recovered.

MORTON YARMON,
General Manager

New York, March 5

In the Face of Reality

Dear Sirs: The article on Emily Greene Balch by John Herman Randall, Jr., in *The Nation* of January 4 was interesting, but you ought to clear up one point. The impression is left that Miss Balch was an "absolute pacifist" in the Second World War. Actually Miss Balch advocated our going to war. Many members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom abandoned their "non-violent opposition" stand in the face of ugly inescapable reality.

MARY BARNETT GILSON
Babson Park, Fla., February 19

Requests Stieglitz Items

Dear Sirs: I am putting the material at An American Place in order. I am also attempting to gather as much further material relating to Stieglitz and his life work as possible. In the event that your readers may have letters or other items that might be of general interest, I wonder whether they would be good enough to send the originals, which I will return, or copies of them to me at 124 East Seventieth Street, New York 24, N. Y.

DOROTHY NORMAN
New York, February 27

Health Bill's Limitations

Dear Sirs: Dr. Harvey Cushing, whose health plans of 1934 Dr. Martin Gumpert recalls in your issue of February 1, was a genius as a surgeon and a Napoleonic personality. At the time he wrote the letter to President Roosevelt which Dr. Gumpert quotes he was working

with the American Medical Association to prevent the inclusion of health insurance in the original Social Security Act, which the President's Committee on Economic Security was then drafting.

Doctor Cushing proposed much more than a coordination of federal health services, for he included, as Dr. Gumpert said, not only the Public Health Service but also the Children's Bureau, old-age insurance, and the Food and Drug Administration. A long step in the realization of his ideas was taken last summer when President Truman, acting under powers conferred by Congress, consolidated all the chief health, education, and welfare functions of the federal government in the present Federal Security Agency and subsequently proposed that such an agency should be a regular department with Cabinet status. Now comes the Fulbright-Taft bill. It would not set up a Department of Health but comes closer to Dr. Cushing's idea by establishing a Department of Health, Education, and Security.

Unfortunately, the Fulbright-Taft bill, despite this laudable objective, is full of undesirable provisions. It would tie the hands of the Secretary by prescribing in advance the organization of the new department. It makes further objectionable prescriptions concerning administrative policies and the appointment of personnel. There is not space here to go into more detail, but anyone who wishes can obtain a full analysis and copy of the bill itself from the Committee for the Nation's Health, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

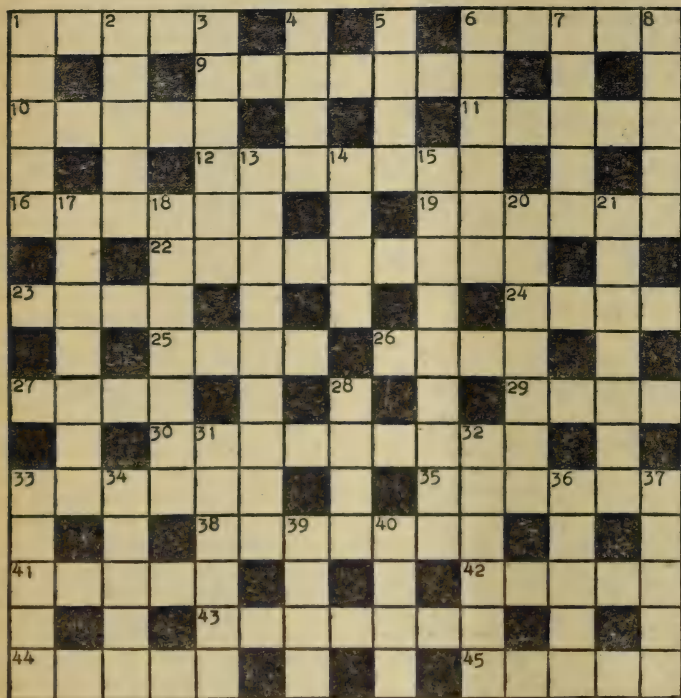
MICHAEL M. DAVIS
New York, February 18

Reduce the Cost

Dear Sirs: There can be no disagreement that public housing undertaken by municipal authorities is vitally necessary to the solution of the nation's housing problem. My point of difference with the thesis expressed by Charles Abrams in his series *Homeless America* (*The Nation*, December 21, 28, January 4) is one of emphasis and proportion. He gives the impression that the major way to meet the housing needs of the American people is through public housing. I doubt the necessity or political feasibility of a solution in which public

Crossword Puzzle No 203

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Young hopeful of the Green family
- 6 Extend or extent
- 9 Howl
- 10 Mill's place in literature
- 11 The prima donna and the Russian go into a clinch on the sofa
- 12 A best seller (3 & 4)
- 16 Her Pa's a molder
- 19 In Africa, the river feeding a lake
- 22 Not military policemen
- 23 Recognized
- 24 I'd eaten before ten
- 25 It bloweth where it listeth
- 26 "One Pinch, a hungry, ---- faced villain, A mere anatomy"
- 27 Nora has changed for the river
- 29 Rain would be a change for Persia
- 30 Girls venturing out in modern hats on a stormy day are apt to return looking thus
- 33 This wine is not lawyers' sherry
- 35 Throws up the sponge
- 38 Roseate flower
- 41 Refreshing outcome of a crushing operation
- 42 Doctor's pinch-hitter
- 43 Red wine should never be served thus (3 & 4)
- 44 Ice tower in a glacial crevasse
- 45 Whist! But how noisy!

DOWN

- 1 Exercises a fine discrimination
- 2 Feminine name meaning "a rose"
- 3 By no means a "dry" talker
- 4 Bet in a boa.
- 5 It's no joke if you fall into it

- 6 Fresh-water fish, also known as the rudd (3-3)
- 7 He's a head shorter than Calvin
- 8 He takes Ann up
- 13 I am in the artillery by order
- 14 French parish priest
- 15 They kept the cutlery clean before the days of stainless steel
- 17 Ha! Orion! (anag.)
- 18 Red Indian conjurers
- 20 Stupid
- 21 Dutch province—scene of a German last-ditch stand
- 28 He has the makings of a bore
- 31 Relating to physic or physicians
- 32 Brandishes
- 33 Dashing young fellows of Regency days
- 34 Comes at or on the back
- 36 The Bride of Lammemoor
- 37 Early in calling for help in the Aegean
- 39 Subjects of feminine reticence
- 40 Ferry fare

□—□—□—□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 202

ACROSS:—1 JACK PROST; 6 NOOKS; 9 NEOZOIC; 10 HILSTON; 11 SPENSER; 12 DILATES; 13 SEE; 15 PUPPET; 17 GROYNIE; 18 OXBYE; 19 CACKLE; 22 MASCOT; 25 FLO; 27 IN A NAME; 28 POLITIC; 30 KEELSON; 31 ITALICS; 32 ROUEN; 33 LANDLORDS;

DOWN:—1 JINKS; 2 CLOSEUP; 3 FLOSSIE; 4 OCCURS; 5 TIRADE; 6 NEBULAR; 7 OUSTAY; 8 SENSICENT; 14 SPELL; 15 PICKNICKER; 16 TOE; 17 GEM; 20 CHATEAU; 21 LAISON; 23 ALL HAIL; 24 CATTIER; 25 FENNEL; 26 OPTION; 29 CASTS.

housing would represent the largest volume of housing construction.

Through the additional legislation provided in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which has not yet been introduced in the new Congress, it should be possible for private enterprise to provide decent housing for sale or rental to the lower income groups. The bill would provide more favorable financing terms, which would mean lower monthly housing costs.

In addition, we must bring about a reduction in the capital cost of housing. To do this, we must stimulate modern industrial methods in housing production. Housing today stands almost alone as a remnant of handicraft methods. The result is that consumers must pay the price of an expensive and antiquated method of producing homes. With the economics of mass-production and assembly-line methods, capital costs of housing can be brought down even in today's market.

With both financing charges and capital costs reduced, private enterprise could serve a larger percentage of the families in need of decent homes. For families which still could not afford such decent private housing, public housing would continue to be necessary, but in smaller proportions than Mr. Abrams suggests. CLARK FOREMAN
Washington, February 22

CONTRIBUTORS

HANS REICHENBACH, now on leave from the Department of Philosophy of the University of California, is the author of "Experience and Prediction."

R. P. BLACKMUR is a member of the Department of English at Princeton University. He is the author of "The Second World," "The Expense of Greatness," and "From Jordan's Delight."

ELIZABETH BISHOP is the author of "North and South," which received the Macmillan Poetry Award.

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University.

CHARLES B. FARRELL has written several reviews for *The Nation* after having appeared anonymously many times in Mr. Haggin's column.

HAROLD ROSENBERG, author of a book of poems, "Trance above the Streets," is a frequent contributor to the *Partisan Review*, *Commentary*, *Poetry*, and *View*.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 22, 1947

NUMBER 12

Manifest Destiny, 1947

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE purpose of Mr. Truman's message to Congress was so simple and obvious that it should have been universally understood. The conflicting interpretations applied to it in this country and in Europe reflect only the confusion of a public which has yet to realize that the United States, as the greatest industrial and military power in the world, *is going to support its rapidly expanding interests in every continent*. No talk about the United Nations will deflect it from that purpose. No scruples about intervention or imperialism. No further dependence on Britain. It may make strategic and diplomatic mistakes; it may move uncertainly, since the implications of overwhelming power are still new to it and run counter to old, established attitudes. Its course of action is not fixed—the contradictions between the policy announced for Greece and Turkey and the policy being pursued in China are apparent—but the objectives and general outline of its policy are now clear. President Monroe's hands-off doctrine has been expanded by President Truman to encompass the globe.

It would be foolish to waste much indignation on the language of the President's message: his unctuous reference to Greek "freedom" and "integrity" and the "necessity of helping free peoples to maintain their free institutions"—as embodied in the noisome, brutal oligarchies ruling Greece and Turkey. All governments are hypocrites and questionable policies are packaged to please the eye of the guileless, moral beholder. It is useful to expose this particular deception only in order to bring to bear as much pressure as possible in defense of the people of those countries, especially of Greece; and to illumine the real and specific intentions behind the President's verbal camouflage.

Put baldly, Mr. Truman's message was a plain declaration of political war against Russia. Nothing more, but also nothing less. Under his plan, American money and arms would be employed simultaneously to establish economic stability and crush rebellion in Greece, thus accomplishing what Britain has failed to accomplish and ending the danger of a Communist-controlled government linked with similar governments in the other Slavic states. By this maneuver the President thinks he can pre-

vent a political "chain reaction" which would engulf Turkey and open the whole Near and Middle East to Soviet domination.

The idea might be feasible, however unappetizing, if the premises were what the Administration apparently believes them to be. But the new strategy, as Mr. Truman outlined it, is based on a series of false assumptions about the situation in Eastern Europe.

What Mr. Truman charges is that the guerrilla forces fighting in the mountains of northern Greece and their political sympathizers in the population are actually nothing more than Russian-inspired terrorists who must be crushed by force of arms (American arms) lest a "totalitarian" regime be imposed upon the Greek people. Whether the guerrillas have received help—or if so, to what extent—from across the borders, the President obviously does not know, since he sprang his drastic program on the world without waiting for the findings of the United Nations commission now investigating the disturbances in northern Greece. But one thing is dead sure without any new evidence: the Greek guerrillas have received far less help from any source than the government's army has received from the British; and still they fight on. They fight, not because Russia orders them to, but because they have the backing of a large part of the Greek people who have suffered beyond endurance at the hands of right-wing irregulars and soldiers, armed and trained by the British. Terror has been practiced on both sides in Greece, but by ignoring the terror of the right Mr. Truman betrayed a shocking indifference to the human and political realities of the Greek struggle. And he demonstrated his faulty understanding of the situation all over Eastern Europe.

The truth is, Russia's influence in the Balkans rises from two things: first, from the fact that the Red Army defeated the Germans and then occupied the area; and, second, from the more basic fact that those countries, ripe for change long before 1939, emerged from the horror of occupation and civil war and economic collapse with no practical alternative to revolution. The necessary and inevitable overturn in no way threatened Moscow's long-range interests. On the contrary, the Soviet

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

Manifest Destiny, 1947 by <i>Freda Kirchwey</i>	317
Had Enough?	319
The Shape of Things	320

ARTICLES

Two Worlds in Moscow by <i>Alexander Werth</i>	322
Dixie in Black and White: I. by <i>A. G. Mezerik</i>	324
Italy on the Hard Road Back by <i>J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	327
Carrie Chapman Catt by <i>Mildred Adams</i>	330
Conscience in California by <i>Henry Geiger</i>	331
Everybody's Business by <i>Keith Hutchison</i>	333
In One Ear by <i>Lou Frankel</i>	334

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Psychology and Symbols by <i>Eleanor Clark</i>	335
The Poor Man's Jeremiah by <i>David T. Bazelon</i>	336
The Isthmus by <i>Elizabeth Wilder</i>	336
Briefer Comment	338
Drama by <i>Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	338
Films by <i>James Agee</i>	339
Art by <i>Clement Greenberg</i>	340
Records by <i>B. H. Haggin</i>	342

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 343

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 204
by *Jack Barrett* 344Editor and Publisher: *Freda Kirchwey*Managing Editor: *J. King Gordon* Literary Editor: *Randall Jarrell**European Editor: *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: *Joseph Wood Krutch* Music: *B. H. Haggin*

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph BatesAssistant Managing Editor: *Jerry Tallmer*Copy Editor: *Gladys Whiteside*, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: *Doris W. Tanz*.Business Manager: *Hugo Van Arx*Advertising Manager: *William B. Brown*Director of Nation Associates: *Lillie Shultz*

*Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 15, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: *Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland*.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Union backed revolution in the Balkans for national as well as for ideological reasons. Neighboring countries with Communist-controlled governments have provided a security belt, a strategic bulwark against possible future attack and a defense against the pressure of Western economic interests. While the Western powers have done their best to stifle social change, Russia could capitalize upon it; a vast advantage in fighting a political war.

No criticism of Moscow's methods in the Balkans, however justified, can alter these fundamentals. American officials may demand the institution of democratic processes and denounce one-party states, but if they continue to ignore—as they have constantly done in the past—the indigenous character of the revolutions in those countries, the Truman doctrine will fail miserably, as the Churchill doctrine has failed, in Greece.

For Greece is also a nation in revolution; and in spite of the active leadership of Communists in the resistance forces, that revolution was not made in Moscow. That it may be exploited by Moscow for Russia's larger strategic ends can hardly be questioned. What must be denied is the assumption, Mr. Truman's major false assumption, that Russian ambitions can be blocked by propping up the Greek government in the name of "democracy," or by crushing the guerrillas in the name of "freedom from outside pressure" and coercion.

Defenders of the new doctrine will argue that we are not interested in any special government in Greece; we are interested only in restoring order and stability by lifting the shattered country out of chaos and by helping the government—any legally constituted government—to put down rebellion. But this statement leaves the real issue untouched. Rebuilding Greece to at least the low economic level that existed in the years before the war would ease the suffering of the people; and it should be undertaken without delay. It might, if successful, reduce political tension and moderate the rigors of revolution. Why this necessary task should be undertaken by the United States in solitary munificence is another question, and must be dealt with separately. The point I want to make here, in response to the apologists for the Truman doctrine, is that stabilizing an economic system that needs to be rooted out and strengthening a government that needs to be overthrown—or at least invited to resign—are not going to provide a lasting substitute for thoroughgoing social change. They will not solve the problem of a poor country which has been subjected for years to a succession of grasping, inefficient governments, ranging from fascist dictatorship to corrupt oligarchy, interested above all else in dragging the last penny of tribute out of the people in order to maintain a small and lavishly ornate aristocratic society. France was not more fatally poised for revolution in 1789, or Russia in 1917.

That no comparable change occurred in Greece in 1944 was the responsibility of the Churchill gov-

ernment. It will be repeated in the days ahead. Sane Americans must ask themselves whether they want to continue the Churchill policy, however embellished with up-to-date American technology and lend-lease arms. They must ask themselves whether they really want to fight the political war Mr. Truman has declared. It is a war we cannot win, and Russia knows it. The editorials in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* are convincing evidence that Moscow regards the new American doctrine with resentment but not with alarm. The Russians know we do not intend to fight them with arms, and they will be sure they can turn our proposed intervention into a propaganda weapon against us.

The President's brusque dismissal of the United Nations as an agency through which relief and rehabilitation could be brought to Greece was alone sufficient to expose the political nature of his program.

Last October the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U. N. completed a remarkable study of the economic situation in Greece and the measures necessary to bring about an improvement. The full report, which has just been made available, describes the desperate poverty of Greece, the breakdown of its civil service, and the antiquated system of taxation that accentuates the violent extremes of wealth and misery in the country. The recommendations of the commission are very concrete and should be studied by every Congressman and Senator before the hearings on the President's program begin. The F. A. O. proposes the creation of a special United Nations Mission, superseding all other bodies, to operate the program of reconstruction and development. How the work should be done is set down in detail. Financial estimates are included: loans totaling \$100,000,000 as a start. And minimum reforms to be carried through by the Greek government are proposed as prerequisites to the whole program. Significantly, the commission advises that military expenditures be sharply scaled down; evidently it did not contemplate war to the death with the guerrillas.

The F. A. O. report is so sound and humane, and so practical in its recommendations, that its publication at this time will, I think, prove an embarrassment to the Administration. It provides for everything Mr. Truman demanded except political war. If it does not go far enough to settle the civil struggle in Greece, it at least promises amelioration. And, by explaining exactly how the machinery of the United Nations can be used to carry out a large-scale program, it dramatizes the President's insistence on unilateral action.

The Administration may discover that a plan like this appeals to large elements of the public, and to members of Congress, who have no stomach for new and grandiose adventures in power politics. The people have been urged to believe that the interests of the United States are tied to the success of the United Nations. They

may well decide that they prefer the proposals of the F. A. O. to the proposals of Mr. Truman. They may reject the idea of defending those interests by engaging in political war with Soviet Russia.

Had Enough?

IT IS too early to tell whether the voters have already "had enough" of the Republicans, though Dr. Gallup indicates that they have, but after two short months the Republicans in Congress behave as if they had had too much of each other. Not even the Democratic Party of the latter-day New Deal, suffering the sting of daily collision between its Southern wing and the Republican enemy, was so noisily at war with itself as the G. O. P. today. What is more, the Democratic cleavage at least made sense ideologically, whereas the current Republican squabbling is in large part merely the consequence of personal rivalries sparked by Presidential ambitions. The Democrats suffered from having conflicting programs; the Republicans from having no program at all.

One need not, of course, accept the word of the Democratic National Committee that the Republicans, having "sowed the hot air of empty promises," are now left to "reap the burning whirlwind of national problems unsolved." G. O. P. leaders themselves put the matter less figuratively. From the extreme right comes the querulous voice of Senator Bushfield of South Dakota: "The leaders of Congress are in confusion among themselves and have not agreed upon any major legislation which we had promised. . . . Putting it bluntly, we have failed in everything which we promised the voters." And Senator Jenner, representing the ultra-conservative Indiana machine that ran over Charles La Follette, has served notice "on my distinguished colleagues on both sides of the aisle that, as a freshman Senator, I am disgusted."

Sniping from a middle position, young Senator Lodge of Massachusetts has admonished his colleagues that the people "did not intend that in voting Republican they were voting for reaction." And Senator Baldwin of Connecticut, on behalf of sixteen Senate "freshmen" (aged thirty-eight to sixty-seven), recently addressed a round-robin letter to Republican leaders protesting the brush-off the newcomers have received at the hands of the Senate Big Four.

On what passes for the left in the G. O. P., scarcely a trace of party discipline remains. Senator Morse, who keeps his party franchise only by campaigning indiscriminately for Republicans at election time, last week let loose a blast at his esteemed National Committee chairman for having demanded "team play." "If his party leaders have their way," said Mr. Morse, "they will lead this country to a laissez faire economy which rests on the principle of the exploitation of human

beings for profit." Similarly acid observations came from Senators Aiken and Tobey.

On the floor of both houses we have the spectacle of Republican against Republican on every major issue that has come before the Congress. The party is split from top to bottom on which should have the right of way, tax reduction or payment on the national debt, with Representative Knutson's proposed 20 per cent tax cut due for a bitter intra-party free-for-all. The Lilienthal appointment has sharply divided Taft and Vandenberg, along with their respective followers, without in the least closing the breach between Taft and Bricker, even though both are opposed to the appointment. Bricker went out of his way to dissociate himself from the precise Taft line of attack on Lilienthal and has yet to renounce his Presidential ambitions in favor of his fellow-Ohioan, as predicted. Vandenberg has ranged his followers against those party colleagues who are bent on wiping out the reciprocal trade program, and House G. O. P. leaders are grumbling against their opposite numbers in the Senate for soft-pedaling the labor issue. And now the President's speech on Greece, it may be assumed, will add to all this fragmentation by opposing those Republicans whose Russophobia transcends their isolationism to those who take their isolationism straight.

To Mark Sullivan, all this sound and fury merely indicates that "crystallization" is in progress. To a less charitable eye it appears that the Republicans, having built their house in the hot haste of an election campaign, are now trying vainly to agree on a foundation.

The Shape of Things

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S ONSLAUGHT against the Labor government's economic policies has been described by reporters present as one of his most brilliant efforts. Viewed in cold print, however, his speech seems to be more colorful than constructive. The fact is that he and the party he leads have no program of their own and are unable even to follow a consistent line of criticism. For months they have been accusing the government of imposing an unnecessary degree of "austerity" on the country; now the coal crisis has forced them to take the opposite tack and denounce ministerial failure to restrict fuel consumption at the beginning of the winter. Even on foreign policy Mr. Churchill attempts to ride horses galloping in opposite directions. He damns the government for wasting man-power by staying in Palestine and then blasts it for getting out of India, where British rule could only be sustained by a much greater expenditure. It will take more than speeches of this kind, however glittering their phraseology, to shake the government's position. More damaging are the criti-

cisms to which it has been subjected inside the government party. Labor members have charged, with some truth, that the Cabinet has many plans but no coordinated plan and that it has been timid about taking the country into its confidence. Undoubtedly, the fuel crisis has diminished the prestige of Mr. Attlee's team, but it has also given that team a new chance, for it has shocked Britons into fuller realization of the magnitude of the problems they are facing. Now that they know the worst, the British people are likely to respond to this challenge as vigorously as they have responded to other challenges to their existence.

✱

FIVE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT, WITH the supposedly conservative Justice Jackson as spokesman, have decided that the Wagner act gives collective-bargaining rights to unions of foremen. The other four, led by the allegedly left-wing Justice Douglas, contest this view, holding that foremen are part of management. It seems to us that the views of the majority rather than of the minority correspond to the letter and spirit of the Wagner act, and certainly they show a greater understanding of the facts of industrial life. In his dissenting opinion, Justice Douglas asserted that the decision of his five colleagues tended not only "to obliterate the line between management and labor" but "to emphasize that the basic opposing forces in industry are not management and labor but the operating group on the one hand and the stockholder and bondholder group on the other." From this statement he proceeds to the *reductio ad absurdum* argument that if foremen are "employees" with the right of collective bargaining, so are vice-presidents. We think it would be truer to say that the growing atomization of corporate ownership and its divorce from management theoretically put top executives in the position of "hired men" but actually make them independent of ownership. Real power in an increasing number of large corporations is concentrated in the hands of management groups, which tend to become self-supporting and self-perpetuating, with interests differing from those of both workers and stockholders. In any case, there is a clear line to be drawn between these policy-making officials and foremen; the latter may be the non-commissioned officers of the industrial army, but, as in the real army, their status is that of enlisted men.

✱

SHOULD PUBLIC EMPLOYEES BE DENIED THE right to strike under all circumstances? It may be easy to answer that question in a totalitarian state, but in a democracy, we submit, no blanket rule is admissible. We may agree that it is a right which guardians of the public safety, such as policemen and firemen, may have to forego, but if they are forbidden to strike they should be protected by a guaranty of better-than-going wage rates and stringent bargaining and arbitration provisions. In the

case of teachers and most other public employees, we believe that, under the present circumstances of employment, they should be free to strike when they have exhausted all other means of persuading the authorities to consider their grievances. The Republican majority in the New York Legislature, however, not content with a general ban against strikes in the civil-service law of the state, has jammed through without hearings a bill imposing harsh penalties on public employees who collectively walk off the job. Such strikers, the bill declares, must be instantly dismissed from the service and reinstated only on condition (a) that their pay shall for three years be not greater than it was before dismissal, and (b) that for a five-year period they shall be treated as on probation and without tenure. This bill now goes to Governor Dewey, and as he is generally credited not only with promoting it but with insisting on amendments increasing its severity, there seems little doubt that it will receive his signature. The crying need of the public service, however, locally and nationally, is not more curbs of this nature but remedies for conditions that tend to exclude from it people of ability and character.

✱

IF THE COMMUNISTS ARE AS DIABOLICAL AS they are reputed to be, they will send delegations to Washington to lobby for the mess of crackpot legislation that has been introduced to outlaw them. Some of the proposed bills we have noted would leave the comrades free to pursue their disruptive way, enhanced by martyrdom and bothered only to the extent of having to convert themselves into some such thing as an American Workers' Progressive Labor Party, with an avowed program no more dangerous than the Elks. Others of these bills might indeed choke off the Communists, but they too have a flaw: they would choke off the rest of us as well—maybe even Rankin himself. His bill, for example, provides ten years in jail for anyone who "conveys the impression of sympathy with or approval of communism or Communist ideology" either in the classroom, in private letters, or in print. To many potential jurors in this country, public power is pretty pink, and it was Rankin—then known as "Cheap Juice John"—who fathered the TVA in the House. Then there is the Hobbs bill, which would jail a government official for recommending or approving a person who turned out to be "subversive"—a term that embraces "conduct . . . inimical to the government of the United States or the tendency of which is to impede" any of its projects. Like the OPA, for instance? There would not be jails enough to hold all the Republicans who worked to undermine the New Deal. These farces need not be taken seriously as long as we have free elections and a Supreme Court, but Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach's call for a legal ban on the Communists is genuinely disturbing. A man of sobriety and usually good judgment, he should

know that such blunderbuss treatment would hit only the innocents, while, as our "subversive" contemporary, the *Wall Street Journal*, points out, the Communists themselves would "flourish like the green bay tree."

✱

WHILE IT IS WRITTEN FROM A CONSERVATIVE standpoint and contains a number of serious omissions, the A. F. of L. delegation's report on trade-union conditions in Argentina should be studied by everyone concerned with Latin American affairs. The delegation finds that the General Confederation of Labor is now completely subordinated to the Perón government and that it has neither the power to elect its officers nor to make its own policies. The Argentine Department of Labor has itself become a union organizer, employing means that are familiar enough in the labor history of fascist states. Resisting officials are arrested, dismissed from their posts, or, as in the case of the former general secretary, Señor Gay, simply spirited away. Strikes, wage demands, and organizational plans are all dictated by cliques responsive to the government's direction. At the same time, Perón is carrying on a campaign against the unions outside the new Labor Front. It is true, the A. F. of L. delegates declare, that for the time being labor derives certain advantages from its forced alliance. In many industries wages have been raised by a nominal 25 per cent. Long overdue social legislation has been enacted. Perhaps because the delegates have sought to avoid the charge of political intervention, there is no mention of the important fact that wage increases pass through the hands of Perón's Ministry of Labor. Nor is it pointed out that while millions of pesos have been amassed in the old-age-pension fund, very little has been received by the beneficiaries.

✱

HOW LONG WILL PERON'S PATERNALISM continue? At present, the army and the ranching and land-owning classes, whose interests and traditions are paramount with the government, have their own feuds with the manufacturers and with the navy, and therefore find it expedient to play up to labor. But what will happen when the strategy changes? The great likelihood is that the Argentine workers will discover, as others have done, that eventual losses will far outweigh present gains. Labor may find that it has become the tool of that expansionist nationalism which dominates the minds of the army leaders and of Perón himself. So much is suggested by the reply made to the A. F. of L. charges by the present federation secretary, Aurelio Hernandez, himself a Ministry of Labor nominee imposed upon the unions by intimidation. According to the Labor Front boss, the A. F. of L. report is merely intended to support Spruille Braden's "imperialist policies." This absurd accusation is clearly intended to win popular support for Perón's rearmament campaign.

Two Worlds in Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, March 15 (by Cable)

AT THE end of the first week of the conference Moscow has an uncomfortable feeling that the discordant squawking of the Ministers' quartet is not half so important as the brass-band accompaniment coming out of Washington. Many Americans are happy about Mr. Truman's speech, but the Russians are acutely upset; as was to be expected; while the British, including even Bevin, are scratching their heads and the French are holding theirs in their hands. People are asking what it all means, right in the midst of the conference. What is the significance of the peculiar timing? Even assuming Greece is "a very special case," why is Turkey's independence regarded as threatened when, in reality, the Russians have been laying off Turkey for the last few months more than ever before? Russia and the Black Sea powers clearly have a case where the Dardanelles are concerned. Why prop up the Turks to such an extent that they will hardly be in a mood to discuss reasonable proposals for revising the Montreux treaty?

But what is worrying the Russians, British, and French in varying degrees is not Greece and Turkey so much as those more general considerations in Truman's speech which are already being described as "the new American foreign policy." Two sets of reactions can be noted. On the American side in conference quarters you hear it said, "The Russians have been asking for it. They've done nothing but snipe at us in their propaganda, insult us as fascists and imperialists, and we've had enough." The Russians, of course, have promptly compared Truman to Hitler, and said he was trying to revive the anti-Comintern pact and the idea of a *cordon sanitaire* against Russia. Stung by the sharpness of his comments on totalitarian influences in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland, they also comment, "He says all this allegedly in defense of the highest principles of pure democracy as he understands it, but he doesn't say one word against totalitarian regimes such as Spain and Argentina. In other words, the right-wing totalitarian regimes are quite O. K. but anything that he chooses to call a totalitarian left-wing regime is anathema. And anyway, what sort of democracies are Greece and Turkey—it's enough to make a cat laugh!"

Whether one takes seriously or not the talk of American imperialism—though the military implications of the

loan to Turkey are pretty obvious—the question inevitably aroused in every mind is whether we are going to have one world or two. Is it to be Russia and its "victims" on one side and America and all the rest of decent humanity on the other? But many of the French and British here feel this is just the question Truman did not care to analyze carefully. For isn't there rather a crude identification in the speech between "democracy" and "the American way of life"? There is a third group of humanity which rejects communism but equally rejects the American way of life. Did Truman overlook Socialist England? Did he forget France, at least half of which is either Socialist or Communist? Moreover, in Europe several sets of ideas and ideologies are in conflict, and to say, "You've got to choose between the Soviet way of life and the American way of life," is considered a crude oversimplification of the mental processes of the people of the Continent. If that is the case in Europe, how much more complicated are the problems of human conduct and aspirations in the immense areas of Asia and Africa! Why, even in terms of "pure democracy," is Chiang Kai-shek's China so much worthier an object than Red China, which at least has certain standards of efficiency, discipline, honesty, and human decency that corrupt Kuomintang China lacks?

Such are some of the general considerations one hears on the fringes of the Moscow conference, where, it must be said, these fundamental issues are being talked about much more than at the Foreign Ministers' meetings proper, with their dreary mudslinging contests between Molotov and Bevin—one denouncing the state of affairs in the British zone of Germany, the other in the Soviet zone. Who cares? In all fairness to Bevin, he did not start it, and it is not clear what practical purpose, except filling the air and the Russian newspapers with his speeches, Molotov is hoping to achieve by cataloguing all the shortcomings of the British in their zone. For so far as foreign opinion is concerned, he knows that Bevin in the next hour will throw an equally heavy packet of the Control Council's reports at his head.

Bevin no doubt made a useful point when he said denazification was such an immensely difficult problem that there were inevitable shortcomings in all four zones. But is denazification today the real problem? Are there not much more serious features of the German situation to worry people in Moscow today? Truman alluded to the existence of two worlds, and are there not in fact already two Germanys? The Russians have been clamoring for "German economic unity." The British and the

ALEXANDER WERTH is special correspondent at Moscow for The Nation, the Manchester Guardian, and the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Americans are saying that economic unity was originally prevented by the Russians when they were unwilling to ship food from eastern to western Germany, which led western Germany in turn to suspend the delivery of reparations to Russia. Now, with the large liquidation of German industry in the eastern zone—what there was of it—would not the economic unity of Germany be a liability to Britain and America unless the Russians "put money into it," that is, unless they at least provided their zone with adequate equipment for intensive food-growing?

So there is clearly no hurry on the part of the Western powers to establish German economic unity or scrap the industries in their zones. Nor is there much desire for political unity, for that matter. The Russians have been asking that the democratic political parties—by which they mean in the first place the Socialist Unity Party—and the trade unions be allowed to have their all-German congresses and their central organs or newspapers. But the feeling among the Western powers against centralization remains strong.

Many of the French are completely cynical about the whole thing. This is the sort of talk one hears in French quarters: Of course England has no intention of scrapping the bulk of the Ruhr industries. Western Germany has got to become a prosperity area in Europe whether the Russians like it or not. It is too bad if foul people like the Germans have the benefit of living in the prosperity zone, but western Germany is essential to the whole economy of Western Europe—England, France, Belgium, Holland. Such, say the French, is the American point of view. According to the French speaker's taste he adds or does not add a discourse on the American monopoly capitalist's interest in western Germany and trots out or does not trot out stories about sinister American links with German capitalist trusts, cartels, and monopolies. Some declare frankly that Germany will be the industrial spearhead against Russia; others simply say that it will be the citadel of Western Europe's prosperity. Many Frenchmen add, "We don't like it, but France and England are poor, miserable countries and, in the end, we will do just as the Americans tell us, whether we like it or not." Such cynicism is not in the British nature, and one hears much talk from Englishmen here about German Social Democrats doing this and that and about the nationalization of western Germany's industries, and so on. But anyway, it is a far cry from Morgenthau's ruralization of western Germany.

By the time this appears in print we may have some clearer ideas on what is likely to be achieved by the Foreign Ministers' conference. A study of the Control Council's report, with mutual recriminations, will take several more days, and one can only join in Bidault's prayer that agreement on a whole group of

proposals at the end of the discussions will be easier than agreement on the proposals one by one. A view authoritatively expressed in British quarters is that this is not Versailles, where the victorious powers produced a set of ready-made solutions. Germany is today the sick man of Europe, and the whole process of treaty-making must be very different from what it was in 1919. The German treaty will, in fact, be only the registration of a certain status quo which will emerge after a long process of implementing instructions to the Control Council.

A further profound complication arises from the question—linked with the whole problem of when, if ever, there will be a central German government—whether it is to be called a treaty *with* Germany or a treaty *for* Germany. The American compromise proposal for calling it simply "the German treaty" will probably be challenged by Molotov; already the Russian press is asking whether it will be a treaty or a *diktat*—obviously an important political question.

The only forecast about the outcome of the conference now possible is that a large number of new instructions will be sent to the Control Council and that the draft of a peace treaty with Austria may be more or less completed, though even that is uncertain.

In one matter the Russians appear to be sadly disappointed. The phrase "Anglo-Americans" is beginning to reappear with growing frequency. Their great hope, as I wrote last week, was that England might follow an "independent policy." So far there is not much evidence of this. In British quarters some are saying, "How can there be when we simply must get another loan from America?" Others remark, "Bevin is in a very sticky spot. The Truman speech is sure to increase the opposition to America's and Bevin's policy—if it remains the same policy—and unless Bevin brings back from Moscow a new alliance with Russia there'll be hell to pay inside the Labor Party." And there is an acutely uncomfortable feeling among many British that if Truman's two-worlds policy is pursued, the consequences may be extremely serious. It might even mean the collapse of the United Nations and an increased danger of war—war in which England might be the chief victim.

There is another aspect to the whole thing. Will Truman's speech help the difficult and slow settling-down process in some parts of Europe, a process which begins to be observable in some countries—in Poland, for instance? The Polish government has undoubtedly achieved much in the way of economic restoration and has not been excessively interfered with in its work by a truculent and belligerent opposition. Isn't there a danger, it is asked, of this opposition becoming more active now and retarding economic restoration? Would this really benefit the Polish people as a whole?

There is another danger. The Russians are today

economically weak and suffering from a variety of post-war difficulties, and they feel that America is cashing in on these temporary weaknesses. This is creating a feeling of anger and resentment in the bulk of the people. It is a psychological factor which should not be

overlooked. Russia in isolation may become a more disturbing factor in the world's thinking than Russia even superficially "cooperating" with the West. We saw it playing such a role during various periods between the two wars.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

I

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

ALONE of the regions in the United States the South has a tradition of a hereditary aristocracy, of landed bourbons. Their philosophy, molded by generations of slave-holding, has been contemptuous of those who work in trade, industry, or the learned professions. These bourbons were and are the great resisters of change, the strong defenders of their yesterdays.

The virtues and vices of the Southern bourbons are not confined to their class but have set a stamp on the whole society. The South has glorified physical prowess and adventure, the exploits of the hunter, the pomp and courage of the military man. It has nourished a strangely distorted code of chivalry which expresses itself even now in duels, fights, and horsewhippings. It exalts sportsmanship and gives a high place to horse-racing, cock-fighting, and feuding.

The legacies of the plantation mind are apparent to this day in the opposition to progress in education, health, industrialization, unionization, and religious practices. Religion has felt this hand of the past very heavily, perhaps because spiritual aspirations are conditioned by other goals. The South has always had the largest percentage of church members of any section in the country; it has, in fact, been derisively called the "Bible belt." The God of the Southern Protestant churches has been, much more than in any other region, a personal God, watching over the individual, assuming responsibility for his luck or misfortune, supporting him in his fights and feuds. The aim of the church has been the good individual rather than the good society.

This is the setting in which the South has matured. There have been some changes, but until recently they have lagged far behind the needs of the people. The great crisis of 1930 ushered in a violent awakening. And

with the advent of Roosevelt in 1933, factors which would begin the transformation of the social, political, and economic status of the South came into being. The waste of land was slowed by programs to correct soil erosion. The farmer, accustomed to thinking of himself as a lone individual who had no interest in a society bigger than his family clan, found that a nation was interested in his welfare. Without markets for his produce, with hunger penetrating his kitchen, the farmer awoke to the meaning, in his own life, of government purchases of his crop at prices far above the open market. His brother in the villages and the towns found that in work relief, PWA and WPA, society was showing an interest in him too, and he reciprocated that interest. Farmer and townsman began to think about their government, to go to the polls, and to look around at the bigger world.

Farm Security brought the first freedom from the fear that a man might work hard to create a home and a farm and lose his all to a bad crop—and it would be no one's business, for in the bourbon ideology, no one cared. Social Security erased a few of the lines in Southern faces with the hint that old age might not be the years of the unwanted they had always been. Laws on minimum wages and maximum hours brought a tiny surcease from the never-ending struggle to earn a bare living and to get some resting time that wasn't also worry time. And the TVA was being built, providing work and a new way of life for a region.

The towns which dot this rolling countryside are lovely. Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, and Greensboro have a warm ingratiating quality which seems to insure ease of living. There is a pervasive feeling that things move slowly, that the even tenor of old ways could not easily be disturbed. Yet the old is giving way to the new.

On a sunny, cool morning of November, in the beautiful mountain resort of Asheville, the North Carolina Baptist Convention was holding its 116th annual meeting. The "messengers," as the delegates from the local churches are called, listened to the report of the Committee on Social Service and Civic Righteousness,

A. G. MEZERIK, author of *"The Revolt of the South and West,"* has spent the past several months making a new survey of the South. This is the first of a series of articles on current social and economic trends.

The committee made recommendations, and the chair asked for a vote. The report was unanimously adopted.

The Baptists, the religious denomination to which Bilbo and Talmadge belong, had voted to support hospitalization, education, and suffrage for Negroes, with facilities and opportunities fully equal to those enjoyed by whites. They stood foursquare for an end to segregation in the church, and the committee's report told why:

If there is an equality of all men by virtue of their relationship to an impartial Creator, and an equality of all believers who share in the redemption of Christ, such equalities must be respected in the body of Christ, which is the church. Therefore, segregation of believers holding to the same tenets of faith, because of color or social status, into racial or class churches is a denial of the New Testament affirmation of the equality of all believers at the foot of the Cross, and alien to the spirit of Christ, the head of the church.

This was unprecedented, and the final planks in the platform were just as revolutionary. The North Carolina branch of the Southern Baptist Church moved into politics to achieve Christian aims. The messengers of the church asked for the immediate passage of a federal anti-lynching bill. And in full acceptance of the logic of the times they went on to call for equal wages and equal treatment for Negro workers *and the passing of such legislation*, both state and national, as would assure fair treatment.

The teletype brought the news to North Carolina's many independent newspapers. Liberal editors were bewildered. Not one wrote a paragraph in praise of the Baptists' action. Fair Employment Practices had suddenly come out of the closet, and they didn't know what to do. A Southern editor, however enlightened his other policies, had never felt he could support the FEPC in his columns; his readers, he thought, would not stand for it. Then came this bolt out of the blue: the preachers of the Bible belt, he discovered, were ahead of him. Nor did the liberal and labor organizations mobilize support for this grass-roots moral renaissance. Though they were publicly on record for the FEPC, they had not looked hard enough at the change being wrought in the people on the farms and in the towns to be prepared for the stand taken at Asheville. Not so slow to act were those on the other side, the Baptists who had long rendered lip service to their church but in their personal, social, and political decisions had violated its spirit. Over night the convention received three thousand indignant telegrams, and the telephone circuits to Asheville were unable to cope with the number of calls for the assembled religious leaders from old familiars who opposed their action.

The onslaught was effective, and the next morning the messengers reconsidered. The session was hectic. By a vote of 253 to 158 the convention rescinded the

ringing passage quoted above, which would have banned segregation within the church. And with this backtracking went a watering-down of the crucial FEPC resolution, which was changed from a demand for legislation to one for equal treatment. The demand for an anti-lynching law and for equal hospitalization, suffrage, and education withstood the attack. While the original resolution is no longer on the record, what was so eloquently said will live. All through the South the FEPC is on the lips of people who formerly dismissed any discussion of it on the ground that Southerners—particularly the churchgoing folk—would die rather than accept it.

The Baptists had already made forays against race prejudice in Virginia, Florida, and Georgia. In Florida the Ministerial Association of Greater Miami, shocked by an attempt to revive the Ku Klux Klan in the name of Protestantism, had acted with swiftness and vigor. They declared:

As ministers of the gospel of Christ we not only oppose the position and principles of the Ku Klux Klan, but we also strongly advise our people to have no part in furthering its organization. We are not alone opposed to the Ku Klux Klan, but also to the apparent tendency on the part of many people to assume that the Klan is a Protestant organization. . . . We do not consider the Ku Klux Klan as representing Protestant Christianity in any condition or expression, since it is a denial of Christianity itself. . . . The Ku Klux Klan is the precise denial of everything truly American and democratic.

In Georgia the Reverend Joseph Rabun, pastor of the church to which the late Gene Talmadge belonged, demanded more

teeth in the resolution on racial relations submitted to the messengers at the Georgia Baptist Convention. In the struggle of the old against the new the Talmadges and Bilbos find themselves fighting a growing movement within their own churches. Whipping up race hate does not serve them in fighting churchmen. Nor can they go into their accustomed routine and berate Baptists as Yankee meddlers. The argument falls on deaf ears, for the Southern Baptist Convention came into being on the issue of secession. Its tradition and record make the demagogues' claim to being the sole guardians of sectional patriotism look pallid indeed.

The old mis-leaders so familiar to the South have new antagonists, born of the changes which have slowly been



taking place in the Southern people. That these should be joined, or led, by the Baptist church is truly heartening, for no other spiritual influence is so widespread and



Drawings by Golden

powerful in the region. The Baptists have large and wealthy congregations in the cities; in the rolling country of the agrarian South no village

is without a Baptist minister. The church has lived with the people of the city and of the farm. It has also been an integral part of the company town, where the evolution of a new attitude on race has lately been strikingly demonstrated.

Thomasville, North Carolina, one of the many company towns that dot the Piedmont, is the domain of the Thomas Chair Company. The company has made the rules for the residents and enforced its own conception of the proper social pattern, including segregation. The Thomas plants run down one side of the main street in Thomasville; stores line the other. The railroad parallels the street, and its smoke and noise are always present. None of the beauty and quiet of the North Carolina landscape penetrates the town, nor for a long time did any sense of community responsibility.

Then came a strike. The 350 Negroes and the 954 whites employed in the plant walked out together—uncertain of where they were going, of whether they could trust each other, of what the all-powerful employer might do. In the forefront of everyone's mind those first days were two questions. The first was, if the strike lasted, how would the strikers and their families continue to eat? For the wages they had received had permitted no savings. The other could not be asked aloud; the etiquette of Southern bourbons had made it taboo. The Negro wondered how he should behave to the white man on the picket line and in the union hall. The white man was perplexed by that and a related question: what would his neighbors say if he let down the old barriers?

The answer to the economic question came speedily. The merchants supported the strikers. They gave credit to the families of the men so they could buy food, and many business and professional people contributed \$10 a week to the strike fund. It was a long strike. Repeated "back-to-work" movements initiated by the employers failed. The company's greatest effort enrolled twenty-two scabs, not one of whom was a Negro.

In the long days and nights on the picket line, in union meetings, and at crude canteens the relations between Negroes and whites were clarified. Before long

they marched together before the gates; soon they ate together; and after a time they sat down together and played cards. Forty-five strike leaders met constantly in the union hall to plan their course, and there were nearly as many Negroes as whites on this Steering Committee. When they had finished for the day, they had coffee and doughnuts, continuing in mixed groups their never-ending discussion of how to win the strike. It was not a recognized process of cementing race relations—that ticklish subject was never more than touched upon. The strike could not be won if the workers were divided. And everybody understood.

They understood so well that on Labor Day, when the strikers marched down the smoke-blown street, white man walked next to Negro, white woman beside black. There was no defiance of native prejudices in that parade: friends and fellow-workers marched quite unconsciously side by side. At last the day of victory came, and there was a real celebration. Outside the union hall the strikers clustered, gay now, doing little dances, congratulating each other. Upstairs there were jigs, songs—and a new union contract. This, though it said nothing of the rights of Negroes or the obligations of whites, was, in a moving sense, a charter for both.

The state's educational institutions have felt the same influence. In the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill the ferment of change has long been working. Years ago Howard Odum and Frank Graham picked up the gauntlet of progress. Dr. Odum propounded his theories of regionalism, and the national government in Washington began to translate them into political and social realities. Farm Security, the restoration of soil fertility, the TVA were logical outgrowths of the ideas which came out of the University of North Carolina.

The traditional progressivism of the university finds notable expression in the publication of the magazine *Christian Frontiers*, called by its editors a "Journal of Baptist Life and Thought." This magazine is attuned to the thinking which brought the Asheville resolution into being, to the morality which condemns as sinful the white man's sense of racial superiority. In the past few months other significant events have occurred on the campus. Dorothy Maynor, the Negro soprano, sang at Graham Memorial Hall to a non-segregated audience, and white and Negro ushers escorted thousands of Carolinians to their seats. This was another manifestation of the awakened fervor of the Southern churches, for the concert was sponsored by the Council for Religion in Life and the proceeds were for the benefit of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

In Raleigh, for the first time in history, a Negro student recently presided over a mixed meeting of North Carolina students. Thirty-four delegates from State Negro College and seventy-nine white students joined

together to elect a Negro as pro-tem president of their organization.

The Southern world is definitely on the move, and in North Carolina the pace at which each segment of society is adjusting itself to the new conditions can be seen more clearly than in other Southern states. The liberal who once thought his position so daring now finds he is no longer out in front. While he kept saying, "Don't press us; what we want to do will take a long time; it's got to come slowly," the majority moved beyond him. The weakness of the gradualist position was unwittingly revealed to me by one of North Carolina's liberal editors. Relations between Negroes and white, he said, were much better now than in the time of his

father, and he had no doubt that they would be wonderfully improved by the time his infant child was grown up. As he spoke it apparently dawned on him that this slow process might not appeal to persons undergoing the degrading imprisonment of segregation. After a long pause he said, "If only the Negroes will be patient."

If good liberals have been left behind, think what has happened to the bourbons. Their point of view was clearly enunciated by a textile magnate who organized the flood of telegrams and telephone calls to Asheville designed to head off the Baptist resolution. "What made the Baptist messengers pass their resolution?" I asked. The answer was prompt: "Too many red Baptists—the state is full of them!"

Italy on the Hard Road Back

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Rome, March 13

MY FIRST favorable impression of Italy was due in part, I am sure, to seeing the sun again after six weeks of the worst winter Europe has experienced in twenty-five years.

From the moment I crossed the frontier I was literally in close contact with the Italian people; between Milan and Florence we were jammed together like sardines in the corridor of the train. It was Saturday, and all the Milanese seemed to be off on a holiday. When we reached Florence I finally located a seat. Order on the train is assured not by railroad employees but by the people themselves: you call out the next station to a traveler who is getting off there, and as soon as he leaves you take possession of his seat. Despite the staggering crowd aboard, not a single unpleasant incident occurred; everyone helped his neighbor to make the best of the uncomfortable conditions created by the lack of rolling stock. What struck me most was the pervasive air of good humor. In Mussolini's day his admirers abroad were so impressed by the punctuality of Italian trains as to overlook the assassination of Matteotti. Today the trains no longer run on time, but they carry a population which knows how to enjoy its new, hard-won liberty.

In Rome that impression was heightened by the animated throngs out for a stroll on Sunday afternoon. The whole city seemed buoyant and alive. *Pastellerias*, like Berardo's in the Galleria, were brimming not only with customers but with delicacies that are rarely seen in Paris even in the most expensive shops. People were queued up outside a midtown movie waiting to see an old Rudolph Valentino film—American producers are not shipping their latest films to the dollar-poor countries of Europe.

The age-old problem of Italy—a population twice as large as the soil can support—is nowhere more apparent than in the capital. Despite post-war hardships, the population has grown in the past two years. Moreover, the United States, which used to admit hundreds of thousands of Italians unable to eke out an existence at home, has now practically closed its doors to this immigration. Rome is somewhat encouraged by the recent decision of the Swiss government to supplement its labor force with Italian laborers. Argentina, too, is encouraging immigration, but with a view to the aggrandizement of the present dictatorship. As might be expected, Perón has taken precautions against receiving too many anti-fascists; he has sent Father José Clemente Silva to Rome with instructions to press for a large contingent of Christian Democrats, notwithstanding the demands of the powerful Italian Confederation of Labor for an equitable selection without regard to party.

On the whole the Italians do not appear to be starving, though in Rome as elsewhere in Italy sections of the population are living very wretchedly. The shops are well stocked despite an intensive export program aimed to prevent further, catastrophic devaluation of the lira. The women are not as well dressed as in France, but the impression is of a greater number of people decently clothed and shod. However, prices are mounting steadily: according to the latest figures of the Rome Central Institute of Statistics, the cost-of-living index, based on 100 as of 1938, rose from 2,900 to 3,964 between August and December of last year. A comparison of wages and prices makes one feel that it will take little short of a miracle to keep the Italian workers going. In the textile industry, for example, piece-work wages range from 12,000 to 20,000 lire a month. But a simple meal in

Rome costs about 300 lire. Women hat workers, who are comparatively well paid, earn about 4,000 lire a week. But in stores similar to those of New York's Fourteenth Street a pair of shoes costs 5,000 lire and a dress 25,000.

Perhaps the miracle that will carry the Italians through this difficult period lies in their own ingenuity and imagination. Large families take on all sorts of work. In the railroad stations a swarm of youngsters vie with the porters to carry your luggage. I met a government functionary who is holding down four jobs: during the day he works at the Ministry; at night he does bookkeeping for a small firm; in spare moments he translates detective stories from English to Italian; and on Sundays he helps his brother, who owns a popular restaurant.

The frugality of the Italian is well known; bread and spaghetti are the basic elements of his diet, and if a jug of wine is thrown in, so much the better. Unfortunately, however, the monthly ration of spaghetti is used up in a week, and for the rest of the month he must buy in the black market. In Italy the black market operates more democratically than in other countries. I do not deny that many unscrupulous traffickers have made fortunes; obviously the corruption that swept post-war Europe did not skip Italy. As a matter of fact, the other day I heard the Sicilian deputy, Finocchiaro Aprile, accuse the Christian Democrats in government posts of profiteering. No doubt his charges had overtones of demagoguery and Sicilian separatism, but the calmness with which the man in the street accepted them indicates that a certain amount of administrative corruption is taken for granted. Still, I feel that here the black market, in addition to enriching a few selfish men, assures a minimum of food and tobacco to the majority of Italians. The trading is carried on very openly as a natural extension of regular commerce. The center of the black market in currency is the Piazza Colonna; sacrilegious wits say that St. Peter himself presides over the transactions. A story now making the rounds has it that in the days of the liberation, when the dollar was bringing 300 to 400 lire—today it sells for about 600 lire—a speculator who had bought up some dollars one morning at 375 was selling them the same evening for 420. When asked for an explanation he said, "That's the rate St. Peter has set." And indeed, right behind him stood the famous statue of the saint with four fingers outstretched.

Neither the existence of the black market nor isolated instances of bad administration justify the picture of a lazy, corrupt Italy drawn by certain reactionary papers abroad in the months since the people drove out the king and began to map progressive social legislation. On the contrary, the Italy of today is one of the most hard-working countries of Europe and is likely to make the most rapid recovery. Wherever electric current has been restored and raw materials are available, one sees feverish activity. In the factories emphasis is on the perfect crafts-

manship that distinguished Italian products in former days and made the leather workers, in particular, masters in their field. The past two years have seen extensive rehabilitation of transport. Few people abroad have any idea how great was the damage inflicted on Italy. Of course they have read about the destruction of historic buildings, famous monuments, and bridges like the Ponte Santa Trinità at Florence, whose arches were one of the glories of the Old World, and about the wanton mutilation of the city of the Medicis which has dishonored the German High Command for all time. But little was written about the hundreds of other bridges and the miles of railroad and telegraph communications destroyed in central and northern Italy, a great deal which has now been repaired. Today classes are in full swing in universities that lack the barest essentials. And, incidentally, professors receive 20,000 lire a month when by pre-war standards and present livings costs they ought to be getting at least 140,000. Yet I know of several who have refused invitations from American colleges—which would have paid them far more—because they believe their duty is to help reorientate a youth poisoned by years of Fascist education.

The feeling of most Italians is that the Allies do not sufficiently appreciate their country's contribution to the general post-war recovery of Europe, and the harsh terms of the recently concluded peace treaty have created a certain bitterness, which extreme right elements have been quick to exploit. Americans may derive satisfaction from the fact that in the last "Doxa" poll, the United States was named the "friendliest nation," with Russia second, and Britain and France sharing last place. Actually, the results indicate not so much friendship for America as hostility toward Britain, which backed the House of Savoy to the bitter end, and toward France, which has stupidly alienated its neighbor by annexing two small, unimportant provinces. The truth is that Italian resentment is directed against all four of the big powers.

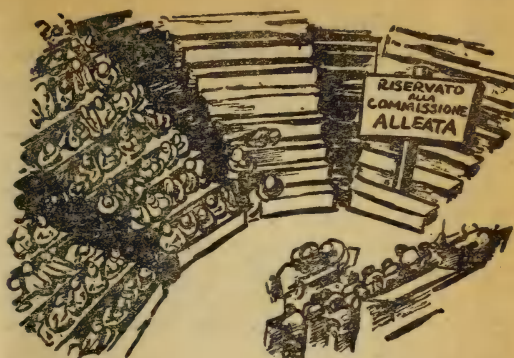
To begin with, Italian anti-Fascists will not soon forget how little recognition was accorded their "unknown war" against the Germans. Readers of *The Nation* may recall that beginning in the fall of 1942 the Political War Section devoted a number of articles to the epic struggle of the workers in Milan and Turin and Naples, about which so little had appeared in the American press. Yet I must confess that until I came here and heard the story from the protagonists in that struggle and read the underground press of those days, I did not fully appreciate the magnitude of the Italian Resistance. Under the leadership of the Committee for the Unity of the Italian People (C. U. P. I.), founded by Pietro Nenni, a Socialist, Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti), a Communist, and Carlo Celli of the Justice and Liberty movement, who were later joined by leading trade-unionists, Catholics, and

liberals, there was waged one of the most glorious people's struggles of the war. Italians fought Germans on French soil; among those who fell before Gestapo machine-guns were Marcello Bertone, coeditor of the Italian anti-Fascist paper in France, Ricardo Rohegger of Trieste, Mario Buzzi, and others. Within a year the C. U. P. I. had 8,000 experienced underground workers in Milan alone. But the movement was not restricted to the industrial cities. It spread quickly to the rural districts and enlisted the support of the peasants. In Rome the rebellious attitude of the students forced the authorities to close the university on May 9, 1942.

After the fall of Mussolini, when further organized army resistance became impossible, the masses took over the conduct of the war; under the inspiration of the partisans, the whole nation rose in arms. Though reluctant to admit the value of an "army" in which career officers shared authority with Socialists and Communists risen to the rank of colonel or general, Allied Headquarters was obliged to state in January, 1944, that "the figure of 300,000 armed Italian patriots can be taken as an understatement of the total number." None the less, the Allied Command, with the honorable exception of Britain's General Alexander, at all times maintained an aloof attitude toward men who not only saved American and British lives but were destined to be the very sinews of the new Italian Republic. On April 10, 1944, the British Admiralty issued a statement praising the behavior of Italian submarine crews, but by some mysterious legerdemain it never reached the press. Apparently Italian anti-Fascists were good enough to die, but not good enough to be encouraged to build a new Italy.

Perhaps the Resistance might have resigned itself to being classified as a third-rate auxiliary force if the Allied Military Government had not systematically opposed everything that meant Italy's orientation in a democratic, socialist direction. Those of us who have followed sympathetically the efforts of the Italian people to root out fascism are aware of this aspect of the story too. But again, I had to come here and talk with leaders of the various political parties—and I saw almost all of them—to understand fully the extent to which the Allies have sabotaged the progressive forces of Italy. Their obstructionist tactics have retarded the consolidation of Italian democracy and forced the government to abandon many projects for nationalization and new social legislation. While conciliatory in tone, former Premier Bonomi's new book, "Diario di un anno," makes it clear that the Anglo-American ideal was an Italy ruled jointly by the monarchy and the Vatican, which would counterbalance a leftist France and ultimately serve, together with Franco Spain, as a bulwark against the advance of socialism in Western Europe.

In the light of these facts, the Italians could not but regard the peace treaty as another injustice against their



From a Rome newspaper (1946)

The Problem of the Right Is Solved

nation. I have the feeling that most realistic political leaders know the treaty might have been worse, and that the study of possible revisions, already initiated at the suggestion of Britain and America, may bring about favorable modification in the near future. But certain provisions of the treaty—not necessarily the most important, but certainly the most irritating—have given reaction a new opportunity to stir up discontent. The disposition of the Italian navy is a case in point; except for two modern cruisers, it will add little strength to the Allied navies which are to share it. Italians, however, are more disturbed by the loss of the fleet than by the prospect of having to pay reparations far beyond their means; they see in this a blow to their national pride, for during the period of cobelligerency their navy performed major services for the Allies. While intelligent left leaders may be more interested in organizing a genuinely democratic government and putting the country back to work than in protesting against the injustices of the peace treaty, were they to say so openly they would probably be denounced as traitors by the right.

The left must be constantly on guard against the nationalist agitation instigated by the forces of the past. Fortunately for Italy, Mussolini's Fascists never attained the same degree of power as their counterparts in Germany, but that is no reason to dismiss Fascist activity lightly. Every three months or so a new Fascist publication is started, usually not in Rome or cities where the workers are strongly organized, but rather in Sicily, where the old landed proprietors hate the republic and fear the coming agrarian reform. The first attempt to build a Fascist underground was made in 1945 when half the peninsula was still under Allied occupation. Today the existence of a secret organization is common knowledge; in Rome I heard talk about the Mussolini Action Squads (S. A. M.) complete with codes, contact points, and meeting places, and directed by former Fascist and monarchist officers. Since the S. A. M. knows that a coup would have no chance of success now, its strategy is to infiltrate into the legal political parties as a fifth column

in order to "control" democracy and mold it along lines as completely Christian Democratic and as little Socialist or republican as possible. The reputed leader of the Fascist revival is Carlo Scorza; his present whereabouts, like those of his German colleague Martin Bormann, are a mystery. Along with the small provincial publications, a number of thinly disguised Fascist papers are being sold openly at newsstands in Rome: *Rivolta Ideale*, edited by Giovanni Tonelli, with a circulation of about 80,000, *La Ruota* of Naples, and *Meridiano d'Italia* of Milan, with smaller audiences. On the other hand, the popular anti-clerical weekly, *Don Basilio*, has half a million readers.

Barely a year old, the Italian republic appears to be well entrenched. But the bitter struggle continues between the right and the left, between the forces working desperately to establish a neo-fascism and those that are attempting to translate the "century of the common man" into reality. The national elections, which will decide Italian policy for the next four years, are scheduled to be held in October, but already the country is engaged in full-scale campaigning. This helped me to get a clear idea of the various party programs and of the political climate in general.

[Mr. del Vayo's next article from Italy will discuss the political position and policy of the Vatican.]

Carrie Chapman Catt

BY MILDRED ADAMS

THE end of a great human being stops time and for a moment holds people and forces revealed in naked light. So it is with the death of Carrie Chapman Catt. Only now that the blue eyes are closed and the strong voice quiet can we begin to see the proportions of the tall leader from Iowa and the part she played in creating certain forces that help make American life what it is today. She spent sixty years in shaping two mass movements—the progress of women out of their position as a submerged class into an equality of opportunity with men, and the progress of the world in developing peaceful techniques of international change. She stands not only as a leader of women but as a political thinker of the first order.

What women all over the world owe to her is so imbedded in their daily lives that only through the illumination of a moment like this can they imagine how much more meager things might have been for them had she not lived. What the world owes is even harder to isolate and appraise, for it would include not only her own contribution but also the work done by millions of women whose energies she unleashed. One of her last acts was to join Mrs. Roosevelt and others in saluting Russian women for their efforts to build a peaceful world.

President Truman, in a telegram sent to her New Rochelle home when he heard of her death, said that with her passing "an era in our national life comes to an end." She was the last of the great leaders whose fight for woman suffrage began in the nineteenth century and

followed through to the ratification of the amendment in 1920. As a young woman she traveled and spoke with the pioneer Susan B. Anthony, and though she had far more sense of humor than that indomitable veteran, she was in spirit her direct heir. Her great contribution was the concept of organizing along recognized political lines what had hitherto been a movement more remarkable for its enthusiasm than for its campaign skill. Beginning with the Assembly districts in New York City she organized women into a political party with the vote as its first aim. Not only did this new attack prove successful, first in the states and then in the nation, but it persuaded a great body of women of the need for informed opinion and skilled action and taught them how to use the vote for public good once they had won it. Her realization that wise use of the ballot is not an inherited instinct even in a democracy but a skill to which citizens must be educated is now an axiom in political thinking.

Mrs. Catt's interest in international affairs, commonly thought to have followed her work for suffrage, actually paralleled it for at least forty years. As early as 1904 she became president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, and traveling about the world on its affairs, she looked at governments in action with that clear, inquiring gaze which was one of her most valuable assets. As a distinguished visitor on a public mission, she was usually accorded an interview with the country's ruler. Abroad and at home she saw government face to face, and she had few illusions about it. If her optimism was temperamental, her skepticism was informed and healthy.

When suffrage was finally won and she had founded the League of Women Voters to carry on education in the use of the ballot for the common good, she said

MILDRED ADAMS is a distinguished writer in several fields and an occasional contributor to The Nation. She knew Mrs. Catt personally for many years.

with a relieved sigh that she could "now devote all attention to the cause of peace." She drew together eleven national women's organizations into a working group to study "the cause and cure of war." When another war came that group developed into the present Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace.

Between the wars, when "peace groups" stronger in good intent than in wisdom littered the land, Mrs. Catt was one of the few peace advocates who could not properly be called either a pacifist or an isolationist. Iowa farm woman that she was, dowered with a sense of reality that never left her, she recognized growth, dispute, ambition as human manifestations that could neither be legislated nor educated out of existence. What she hoped was that techniques could be developed by which disputes between nations could be kept at a minimum and settled when they arose by compromise and agreement instead of armed conflict. Her cherished dream was that peace should be treated as a positive national good rather than as a State Department by-product, and should be made the active business of a Department of Peace set up within the executive branch at Cabinet level. That has not yet come to pass, but she felt herself fortunate to have lived to see what she regarded as the tragic national blunder of 1920 corrected when the United States entered the United Nations. Her last birthday wish was that the "United Nations would make a perfect success and that we would never have another war."

To younger people of good-will, confused by the plethora of organizations that seek to move the world

this way or that, there is cause for wonder in the degree to which Mrs. Catt's influence was that of the individual making up her mind on the evidence of her own eyes. It is true that she went about the world as a feminist leader, but she did not lean on her position as the representative of groups of women. On the contrary, the groups leaned on her.

For reasons deeply rooted in her personal life and that of the nineteenth-century communities in which she spent her youth she really believed that women had better stuff in them than men, that given a chance to develop and to contribute to public life they would be a force for good. If this was an illusion it also served as an inspiration, and there is reason for examining the influence of modern pessimisms in the fact that women who worked with and for her felt the spur of that optimism and did better than they knew they could.

The rare qualities which attracted her followers from near and far to New Rochelle long after she had retired from active life still stir thousands who never saw her. She went without a last recorded word, but she would have stood by the message with which, in the dark days of 1940, she closed her speech to the Women's Centennial Congress.

"Friends," she said in that slow, direct voice which reached into listening minds like the thrust of a spade, "it is a hard future, but every problem can be solved and many of them must be solved. For your own sake, face the future cheerfully, for your friends' sake, be optimistic, for your children's sake, be confident, and for the sake of all things, be bravely unafraid."

Conscience in California

BY HENRY GEIGER

Los Angeles, March 12

ALTHOUGH the Selective Service act expires at the end of this month, twenty-two conscientious objectors are being tried in Los Angeles on charges of violating it. Cases against thirty-six others were dropped after the United States district attorney decided to limit prosecution to the alleged ringleaders. The twenty-two are being tried for going on strike to get pay for "work of national importance" which prior to last April they were forced to perform without remuneration in the Glendora, California, civilian-public-service camp. They also sought civilian control, dependency

allotments, workmen's compensation, and equitable discharge rates.

The last of these demands has been granted, but the strikers will not benefit if they are now sent to a federal prison instead of going home. "Civilian control" could probably be established by Presidential order. The three remaining strike aims—bare minimums of decency in any kind of employment, military or civilian—are as far from realization as they were four years ago, when the C. O.'s petitioned the government for wages equivalent to army base pay and subsistence for their wives and children.

Thousands of the men in these camps were married; many had small children whose need for care prevented their mothers from working. Yet according to the Selective Service law they had not the right to earn money for their families even in the time left to them after a

HENRY GEIGER, a theosophist, spent three years as a conscientious objector in a civilian-public-service camp.

fifty-one-hour work week, except as a "privilege" allowed by federal authority.

Last April about eighty conscientious objectors in Camp 76, at Glendale, having exhausted all known "democratic" avenues of appeal, stopped working for the United States Forest Service and started packing food for hungry Europeans, using contributions from friends to buy food and pay the postage. They refused to work any longer for nothing—their "allowance" of \$2.50 a month, raised to \$5 six months after the war began, could hardly be called "pay"—under illegal military supervision.

In explaining their protest, the men pointed to the contradiction between the theoretical recognition of the right of conscience in the United States and the government's practice of treating C. O.'s as slave laborers. "If the public judgment is that C. O.'s should be treated as criminals and slaves," they said, "then the program should be legalized by Congress. If the public believes in recognition of conscience, then the program should be changed. Either pay us and place us under civilian control or admit that you are treating conscientious objectors like felons and stop all this talk about freedom of religion. We don't have it."

Labor leaders are beginning to realize that the civilian public-service system may set a dangerous precedent for civilian labor drafts. Last month Meyer Bernstein of the C. I. O. Veterans' Committee told the President's Amnesty Board: "We sense a great danger in compulsory labor not in punishment for crime. Forced work of any kind is detrimental to democratic institutions. The arrest of C. O.'s who struck against forced labor is the compounding of an injury. We of organized labor have suffered from this sort of abuse ourselves. So we protest on our own behalf as well as in defense of the C. O.'s."

When the system was described to Senator Wallgren, now Governor Wallgren of Washington, in 1943, he said, "You are treating those fellows worse than the Japs," meaning the interned Japanese Americans. To which General Hershey responded: 'Maybe so, . . . but that is the way we have been running it for a good while.'

Clarence Dykstra, first director of Selective Service, explaining the program for C. O.'s worked out by church groups to a House subcommittee on appropriations in January, 1941, said, "We do not expect to pay them anything." Representative Houston demurred, saying, "They are protected by law." Nevertheless, 12,000 men were sold into slavery for the duration. Liberal Congressmen were lulled into acceptance of

the no-pay idea by assurances that the church pacifists wanted it that way. At first many C. O.'s themselves accepted the doctrine that they could prove their loyalty by the "sacrifice" of working without pay, but as years passed, they grew restless. The alternative-service program, as they saw it, consisted of trivial jobs in concentration camps ruled by military regulations, where men were denied even the elemental compensation of base pay to take care of their personal needs. Medical care was inadequate, often irresponsible.

Of course, it was an ordeal that healthy men with principles could stand. They did not oppose the system because it was unpleasant or destructive of their own morale. It was the thought of these slave labor camps as a fixture of the American scene that drove them to protest. The knew that in England conscientious objectors were allowed to find their own jobs, within limits defined by the British tribunals, and were paid prevailing wages. British C. O.'s had to face social ostracism, it is true, but this every war resister expects. Canadian C. O.'s worked in labor camps for pay, and after a year were released to fill civilian jobs vital to their home communities—as in hospitals and schools. What rankled with American conscientious objectors was the hypocrisy and waste of the American system. It squandered the energies of thousands of useful and often highly trained citizens; it pretended to uphold religious freedom but actually imposed heavy economic penalties on conscience.

During and after the war hundreds of conscientious objectors "walked out" of camp to face federal prosecution. But the strike at Glendora was the first mass action in protest against the civilian public-service system. The Friends' Service Committee has just withdrawn its aid in administering the system. The friends' camps—Glendora was one of them—were populated with articulate, socially conscious men. When their misguided friends, the church pacifists, got out, the last frayed strand of allegiance to the program snapped. The war was over.

As the soldiers came back, the men in the camps found it unendurable to be held as peace-time civilian conscripts.

So though their discharges were only a few days or weeks away, these Glendora men went on strike, risking prison sentences that might extend their punishment for years. The FBI descended in force, and soon all the strikers—except a few who went back to work because of church pressure or for family reasons—were arrested and charged with criminal offenses against the Selective Service Act, for which they face a maximum penalty of five years.





EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

KEITH HUTCHISON

Russia and Reparations

THE attempt to extract a vast sum in reparations from Germany after World War I ended in fiasco. The comparatively small amounts that were in fact collected were transferred only through the agency of much larger American and British loans to Germany, and these loans in turn served to finance the modernization and expansion of German heavy industry and, ultimately, rearmament. Seeking to avoid such pitfalls this time, the Big Three at Potsdam agreed that reparations should be paid by the physical removal of the capital assets that constituted Germany's armament potential. Moreover, they decided that the total of industrial equipment left intact should be no more than enough to provide a modest standard of living and a volume of exports sufficient to finance the imports needed to maintain that standard.

It was a neat theory, but in practice it has not worked out very well. Dismantlement of plants has proceeded slowly in the western zones, and removals were formally halted in the American sector in May, 1946, on the ground that Russia's failure to implement the Potsdam decision to allow Germany economic unity compelled reconsideration of zonal industrial needs. Actually a trickle of equipment has been made available, but allocations have been too small and irregular to be of much assistance to nations counting on German machinery to further their industrial reconstruction. Russia, whose share of western-zone reparations was fixed at 25 per cent, has been particularly dissatisfied, and at the Moscow conference Molotov has accused America and Britain of "sabotaging" German demilitarization by failure to dismantle 1,540 out of 1,557 plants listed by the Allied Control Commission.

However, the Russians appear to be disappointed also with the gleanings from their own zone, where they have had a completely free hand. They are reported to have shipped some \$1,000,000,000 worth of equipment eastward, but the operation appears to have entailed unexpectedly large losses. According to David Ginsburg, who has prepared a report on reparations for the National Planning Association, "although considerable quantities of industrial machines did arrive in usable condition, the assembly and operation of whole plants at the point of destination proved to be inordinately difficult. Missing parts and machines, damaged parts and machines, lost engineering plans, shortages of skilled manpower, delays at every stage—all bedeviled the Soviets to the point where confidence in the capital-goods reparations program as a major contribution to the success of the new Five-Year Plan was lost." As a result the Russians have greatly reduced their removals schedule and have even returned some plants to Germany. More and more they are relying on the proceeds of current production in their zone as a means of reparation, and to this end they have taken title to over 200 important industrial plants in which 300,000 to 400,000

Germans work as "Soviet state employees." From these and other sources, Mr. Ginsburg estimates, they have obtained some \$500,000,000 worth of goods. However, this flow seems destined to be reduced owing to scarcity of raw materials and depreciation of machines which cannot be made good from local resources.

While the receipt of reparations has lagged behind Soviet hopes, the need of the Soviet economy for additional supplies of both capital and consumer goods has become more urgent. Even the scanty news Moscow vouchsafes about industrial development makes it clear that the Five-Year Plan has got off to a very slow start, while last year's drought has held in the fields workers wanted in the factories. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Russians hope to turn to account the idle machinery and man-power of western Germany.

Last July in Paris Molotov renewed a demand, made at Yalta but never agreed to by America and Britain, for a total of \$10,000,000,000 in German reparations, including deliveries from current output. To make this possible he agreed to consider an upward revision in the level of German industry and even an increase in German steel output. This represented a complete reversal of the earlier Soviet position, which had been to cut German industrial potential, and particularly steel capacity, to the lowest possible point.

Nevertheless, this volte-face was not welcomed by the Western powers. Mr. Ginsburg, who served during 1945-46 as United States alternate on the four-power economic directorate in Berlin, makes their reasons clear in an analysis which I can reproduce only in the briefest summary. The crux of the matter is, however, that even if German industry were allowed to expand beyond the limits determined by the occupying powers, payment of reparations from current production would only be possible with the aid of outside—that is, American—loans. Under the most favorable circumstances it will be several years before Germany can export sufficient to pay for the imports of food and raw materials required to restore the German standard of living to the low 1932 level—the target fixed by the Allied Control Council. Payment of reparations at the rate of \$1,000,000,000 annually—half to Russia and half to other claimants—would raise the required export total to about \$2,500,000,000.

The Allied Level of Industry Plan proposes that the bulk of future German exports shall be the product of light industry—toys, china, textiles, and so forth. But markets for such goods in an impoverished world are limited; moreover, they are not the goods Russia most wants. Consequently, payment of reparations from current production would necessitate reviving German heavy industry on a much larger scale than has been contemplated. It would mean, too, that an increased proportion of the Ruhr coal output would have to be retained for German industry, thus defeating the hopes of France and other Western countries which have been counting on Ruhr coal to fuel their industrial expansions.

Even if the Moscow delegates agreed to let Germany go ahead and produce as much as possible, the chaotic state of German communications, the appalling housing situation, the shortage of labor, particularly skilled labor, and the increasing debility of the German population would combine to slow down the process of recovery. The attainment of an export surplus available for reparation payments is hardly

even in sight. Thus the Soviet demand for German goods *now* could only be satisfied if the clause in the Potsdam agreement which gave payment for imports a prior claim on export proceeds were nullified. But since Germany must have foreign food and raw materials to produce at all, this in turn would mean a continuous flow of American credit to fill the gap. In regard both to the financing of reparations by the United States and the rebuilding of German heavy industry we would be back in the post-Versailles pitfalls.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

RADIO listeners in and around New York City have the privilege of hearing WMCA (570 on the dial), a non-network commercial station with a flair for fine public-service programs. In the two years since the atomic bomb smashed Hiroshima sundry stations and networks have broadcast talks and forums about the atom: the ABC network read the John Hersey story; every network and most stations reported the experiment at Bikini Atoll play by play; and the CBS documentary unit is preparing a program on the industrial use of atomic energy. But it remained for WMCA to grapple with the basic problems of atomic power in its dramatized series of broadcasts "One World or None." For breath-taking drive, for blunt, shocking facts, for calling a fool a fool and a lie a lie, "One World or None" is outstanding.

Under the direction of Nathan Straus, WMCA has frequently tackled local problems. Straus took over five years ago, just after New York City had been racked by a race riot in Harlem. A weekly series of dramatizations against racial intolerance based on Roi Ottley's "New World Coming" was started at that time and is now in its fourth year. When the atomic scientists began to fight for less censorship and more information for the public about the atom, WMCA saw another project taking form. The publication in March, 1946, of "One World or None," written by the scientists themselves, provided the vehicle. And just as WMCA had organized a community committee to advise it on its tolerance programs, so it now called in consultation the leading atomic scientists. Einstein, Oppenheimer, Bethe, Urey, and others served on an advisory committee.

The first broadcast of the series, on Friday evening, January 10, at 9:30, drew a mixed response. Quite possibly that first program was overdone. The strong broad strokes built to plateaus, not peaks, of tension. The climaxes tugged at the



lapel instead of stopping the listener short with a blow to the "button." Perhaps it would have been smarter not to have opened with a hypothetical bombing of Manhattan, for New Yorkers are blasé about their town. Subsequent programs were presented more deftly without any loss of punch. Fine acting and scripts crammed with facts power the series; satire and fantasy are used for contrast; original music emphasizes the emotional impact.

On February 21, during the fight over the confirmation of David Lilienthal as chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, the subject was "The Case of David Lilienthal." This program showed first how the military brass hats had tried to railroad through Congress a bill giving them control of the atom, how the scientists had stymied the War Department, how finally the Senate and House had passed the McMahon bill calling for civilian control, not military, for public control, not private, and for the subordination of domestic policy to any international agreements that might be signed later. Then the alignment of forces in the fight against Lilienthal was brought into the open, and the issues were made clear. As the narrator put it, "It was not David Lilienthal, it was the public-control provision of the Atomic Energy law itself that was the target." Finally, as any good public-service program must do, "The Case for David Lilienthal" spelled out action—in these words: "The drive to subvert the power of the universe to private use will go on. It must be beaten down again in the days ahead by the pressure that can always beat it down—the pressure of the people."

The writing by Dexter Masters, the direction and production by Mitchell Grayson, the narration by Paul McGrath, the music by John Gart (he has the makings of a "one world" symphony in his bridges and underlines), and the performances of the players measured up to the concept of this exceptional public-service program. And so did the results. WMCA was snowed under with letters from educators and other prominent persons asking for more information and for speakers on the subject. Several offered funds, which were refused. Radio stations requested transcriptions. Unfortunately, but understandably, the musicians' and performers' unions have approved the rebroadcast of the series only on educational stations. WMCA, grateful to the unions for permitting even so limited a number of rebroadcasts, hesitates to ask for waivers for commercial stations.

Since WMCA can hardly be expected to carry the additional cost itself—the rebroadcast fees for commercial stations approximate \$750 for musicians and \$72 for each actor—the program will run only its stated period. The broadcasters, the National Association, and the networks, busy lambasting the Federal Communications Commission for attempting to enforce public control of radio, are not eager to support the fight for public control of atomic energy. Local committees, however, might well finance the replaying of this series. Or organizations like the National Committee on Atomic Information in Washington might be persuaded to shoulder the burden.

This much is certain: the job needs doing. Scripts or transcription will be made available by WMCA if the cost is covered; the stations will surely be glad to air a program with such high entertainment and educational value.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Psychology and Symbols

UNDER THE VOLCANO. By Malcolm Lowry. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

THE AERODROME. By Rex Warner. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.75.

ALTHOUGH in "The Aerodrome" Rex Warner continues his brave, intelligent attempts to exhume the novel from the grave of Proust, it is in the far more conventional of these two English novels that the sorrows of the times, as well as those of the contemporary novelist, are most powerfully reflected. Not to suggest a comparison where none is apt, but to think of the two books together is to have a fresh if dangerous respect for mere vitality in writing, and incidentally to wonder whether it was not a matter of self-preservation for Malcolm Lowry to have lived in recent years, "as it appears he has, almost everywhere but in his own country. Certainly, whatever its weaknesses, "Under the Volcano" has a vigor and impact that have been missing in home-grown British fiction for some time. Large, "ambitious," and immensely sad, marred by a specific failure of vision and at times by a more irritating subjectivity of treatment, the book would compel respect if only for its more than occasional skill and for the conglomerate wealth of perceptions that has gone into it. Luckily there is also a fine central perception to keep the book from falling apart—a central character, that is—and though the author is not secure in his larger meanings and tends to overstress them, nevertheless in his story of the death of a man's will he does touch with rather anarchic brilliance on the core of the modern tragedy. This, as he has his hero reflect, is precisely to have lost the stature and capacity for tragedy—"Even the suffering you do endure is largely unnecessary. Actually spurious. It lacks the very basis you require of it for its tragic nature"—and it therefore presents a problem of sustaining interest, of simple dramatic tension, to which Lowry's medium

is inadequate. But the perception remains valid.

The hero is Geoffrey Firmin, British ex-consul, now a "knight of sorry aspect" drinking himself to death in a Mexican town presumably modeled after Cuernavaca. The two great Mexican volcanoes loom literally and symbolically in the distance, and the town and the region around are traversed by an ominous ravine into which the Consul's body is thrown at the end. "Quauhnahuac was like the times in this respect, wherever you looked the abyss was waiting for you around the corner." The time span of the book is one day, the Day of the Dead, 1939, on which the Consul's divorced wife, Yvonne, rather miraculously comes back to him after a year's absence; miraculously because he has been howling for this to happen, imagining that their love could save him, though he has had too little will to be saved even to answer her letters. And of course he will not be saved now; he will even, through a symbolically used accident, destroy them both; but we are taken through all the heart-breaking detail of the process, against a background of Mexican festivity and in a somewhat overwritten but on the whole convincing atmosphere of doom. Also involved are a middle-aged French movie director named Laruelle, whose function in the pattern of the novel appears strained, and the Consul's half-brother Hugh, an unhappy young man of action whose political thinking seems too close to the author's own conscience and in any case comes close to spoiling the book, since it is interwoven with the political incidents of the Mexican scene on which the Consul's death is made finally to depend.

That the book is not spoiled by the basic and by now boring innocence embodied in Hugh is the highest tribute to Lowry's talent. Hugh is another Robert Jordan of "For Whom the Bell Tolls"; he has various doubts and incapacities analogous or complementary to his brother's, but they are shown chiefly in the murky stream of his

consciousness, and at the end we have been given nothing to undermine his political view of the world as good, represented by his thoughts of the Battle of the Ebro, versus evil, or the "forces of reaction." This comforting dichotomy, so familiar among a certain variety of intellectual tourists, would be more shocking in this context if there were not a more general and literal tourist quality in the book as a whole. The fact that none of the characters have any inevitable relation to the scene in which they are placed could, if properly used, greatly have heightened the sense of alienation, of the spiritual homelessness of modern man, that is part of Lowry's theme. But it is not so used. On the contrary, he is continually suggesting correspondences between the Consul's collapse and the failures of the social structure, and since his people are really connected with no structure at all, except a very remote British Empire, the resulting atmosphere is sometimes less of doom than of the Left Bank.

A more pervasive sense of the thing's not quite coming off arises from the erratic and overloaded nature of the writing; and yet almost any page read separately would be taken to indicate an extremely expert hand. The pace of the story too is extraordinarily effective, so that the Consul's struggle and enormous downfall, to the tune of a staggering number of drinks which manage to drown neither his wit nor his agony, become almost unbearable—even though one could wish for clearer insight into the origins of his failure. But in spite of this achievement and the innumerable details of observation that beautifully support it, one arrives before long at the conclusion that prose is being asked to do here more than it can and is buckling under it. It goes weary, as in the long flashback concerning Hugh's earlier life, or flies off into such subjective rhetoric that one can no longer be sure of what is happening, as in the passage on the death, if she did die, of Yvonne. The fault would seem to be

one not of skill but of conception, and the clue to it lies, I believe, in the startling impression this book gives now and then, not often, of having been written by a newspaperman; the question being whether the techniques of the psychological novel have not by now become so much the property of journalism on the one hand and of science on the other as to be inappropriate to such many-leveled complexity as "Under the Volcano" attempts to convey. Lowry himself has indicated the extent of the problem in his reliance on symbols, but the symbols he uses are too scattered, incomplete, and even arbitrary to carry much of the burden of his meaning.

Another possible direction has been illustrated for the last ten years by Rex Warner, who beginning with "The Wild Goose Chase" has produced a series of schematic fantasies so deft one can almost say there is nothing wrong with them. "The Aerodrome" is once more a parable, this time of the contemporary struggle of values, which he defines as between order and life. Order is represented by an imaginary Nazi-esque air force aiming at a coup d'état, and life by a quite realistic English village nearby; the characters are plausible in the ordinary way, most of the plot might have been invented by Dickens, the lesson is to the point, and the whole is so gracefully worked out as to be, if not compelling, at least readable and entertaining. To be sure the implications of the book are meant to be vast, but Rex Warner's talent is a mild satirical one, too humanitarian to be reminiscent of the early Evelyn Waugh, and with just enough trace left of Kafka's influence to remind us that the commonest legacy of Kafka as of Proust just now is likely to be anemia; which is to repeat a point in favor of Malcolm Lowry.

ELEANOR CLARK

The Poor Man's Jeremiah

AN ESSAY ON MORALS. By Philip Wylie. Rinehart and Company. \$2.50.

ALL is vanity, Mr. Wylie has discovered. And as if to prove the point once and for all, as far as he is concerned, the very first paragraph of his book contains the statement that his basic concept offers "a very clear answer to every [sic] individual and col-

lective problem." Mr. Wylie's answer to every problem runs something like this: man is an animal—that is proved conclusively in a little over fifty pages; therefore man is instinctual; but he has developed an ego for the sake of which he submerges and distorts his instincts; thus all is vanity. Q. E. D. The term "instinct" (à la Jung) being so central to this "true science of philosophy," it is extremely unfortunate that Mr. Wylie should have neglected to define it intelligibly. He says that instinct is everywhere man is, and that it is everywhere determining—which is on a par with the statement that man must have oxygen in order to live. Mr. Wylie's use of "instinct" is, in fact, nothing but a simple extension of his profound belief that man is an animal.

The intellectual core of "An Essay on Morals" is a kind of jazzy mysticism, the springboard of which is constructed of simple elements from psychoanalysis. But if the intellectual content can be taken lightly, Mr. Wylie's manner of expressing himself cannot be: it is too unusual among popular writers. To begin with a minor point, he has chosen to affect the style of very old essayists. This heavy pomposity, mixed with the usual commercial style and a key concept employed sloppily, produces a uniquely unreadable result. But the chief thing about Mr. Wylie's manner is that he is critical. His writing, to state the fact fully, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of all critical writing. The movement of his "thought" is merely from one sneer, rebuke, exposé, critical "revelation," to another; and where he can demonstrate himself knowing and superior in this way mostly determines where he moves—determines the course of his argument, that is. In this sense, Mr. Wylie's is a parody of the modern critical mind—a genuine comic relief.

"Instinct" is a perfect term for such a mind to employ, particularly in relation to the subject of morals. For then criticism can be directed at everyone—the moral for not being instinctual, the latter for not being the former. Especially, that is, if the environment is ignored. And Mr. Wylie proudly possesses a phenomenal ignorance of and contempt for the environment; he begins and ends with "instinct." We are especially impressed with his contemptuous ignorance when he arrives, briefly,

at politics. It turns out that he is in favor of democracy, which means for him that what happens happens. Here we begin to understand in just what sense Mr. Wylie is the philosopher and seer of the commercial intellectual: he suits the latter because he is never concrete or political enough to mean anything except in the sphere of after-hours "belief." Almost everything he suggests can be accomplished in the mind alone, during one's leisure. Like many people today, he wants a revolution in our way of life without any political effort, especially without the struggle of classes. (He makes the fantastic statement that knowledge of the unconscious mind must be spread over the globe before the distribution of material goods!)

Mr. Wylie writes like a man overcome by the cosmic significance of the fact that he has run across a few rather enlightening ideas. In this circumstance, he has quite blown his top. "An Essay on Morals" is the result. His more educated readers will be startled, and perhaps confused, by so much guttural noise and seeming sense. The semi-educated—Mr. Wylie's own special audience—will love the exhibition, just as they love all intellectual vaudeville. Not least in the pleasure will be the big words they can't understand and the many vague sentences.

If the author were not so pompous, this reviewer would be moved to give him "E" for effort—after all, the book is based on a primary Freudian principle, does contain a few good insights, some well-chosen facts, and one or two decent formulations. As it is, however, this vain diatribe against foolish vanity tempts one to suggest to Mr. Wylie that he either learn a reasonable humility or return, please, to the *Saturday Evening Post* salt mines.

DAVID T. BAZELON

The Isthmus

MEXICO SOUTH. By Miguel Covarrubias. Alfred A. Knopf. \$7.50.

IF YOU travel four hundred miles out from New York City, you will find yourself in Cleveland—or, at the most exotic, Bangor—but if you set out from Mexico City, you can reach the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and that is quite another matter. Women are re-

"Extremely well done . . . the cumulative effect is terrific."

—N. Y. TIMES

A ROOM ON THE ROUTE



A NOVEL OF MODERN RUSSIA BY
Godfrey Blunden

JOHN DOS PASSOS telegraphs—"Just finished reading A ROOM ON THE ROUTE—really first-rate writing—one of the few important novels of generations tells us a story we must understand before it is too late. Reading it I found myself back in Moscow among Russians I knew there in less terrible times. The people ring true; the city, the cold, the hardship and the terror ring true. Blunden is the only writer who has been able to make us feel in our bones the realities of Soviet life."

\$3.00

2nd Large Printing

"A remarkable, and even exciting, novel in which everyday existence in Moscow during the war is made to seem as real as life in New York or Minneapolis . . . An important as well as a deeply moving piece of work."

—New Yorker

"Bound to be widely read and discussed."

—New York Post

"The characters excite compassion they're as human."

—N. Y. World Telegram

The Aero-drome

A novel by
REX WARNER

author of
Return of the Traveller

"A steady narrative thrust and a controlled atmosphere of excitement . . . Uncommon, stimulating and satisfying . . . Many books are called important. I sincerely believe that this one is."—BEN RAY REDMAN, *Saturday Review of Literature*.

\$2.75

At all bookstores

THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN

By Ellis G.
Arnall

"Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson brought up to date in terms of education, soil erosion, freight rates, the Tennessee Valley, and true democracy."

—HENRY A. WALLACE

\$3.00

4th Large Printing

The War Reports

OF GENERAL MARSHALL
GENERAL ARNOLD
AND ADMIRAL KING

All nine official reports by the men responsible for waging the war, now available in a single permanent volume. "An authentic story of the war which will have to be consulted by anyone interested in the conflict."—*Chicago Tribune*. Profusely illustrated. Foreword by Walter Millis.

\$7.50

PHILADELPHIA

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

NEW YORK

puted to be handsomer; their gowns are rich and proud; tamales are wrapped in banana leaves instead of corn husks; there are different dances, dialects of a different Indian language, and social customs of great complexity, especially having to do with celebrations.

It is significant that the Isthmus can be described in romantic and picturesque terms, by a Mexican, as if it were indeed foreign territory—significant of the isolation of important regions of Mexico and of the great variety and autonomy of indigenous cultures. Much of this will disappear in our lifetime, with the pan-American highway cutting right through Tehuantepec, and there is already a wistful note in this record of a light-hearted and self-sufficient way of life. But after all, it has been disappearing now and being re-created for at least four hundred years, and in fact this ambivalence of past and present, rooted in intense local tradition, is one of the special fascinations of Mexico. Covarrubias catches its quality very well in the parts of the book devoted to the daily life, social organization, customs, and traditions of the region: he simply tells us, in all aspects and in considerable detail, how the people of the Isthmus live, and it is a subject that one can listen to indefinitely with pleasure. The text is supplemented with abundant drawings and photographs which have the same quality of distilled observation. A tourist might never see these "typical" things, for such things emerge as not merely beautiful but characteristic only for a person who stays long enough and lives close enough to the local scene. To this sort of reporting the author brings a natural gift for entering into his material, a quality of enjoyment which gives his experience rather more validity than the clinical sociological study.

For me the almost separate treatises on pre-conquest, colonial, and republican history mar the pure and agreeable scope of the book: it is not clear why the author suddenly writes as an archaeologist or as a professional historian instead of bringing to the events and the evidences of the past the same mood of personal observation and appraisal. The armchair traveler can always skip, however, and I recommend "Mexico South" without scruple as the year's best substitute for a winter holiday—with the

warning, however, that it is sure to carry you off to Tehuantepec and Juichitan and Vera Cruz in the end.

ELIZABETH WILDER

BRIEFER COMMENT

Brogan on France

BENEATH OUR RATHER MUZZY sentimentality about France ("sister republic," "Lafayette, we are here!" "Last Time I Saw Paris") there are depths of ignorance and strange currents of hostility. The Second World War would not have happened if we had attempted to understand Clemenceau instead of painting him with horns. And Potsdam might not have been such a tragic muddle if France had been present, as it had every right to be.

The American reader who wants to understand France soberly, without gushing or raving, will find no better guide than Denis Brogan's "French Personalities and Problems" (Knopf, \$3). The expert who is too exclusively a specialist is under legitimate suspicion. He has a tendency to magnify his field, whether it be the Hittite Empire or Etruscan inscriptions. Brogan, our best authority on contemporary France, is also thoroughly acquainted with our country and with his own. His sympathies are not lopsided. He is a Western-liberal, a citizen of that great commonwealth which came to life in the eighteenth century, and of which England, France, America are closely related provinces.

The twenty-seven essays in this book, selected from many contributions to British, French, and American periodicals, cover a wide field, historical and literary, from the French Revolution to the resurgent France of 1945. For the student of political thought the most valuable essays are those on nationalism, discussed either directly or through its exponents, Barrès, Maurras, Bainville, Daudet. We once had a friendly quarrel, Brogan and I, about nationalism. I recognize the virulence of the disease; but a raging fever need not be a permanent condition. Even in this book I might not agree with every one of his interpretations: where would liberals be, if they had to follow the same rigid line? But the facts are accurate, the

reasoning is cogent, and the presentation masterly.

For Brogan, a political scientist, is a writer. So were Tocqueville, Marx, Henry George: a dull style is no sufficient evidence of profundity. He has touches of American smartness, French irony, and British humor. All this without levity: the problems are hard and the outlook is dark. In such a crisis it would be foolish to chirp, and even more foolish to mope.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Old Inimitable

THESE TWELVE ESSAYS ("Mainly on the Air," Knopf, \$2) by Sir Max—"the incomparable"—Beerbohm are of trivial importance, if urbanity, ease, and wit are trivial. The table of contents indicates that six of the essays were delivered to the British public by word of mouth, Sunday evenings, for a quarter or half an hour, over the facilities of the British Broadcasting Corporation. This leads us to the sixty-four-dollar question: what sponsor, what forward-looking executive, of all those cited in Mr. Frankel's department in these pages, would invite American authors to come and do likewise, at the risk of interfering with Mr. Benny, Mr. Bergen, or Mr. Allen? And what good would it do him if he did? For, even were there listeners, in our shires of the republic of letters, alas, no elder statesman could be found to discourse so engagingly, and with such an absence of what Sir Max refers to as the "argute" and the "rebarbative." ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST" is one of those plays which read well but gain little in any merely competent performance. This particular play may, indeed, easily lose a good deal for the simple reason that it is easier to see its fantastically inhuman dramatis personae in the mind's eye than to body them forth in an even tolerably satisfactory fashion. If you play them as if they were really men and women, the effect is as disastrous as it was in those Victorian productions of Shakespeare where Hermione, or even Puck, was humanized into mere

silliness instead of being allowed to live and breathe, to think and act, according to the arbitrary laws of her own being. One of the characters in Wilde's play, indignant at the unfairness, describes Lady Bracknell as "a monster without being a myth," and so she is within the framework of the play. But from any standpoint outside it the important fact is that she, like all her fellow-characters, is both a monster and a myth—a monster of elegant brainlessness playing her part in the mythological realm of perfect dandyism.

The most monstrous woman who was not also mythological could not possibly congratulate a prospective son-in-law upon having an occupation when he confesses that he does smoke, or could, when she discovers that he is a foundling picked up from a railway cloak-room, dismiss him with the observation that no man can be socially acceptable if his origins turn out to be a terminus. But grant her the mythological realm in which she functions—a realm of dandyism whose denizens achieve an ideal of privileged uselessness so far beyond the imagination of Thorstein Veblen that they take merely manual or practical incompetence for granted and are not really proud of anything except their arrogant refusal to use even their minds for anything except word-juggling; grant her, I say, this realm in which a sensible idea would be as gauche as sensible shoes, and she is as credible as Volpone or Ariel.

All this is by way of a preliminary to the statement that Mr. Gielgud and his company have found for their production now current at the Royal Theater a style which does help to create the mythological atmosphere instead, as is sometimes the case, of destroying it. This style is not overdone; it wisely keeps a little this side of the extravagance of the words, so that these words still come as a surprise even when uttered by the people who utter them; but it is also a style which makes each character just sufficiently assured and debonair in his manner to keep it clear that he is not human but mythological. All the parts are played extremely well, and there are at least three really superb performances—that by Mr. Gielgud himself as John Worthing, that by Margaret Rutherford as Lady Bracknell, and, best of all in my opinion, that by Pamela Brown as Gwendolen. According to the program Miss Brown in London played Goneril in Olivier's "King Lear," Lady Macbeth in another Old Vic production, and has been urged by

James Agate to undertake Hedda Gabler. Of what she does for Gwendolen, that perfect embodiment of genteel assurance and maidenly ruthlessness, I can only say that Gwendolen becomes what one might imagine Lear's daughter or Macbeth's wife would be if either were translated from tragedy into comedy and thereby became what Shakespeare elsewhere describes as a very civil monster.

I note that the reviewer in *Variety*—usually very shrewd in the judgments based on its own premises—finds the play much less promising for Broadway than "Lady Windermere's Fan," and *Variety* thereby offers a poser to those of us who have always taken it for granted that the latter play was an artistically unsatisfactory mixture of wit with conventional sentiment and stale theatricality, while "Earnest" was quite perfect in its kind. The explanation, I suppose, that for strictly popular consumption even obviously false realism is more easily acceptable than anything which openly cuts loose from all pretense of fidelity to any actuality; and though my guess is that "The Importance of Being Earnest" will sell out for the limited run which has been scheduled, it does to some extent remain caviar—which comestible I should remind those who might find the two last statements not quite compatible finds a ready sale to an adequate public. As for myself, I must confess that I have what many would no doubt regard as a quite extravagant liking for the play in question. Certainly the stream of Wilde's wit never ran so pure in any of his other works and certainly it never sparkled along so easily, so copiously, or with so much joy. The whole range of his power as a phrase-maker is exhibited, from those phrases which are barbed darts penetrating deeper than one at first realizes to those which are pure exuberant nonsense. And for once there is almost no dross, no intrusion of the alien elements of sentimentality or melodrama. Moreover, the special style of farce which he created by joining irresponsible talk to action irresponsible in some similar way is so far from being as easily imitable as one might suppose that it has seldom if ever really been imitated. To some extent, I suppose, it might be claimed that P. G. Wodehouse has been rewriting and watering it down for a generation, but Levy's "Spring Time for Henry" is the only play I can remember which comes within miles of catching its tone. Wilde did not really found a school because no

one was able to learn his trick, and it is almost terrifying to remember that this triumphantly assured, irresistibly debonair work was actually enjoying its first run when its author toppled over into the pit from which he was never to emerge. He did not, like Prospero, drown his book. It was drowned with him.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

I SHOULD review several of the films mentioned below at some length, and I hope that at length I will. But I have left so many films unreviewed, some of them weeks or months old by now, that I can begin to catch up only by reviewing them now, somewhere near as briefly as possible.

"The Adventuress," an English film, stars Deborah Kerr as a patriotic Irish innocent who helps Nazi spies until she learns better. It is a try at comedy melodrama and in both ways is sometimes clever. More often, the styles go thin or conflict, or lose themselves in rather unpleasant bids for general American liking. A good deal has been derived from Hitchcock, but little of the intensity and conviction which made his English films so good. There is some grace, intelligence, and fun here, but essentially this seems to me a supercilious drama, as if it had been made by bright young men who had decided to package and toss a bone to the groundlings.

"The Angel and the Bad Man," John Wayne's first production, mixes up Quakers with gun-bearing cowboys. The

CAN WE LICK THE REAL ESTATE LOBBY?

Who has beaten every national public housing bill for the last ten years? Who wrecked the veterans' housing program? Who's behind the current threat to end rent control? *The Real Estate Lobby*, an eye-opening article in the March AMERICAN MERCURY, reveals interests far more powerful than the landlords... far more difficult to beat. Also in this provocative, 128-page issue: *Stassen of Minnesota*... *The Airlines Face a Crisis*... *The Rape of Manchuria*, and 18 other first-rate features by noted writers. To get the next 6 months of THE AMERICAN MERCURY clip \$1 to this ad (special trial rate for new subscribers only—regular price \$3 a year).

MAIL TO:

THE AMERICAN MERCURY

573 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

result is unpretentious, sweet-tempered, and quite likable.

"Before Him All Rome Trembled" tells the story of "La Tosca" in a sort of double exposure; the principals sing the crisis of the opera and go through a similar offstage crisis in Nazi-dominated Rome. This is all likably mediocre except for Anna Magnani of "Open City," whom I could watch for any length of time for her square-handed operatic gestures alone. She has never yet been used for anything like all she has, or promises, and I suppose never will be, now that she is coming to Hollywood, which is a pity, for both as a woman and as a movie actress she is magnificent—the nearest thing to an absolute that I have seen in films since the silent Garbo movies. Incidentally I hope that the Pope, at least, will-sooner or later get around to admitting that he took no very active part in the anti-Nazi underground; judging by Italian films, practically everyone else in Italy did.

"Blaze of Noon" is a story about four flying brothers and the anxious girl one of them marries. So long as it sticks to stunt-flying and mild comedy it is pleasant enough, but the last half, during which the obsessed brothers come one by one to grief and the little woman waits it out, gets pretty monotonous.

"Boomerang!" produced by Louis de Rochemont and directed by Elia Kazan, is the story of a real-life murder and the resultant police and political work. This is still only March, but I won't be surprised if it turns out to be the best American film of its year, barring only Chaplin's. It was made in Stamford and White Plains; it is notable for Dana Andrews's best performance to date; a large cast mainly of Broadway actors, inspired perhaps by their surroundings, the non-professional actors, and the highly intelligent general intention, turns in the most immaculate set of naturalistic performances I have seen in one movie. The script and photography are exactly what they should be. "Boomerang!" never tries to get beyond the very good best that good journalistic artists can do, but on that level it is a triumph, a perfect job, and I very much hope a springboard for many more films of its kind.

"A Cage of Nightingales," a French film, reminds me of "Mädchen in Uniform" and of the fantastically original and inspired "Zero de Conduit," both of which were about the treatment and maltreatment of schoolchildren. This time the talented teacher, the healer

(the comedian Noël-Noël), reforms the boys in a reform school, largely through getting them interested in choral music. Both he and the children are very charming. I like these demonstrations of what even a reasonable amount of kindness, common sense, guile, and self-reliance can do against brute authoritarianism, and I know they are still apposite and always will be. But I would like still better to see any sufficiently intelligent attack on the new kinds of soul-destroyer—those heirs of the healers of the recent past who have learned the words ever so earnestly but, lacking the remotest ear for the tune, do their work by the book. (I'm told that one of the newer books on child-raising tells you that it's all right, indeed altogether well-advised, to smile at your baby.) They are the most deadly enemies, in our particular time, and they are still hardly even suspected, much less assaulted, except by the neolithic types they have to some extent supplanted.

I will be back at this remnants counter as soon as possible. Meanwhile I must digress briefly to say a few words about the clergy.

In the current issue of *Motion Picture Magazine* are three articles about divorce in Hollywood, signed by Monsignor Sheen, Rabbi Goldstein, and Dr. Fosdick. They say a good deal about marriage and divorce and about the relationship between the strength of a civilization and the integrity of the family, with which I agree, whether I want to or not. They also wish to requite of the Hollywood stars that they serve as a good example rather than a bad one to the mere human beings who make up the stars' general audience; one even demands that the industry see to it that these employees behave themselves. In my opinion such moralists are impudent enough in hornning in on what appears on the screen without assuming it is their right and duty, as well, after the stars' working hours, to get into bed with them. I would like to know, moreover, what a few people whose moral sense has reached the shaving age think of arbiters of morals who still believe in the obligation of the prominent to set a good example; who still believe in exerting pressure on them in order that they shall exert pressure on others; and who feel so profound a contempt for the souls and minds of people in general as to dare to approach them through force and through example.

I have an unsolicited apology to make.

I recently referred to Cardinal Spellman in this column in a way which now seems to me to have been over-personal and otherwise vulgar. I lose no love to the Cardinal or to the clergy in general, of whatever denomination, but I am ashamed to have expressed my dislike in the way that I did.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE Chirico revealed by his latest paintings, which are now on view at the Acquavella Galleries along with specimens of earlier work (through March 31), is surprising only as an objective fact, but not in the perspective of his whole development, which was always colored by an ambiguous and guilty but thoroughly logical hostility to all truly modern painting since Courbet.

At the beginning of his career Chirico was struck by the German Swiss painter Böcklin, whose work is one of the most consummate expressions of all that we now dislike about the latter half of the nineteenth century; however, I cannot believe there was not some perversity, half-concealed from himself, some desire to shock his peers and betters, in this admiration of Chirico's—a desire that sprang perhaps from his despair of equaling the profound matter-of-factness of the impressionists and of Cézanne and Matisse. Like many a twentieth-century Italian, with the glorious past behind him and the glorious present elsewhere—in Paris, London, Berlin—he clowned out of a historical instinct that he himself was half unconscious of.

But Chirico still was and is a gifted painter, as he demonstrated in some of the pictures he painted before 1919. Although they show portents of the bankruptcy to come and signal across a decade to that retreat of avant-garde painting which began with the surrealists in the late twenties, these canvases have a substance and plastic quality that justify, in plastic terms, this last serious attempt to save literary easel-painting. They will survive because they are *sui generis*. Though certain aspects of their design and subject matter owe much to cubism, they do not exist within the same order of criticism, and must be treated as a point of exception and not approached with the demands we make on the great and typical painting of the first twenty years of the century. They are one of those

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLUMBIUM
814 ST.
80th ST.
80th ST. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RKO

NOW

EXPERT CAST AND DIRECTION."—N. Y. World-Telegram

IDA LUPINO

Robert ALDA • Andrea KING

Bruce BENNETT

'THE MAN I LOVE'

Directed by RAUL WALSH
From MARITTA WOLFF Novel

—AND—

'THE VERDICT'

SYDNEY GREENSTREET

PETER LOHRE • JOAN LORRING

From Novel by ISRAEL ZANGWILL

"REAL AND EXCITING."—PM

HENRY FONDA

VICTOR MATURE

LINDA DARNELL

'MY DARLING CLEMENTINE'

Adapted from STUART N. LAKE'S Book

—AND—

'WAKE UP AND DREAM'

J'NE HAFER • JOHN PAYNE

Based on ROBERT NATHAN'S Novel

MOTION PICTURES

BOB HOPE • DOROTHY LAMOUR

'My Favorite Brunette'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA

PLUS

PAT HENNING • Lyn Shirley

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE

Doors Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly



3rd
Week!

3rd
Week!

STAGE PLAYS

"A smash hit
of enormous
proportions."

—Ward More-
house, Sun.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4258
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★
BUY BONDS
★ ★ ★ ★ ★

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"A WELCOME HIT."—Columbian, Mirror

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way

Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A HIT."—Life Magazine

HELEN HAYES in

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way

Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"MERMAN'S A WOW."—Chapman, News

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan

IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way

Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

The NATION

- ☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50
☐ with Consumers Union . . . \$9.25 You Save \$1.25
☐ with Harper's Magazine

and Consumers Union . \$11.75 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself:

- ☐ One Year \$6 ☐ Two Years \$10 ☐ Three Years \$14
☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____



THE RED CROSS

Carries On!

— GIVE GLADLY —

tours de force that, like Michelangelo's frescoes, founded a misguided school.

As a colorist, Chirico was in this period a last emissary of mannerism, three hundred years behind Delacroix in its use. The emphasis of his gift lies in his draftsmanship, and his best works are tinted drawings in which color does not interfere or speak in its own right. (Thus his most prominent disciples—Dali, Ernst, and Tanguy—are likewise draftsmen, but so exclusively so that they cannot handle color at all, and in their painting it gets in the way of the drawing.)

Chirico's deep space, foreshortenings, and exaggerated perspective announce, in spite of himself, the absolute flatness of Mondrian. It is the latter who drew the correct conclusion from the Italian painter's early work, not Dali. The early work parodies the perspective of the Quattrocentist masters and the means in general by which the Renaissance attained the illusion of the third dimension; and because it parodies, it destroys. From his tangential position Chirico, by an exaggeration that amounted to ridicule, helped the cubists exile deep space and volume from painting. See only how completely schematic and second-hand is his delineation of depth, how flat all surfaces in these early pictures, how the shading and modeling are applied in undifferentiated patches, like a decorative convention, and how light is handled as if in a shadow box.

Having performed this parody, which was in the nature of a final summing up and relegation of all the problems that had occupied Western painting between Giotto and Courbet, Chirico had no place left to go. Failing or unwilling to understand either what he had done or the character of painting since Manet, he could find nothing to replace that remnant of the Renaissance which he had destroyed. His destruction had been too exclusively negative—unlike the cubists, whose attack on the third dimension had of itself generated something equally positive to take its place: a new conception of pictorial space.

Chirico went on into the twenties continuing to parody, this time Davidian neo-classicism, sculpture, architecture, literature. This was the period of broken columns, toppled statues, pale horses, and whitewashed gladiators, but handled with baroque or romantic technique. The objects of the parody and the painterly means were both irrelevant. The literary effects themselves were boring, while the loose brush-stroke, the thicker paint, and the

warmer colors were just so much inert machinery. His draftsmanship, now that it had abandoned the original inspiration of mannerism and nineteenth-century popular illustration, became as weak as his color. Chirico had lost touch completely. It was not even easel-painting; it was elementary interior decoration.

This was not, however, Chirico's last word. He has now performed one more parody. These very latest, post-1939 paintings of his, more or less literal pastiches of Rubens, Delacroix, Géricault, Chardin, Courbet, and the baroque still life reduced in scale and simplified, are frontal attacks on the *malerisch* or "painterly" school, to which Chirico's own Florentine temperament, with its leaning toward hard, cool colors, firm modeling, and clear contours, seemed so directly opposed at the beginning of his career. Here, nevertheless, he has aped the heated, swirling effects of the baroque and romantic masters. The results that in their hands took days or weeks to be achieved are simulated and mocked in a few hours of slapdash, *alla prima* painting (though it should not be overlooked that baroque and romantic painting was fast and broad by definition). All that is added to the originals is a curious detachment and nostalgia toward the subject matter, an emotion that is the only overt testimony to the fact that these pictures were painted in the twentieth century.

Chirico admires Delacroix, Rubens, Courbet, *et al.*; he could not have imitated them so successfully—up to a point—did he not. He seems to be saying: this is the finest fruit of the painting of the *old* past, and now it is all over with; here is an anthology of ironic reminiscences—in any case, the end, the finish, the funeral; and as for myself, all I can do is comment on other painters.

These pictures are of no importance whatsoever in the development of painting. They are not even tours de force; they are just stunts. But this does not prevent a few of them—"The Folly of Horses," "Departure," and the Chardinesque "Still Life"—from coming off on their own terms and so revealing Chirico's gift for unity again after a lapse of twenty-five years, during which nothing he did came off, on its own or any other terms. And negligible as this stuff is at its best and symptomatic as it may be of a real degeneration and of an impotence to react cogently to modern life, still it has some reality as a gloss on the history of painting, an illustrated lecture on the ABC's of ba-

roque painting. Irrelevant as painting inside painting, it is sheer cultural evidence, a kind of funeral oration more affecting than anything that could be put into words.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE are works which music-lovers don't get to know because conductors don't get to perform them. On the other hand Handel's "Messiah" has been given year after year by the Oratorio Society; and year after year I have neglected to go and hear it—even after hearing the Beecham recording of it a number of years ago and discovering that it was a beautiful work. Apparently I needed the additional years to be able to realize—listening now to the new recording issued by Columbia (Set 666; \$22.50)—how wonderfully beautiful and moving it is.

Beautiful too is the singing of Isobel Baillie, Gladys Ripley, James Johnston, Norman Walker, and the Huddersfield Choral Society, the playing of the Liverpool Philharmonic; and they are coordinated by Malcolm Sargent in a performance which gives evidence of careful preparation in its balance of sonorities and clarity of texture, its precision and finish, and of musical understanding in its effective pacing and shaping of the work. I have not been able to compare it with the old Beecham performance, which I can only suspect would turn out to be sharper in phraseological inflection and contour; but considered by itself Sargent's is wholly satisfying; and it includes sections of the work that Beecham omitted.

And sheer delight to the ear is the recorded sound of the performance. It is a product of English competence and English conscientiousness (the accompanying booklet—and what a pleasure it is to have a booklet with the text in one's hands instead of a bulky album!—refers to many hours of experiment and rehearsal in preparation for the final recording) which are employed in the achievement of an English style—the style exemplified by the English Columbia recordings of the Beecham-London Philharmonic performances of Mozart. That style attempts not a closer and closer approximation to the real sound of an orchestra in a hall, but perfection of what the ear has become accustomed to accepting from a phonograph in a room as standing for the real

thing, in the way that the eye accepts the photograph as standing for the real object. It gives us not the astonishing depth in space of some Victor recordings and the new London Deccas, but a more compact assemblage of sounds clearly defined in live quiet; and perfection in this style means the balance and clarity of individual sounds, the warmth and luster of their composite sonority, that are to be heard in the recording of "The Messiah."

It means, that is, everything that is not to be heard in most of American Columbia's orchestral recordings, and in particular in its recording (Set 664; \$4) of a performance of a suite from Khatchaturian's ballet "Gayne" by the New York Philharmonic under Efrem Kurtz. The suite offers a number of dances and other short pieces which use engaging Armenian themes in the way that is suited to their character, not in the unsuitable ways of Khatchaturian's symphonic works; and the performance seems good.

On a single record (71929-D; \$1) are good performances of the Waltz and Polonaise from Tchaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin" by Sargent and the Halle Orchestra, which come off the record with not enough treble to balance the heavy bass.

In the months since I wrote about the first new machines I have managed to hear in addition only the expensive London Gramophones. They gave very fine reproduction of records, and indeed the only good reproduction I have heard of the new London Decca records—but whether fine enough for their high prices I cannot say, since I haven't yet been able to hear other machines in their quality and price ranges. One important fact about the London Gramophones is this: the frequency-range claimed for them—as for the London Decca recordings—is out to 14,000 cycles; and while there is reason to question whether it really goes out that far there is no need of settling the question; for the machines give harsh reproduction with their full range, and the fine reproduction I have mentioned only when the treble-control is set at one step down, which reduces the frequency range, making 8,000 cycles (so the London Gramophone engineer told me) the cut-off point at which the frequency-response begins to fall away. And 8,500 cycles, I am reliably informed, is the similar cut-off point of the Victor recordings.

14,000 cycles, then, is what one may hear—extremely attenuated, be it noted

—in the concert-hall; 8,500 cycles—recorded with proper microphone-placement and reproduced without distortion—is as much as one wants out of a phonograph in a room. Microphone-placement to catch the proper amount of reflected sound for richness and liveness is more important than extended frequency-range in recording: it is what causes some old English Columbia recordings that don't go beyond 6,000 cycles—like those of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 and Mozart's "Linz" Symphony—to sound so beautiful today. And a sufficiently large speaker-cabinet for spaciousness and clean definition in the sound is more important than extended frequency-range in reproduction of the recording.

Letters to the Editors

There Isn't Any Business

Dear Sirs: Reading Simon Lesser's article *What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1947?* in your issue of January 18, I found myself taking immediate exception to his concept of business acting as an entity. There just isn't any such animal as "business"—presidents, publicists, and protagonists to the contrary notwithstanding. The business of the country is carried on by thousands of individual enterprises of all sizes and of all degrees of efficiency. Each enterprise has its own employees, management, owners, and customers, its own history and policies, and its own will to survive in a competitive world.

In his pursuit of enduring success the enterpriser has no function more important than pricing his product, for its price is the ultimate measure of his strength or weakness in the competitive struggle. In setting his price the individual enterpriser must weigh a host of factors, tangible and intangible. First comes a complex of costs incurred in getting the product on the market; and in times like the present these costs are in turbulent flux. Beyond covering costs, the price of the article is compounded of a "past," which buyers cherish; a present, which multifarious competitors attack; a future, which involves replacement of capital, contingencies, taxes, and profits. At all times the price level is the consensus of opinion of thousands of enterprisers and is in no sense a conscious reaction of "business" as a whole. Like any consensus of opinion, the price level reflects fallible human judgments,

fears, and hopes; it is an attempt to gauge the future by men not gifted with second sight but facing the need to bet their own money on their own judgment.

In the boom of 1919-29 the United States Steel Corporation, dominant in its industry, undertook to maintain stable prices as those of competitors soared. The corporation obtained a volume of business which enabled it to operate for a time at a high rate while its competitors' business was slipping. But the time came when Steel's "stable prices" were forced to yield to the retreating price tide. During the same period our own company followed a policy of limited profit. When demand was insatiable, price was a minor consideration; when demand all but vanished, price became paramount. Such good-will—if any—as we had built up evaporated in the intense heat of the struggle for mere survival. Another "noble experiment," if you will, resulted only in the sacrifice of profit which could have been used later to great advantage.

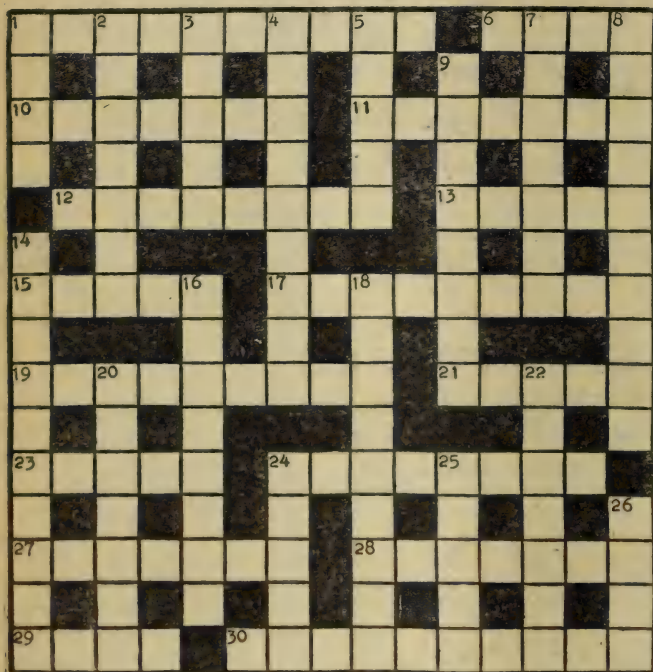
In the sellers' market which has followed the war, and particularly since ceilings were lifted, the individual enterpriser has generally enjoyed an unusual degree of freedom in pricing. Activated by his quite normal purpose and obligation of securing the maximum advantage for his organization—employees, management, and owners—the enterpriser has sought to get the best available price for his product. To expect him to limit his take, so-called, is to ignore the motivating force of our competitive economy. As well expect a bridge player to toss in a "power house."

For most enterprisers the collapse of the towering price structure of 1920 is a living fact, not history. They want no part of a repetition in which profits and reserves will disappear. But each enterpriser in the interest of his own organization must get the best possible price for his product. Experienced enterprisers know that the direction of prices will change, perhaps suddenly; and many will manage their affairs with prudence against that day, thus benefiting, each in a small way, the entire system. But we must bear in mind that it will be the individual enterpriser, acting in his own interest, not "business," mixing prices, wages, and profits to suit its mood.

To live dangerously is the credo of the mountebank, not of the enterpriser. The latter's duty is to meet successfully the vast tides of economic forces and human emotions which swirl through the market and which find ultimate ex-

Crossword Puzzle No. 204

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Thus Indian may be—in fact it is!
- 6 Beards, not trimmed but sawn
- 10 Nice tan (anag.)
- 11 Multiplied by itself
- 12 "Slow but sure" might be their motto
- 13 Exeunt
- 15 "Then a soldier, Full of strange
----- and bearded like the pard"
- 17 Describes a simpleton, but not the
sort that is likely to get done brown
(4-5)
- 19 "A man of the Pharisees"
- 21 Praise
- 23 Popular name for unpopular insects
- 24 Passionate
- 27 In for a lot
- 28 Body cavity containing air (3 & 4)
- 29 The chair in which to take it
- 30 He works on the railroad, but not
during his dinner hour
- 5 On which a lady sits on a steed (4-6)
- 9 Radio-controlled airplane in a swarm
(5 & 3)
- 14 Early English furniture, but not that
of the Angles (5 & 5)
- 16 Oblique offshoot
- 18 Does not mean fall in love (4 & 5)
- 20 Chirping insects
- 22 A place for tanning (where it doesn't
hurt)
- 24 Watch, yet just miss seeing a great
poet
- 25 Completes the fable
- 26 Not a distinct aspersion

□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 203

ACROSS: 1 SPRIG; 2 REACH; 3 UL-
ULATE; 10 FLOSS; 11 DIVAN; 12 HOT
CAKE; 16 SHAPER; 19 NYANZA; 22 OR-
DERLIES; 23 KNEW; 24 IDEA; 25 WIND;
26 LEAN; 27 ARNO; 29 IRAN; 30 WIND-
BLOWN; 33 BARSAC; 35 YIELDS; 38 TEA-
ROSE; 41 CIDER; 42 LOCUM; 43 ICE COLD;
44 SERAC; 45 SLAMS.

DOWN: 1 SIFTS; 3 RHODA; 3 GUSHER;
4 PUNT; 5 HAHA; 6 RED-EYE; 7 ALVIN;
8 HENNA; 13 ORDINANCE; 14 CURE; 15
KNIFEBOYS; 17 HONORIA; 18 POW-
WOWS; 20 ASININE; 21 ZEELAND; 23
EBOR; 31 LATHIC; 32 WIELD; 33 BUCKS;
34 RIDER; 36 LUCIA; 37 SAMOS; 39 AGES;
40 OBOL.

pression in price. No doctrinaire, the enterpriser does not know the course the tides will take. If with a prudence which is not akin to panicky fear he gauges their force and keeps sailing, he does the job he has chosen.

HENRY S. DENNISON

Framingham, Mass., March 4

Classified Advertising Rates

74 CENTS A LINE (SIX WORDS)
minimum 3 lines

Classified Display \$7.39 per Inch

Attractive discounts for
multiple insertions

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
BRaceley 7-1066

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-
of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Men-
tion interests if catalogues are wanted.
TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

BOOK

NEW BOOK IN RUSSIAN.
M. JERLITZYN, "THE LEGEND OF
THE BLACK HORSE." A poem. Price
\$1.50. Send orders to M. Jerlitzyn, 222 East
60th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES:
Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring
you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian
recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb,
shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple
principles of using this condiment; it
changes ordinary foods into new and de-
lightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS
442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail them-
selves of our offer to send them
any book at the regular publish-
er's price post-free if payment is
received with the order, or at the
publisher's price plus postage if the
book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s
outside the United States. When
ordering, please give name of au-
thor and publisher, if possible.
Make checks payable to *The
Nation*.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

TWENTY VESSEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

DOWN

- 1 Racial anger
- 2 Small adornment edged with net
- 3 Set on its bottom, as a cask (2-3)
- 4 Up this Hill Piscator stretched his
legs to overtake Viator
- 5 When blown these organs sound
more like trumpets
- 7 English earl (1428-1471) known as
"The king maker"

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 29, 1947

NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

THE PERVERSE STREAK IN HUMAN NATURE that makes it embrace the evil and neglect the good is well demonstrated these days at Lake Success. The visitors and the hungry newsmen crowd the Security Council chamber when a spat between Gromyko and Austin is expected. But next door, likely as not, the Economic and Social Council is playing to empty galleries. All that it is doing is building into reality some of the vague aspirations set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms manifesto. It is grappling with the problems of human rights, the status of women throughout the world, the desperate needs of children in the devastated countries, the traffic in narcotics, the interrelated problems of population and economic conditions. But of much more revolutionary significance are its plans, just agreed upon, for two Economic Commissions—for Europe and for Asia and the Far East. As long ago as last summer the Economic and Social Council sent groups to survey the devastation in Europe and the Far East. Their reports contained specific suggestions for programs of economic restoration. The governments of the countries directly concerned were first charged with responsibility. Then, the specialized agencies of the U. N., such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Bank, the Monetary Fund, World Health Organization, and the like. But in both Europe and Asia, it was felt, a special Economic Commission directly under the Economic and Social Council would have great value in correlating all the work of reconstruction. The terms of reference may confine the work of the commissions to that of assistance in rebuilding the war-shattered economies. But in rebuilding Europe there is now a fine opportunity to leave unbuilt the dividing walls. And in rebuilding the East more is contemplated than a restoration of the pre-war order, under which, as the report states, "a thin veneer of industrialization overlaid ancient, pre-industrial societies; [and] the lot of the people was still one of grinding poverty, disease, and ignorance."

✱

IN 1946 THE FRENCH BUDGETARY DEFICIT reached 50 per cent and that for the present year will be a little less. The reconstruction fund has already been slashed almost by 40 per cent, and the military allotment estimated to be some 40 per cent of the state revenues is

insufficient to cover the cost of the Indo-Chinese war. These facts highlight the dilemma confronting France and, quite as much as the Viet-Minh party's alleged Muscovite sympathies, explain the French Communist Party's stiffening opposition to the war. France, like Britain, cannot afford costly military establishments which will surely endanger Socialist or any other sort of economic reconstruction. The Socialist Party, originally critical of the government's Far Eastern policy, now vigorously supports the war, chiefly because in the present state of world trade the control of colonial economy appears to be necessary for the maintenance of living standards. Last week's long debates on the Indo-Chinese question were marked by passionate speeches, furious insults, and plentiful fist fights. An ingenious compromise, by which the Communist back-benchers abstained from voting while the party's ministers gave their support to M. Ramadier, alone saved the government from collapse. The Communists undoubtedly regard the German problem, concerning which they agree with other governmental parties, as more important than Indo-China, and so are reluctant to provoke a major crisis.

✱

CONFUSION AND SOMETHING LIKE PANIC reign in Asunción, the Paraguayan capital, where the seven-year old dictatorship of General Morinigo appears to be drawing to a close. Perhaps one-half of the army, which alone has kept the *Caudillo* in power, has now joined the revolt. The Colorado Party, Morinigo's only political ally, has either ignored his urgent appeal to raise a civilian militia or has been unable to comply. There are confident reports that the dictator is willing to negotiate with the military leaders of former President Franco's *Febrerista* Party. So far the rebels have not begun their announced drive upon the capital, but whatever the immediate outcome of the fighting, the military strength of the revolution appears to be sufficient to enforce its demand for unfettered elections to a Constituent Assembly. There is no doubt that in a free election the *Febreristas* would triumph, though the stability of their government would depend on Colonel Franco's ability to work out a program acceptable both to his military supporters and to the progressive groups—a difficult problem, as past experience proves.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	345
To the Greeks, Bearing Gifts by Freda Kirchwey	347
Tax Cuts and Politics	349

ARTICLES

Marshall's Role in Moscow by Alexander Werth	350
A Plea to America by Elliott Roosevelt	352
Britain Without Empire by Harold J. Laski	353
Cartoon by Schloss	355
What America Could Do in Greece by Constantine Poulos	356
Kolonaki and the Others by Allen D. Fields	358
Dixie in Black and White, II. The People Win in Georgia by A. G. Mezerik	360
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	364
In One Ear by Lou Frankel	365

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Norfolk Memorials. A Poem by Coman Leavenworth	366
The Materialists: 1946. A Poem by Josephine Miles	366
Political Anthology by John Crowe Ransom	368
Out of the Frying Pan by James T. Farrell	368
Infantilism and Steinbeck by Eleanor Clark	370
Platonic Bohemian by Wylie Sypher	375
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	375
Music by B. H. Haggin	378

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 204

by Jack Barrett	379
-----------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:

Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ATTACKING THE GWYNNE-DONNELL BILL TO outlaw portal-to-portal suits, Senator Pepper said: "The Supreme Court of the United States happens to decide something in favor of the workers, so Congress at once proposes to reverse the Supreme Court." Actually, the Republican authors of the measure have gone even farther. They have seized the opportunity to amend not only the Fair Labor Standards Act but also the Walsh-Healey and Bacon-Davis acts which set minimum standards for employees of government contractors. Thus in addition to outlawing existing claims for uncompensated time, the bill subjects future suits which charge violations of these various acts to a two-year statute of limitations. And it issues an open invitation to chiselers by giving employers the right to plead "good faith" as a defense in wage-and-hour cases. Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach has rightly described this measure as one that threatens to deprive millions of unorganized workers of the protection now afforded them by wage-hour legislation. It is, as he says, "a backward step from the sound social progress we have made in the past fifteen years." A vigorous fight on this issue has been put up by a section of the Senate Democrats, but with some of their Southern colleagues joining the overwhelming majority of Republicans the bill was carried by 64 to 24.

✱

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S EXECUTIVE ORDER establishing elaborate and expensive machinery to keep the civil service free of "disloyal" elements is yet another sign of the way in which our fears of totalitarian communism are driving us to the adoption of totalitarian methods. The inquisitorial apparatus will include a "central master index" of persons who have undergone loyalty checks in the past, "Loyalty Boards" in each department, and an over-all "Loyalty Review Board" within the Civil Service Commission. The standards to be applied by these boards include not only evidence of treasonable and seditious activities but membership in any association designated by the Attorney General as "totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive." As this list, apparently, is not to be made public, organizations included in it will have no chance of defending themselves, and persons joining them will do so without knowing that they are automatically placing themselves under suspicion of disloyalty. Investigators of applicants for government jobs are to make use not only of the FBI's and other official files but also of the notoriously biased and inaccurate records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. They are to dig back into school and college records and to consult former employers and home-town police departments. Persons accused of disloyalty on the basis of such investigations will be notified of charges and allowed the assistance of counsel at hearings—an improvement on the war-time procedures of some agencies—but they may

still be denied a chance to confront and examine their accusers. The opportunities for malicious gossip, character assassination, and the settlement of private grudges are obvious. The Presidential commission on whose advice Mr. Truman acted admits that the vast majority of public servants are "loyal." Hence the purpose of this order, which violates every American tradition, is to exclude a very small minority. It seems to us like spreading poison indiscriminately for the sake of killing a few rats.

✱

BRAZENLY FLOUTING ADMINISTRATION policy, the War Assets Administration has begun negotiations for sale of the government-owned aluminum-ingot plant at Massena, New York, to the Aluminum Company of America. As was pointed out in an article in *The Nation* three weeks ago, the government's refusal—up to now—to allow Alcoa to buy surplus primary aluminum facilities has enabled two new producers to gain a foothold in what was formerly Alcoa's private domain. Competition, in turn, has brought new life to the industry and by creating new demands has greatly enhanced the prospects for still further expansion. This good work would be endangered if the proposed deal goes through. Besides strengthening Alcoa's position in the ingot market, the sale would prevent either the Reynolds Metals Company or Henry Kaiser's Permanente Metals Corporation from ultimately acquiring the efficient, modern plant they both need to round out their facilities. Neither company could operate the plant at present because the only electric power available is controlled by Alcoa, which runs its own ingot plant at Massena. The Department of Justice has power to veto surplus-plant disposals which promote monopoly. This one certainly does. In the circumstances the only sensible course open to the department is to compel the WAA to offer to lease the plant to Alcoa until such time as power conditions permit a competitor to take over.

✱

EVIDENTLY THE SPONSOR IS STILL BOSS, EVEN at CBS. In any case, when the J. B. Williams Company (shaving cream, etc.) canceled its contract with Bill Shirer, he lost his spot on the air—Sunday at 5:45. The reasons were evidently not commercial, for Shirer had the highest Hooper rating—6.9—of all the daytime programs on CBS, with an audience of something like 5,000,000. He was dropped, we must assume, because his sponsor did not approve of his liberal political views, and because the broadcasting company, in spite of its past good record and the many declarations of independence by its high officials, was unwilling to keep Shirer on as a sustaining program until a bolder sponsor appeared. What we would like to know is, why should 5,000,000 people be deprived of their preferred news analyst because one soap manufacturer does not like his

politics? We suggest that *Nation* readers who want Shirer back write to William S. Paley or Edwin R. Murrow and ask them that question. They might write with even better effect to the J. B. Williams Company, at Glastonbury, Connecticut. Only by such direct measures shall we be able to keep liberal broadcasting alive in these days when freedom is everywhere on the defensive.

To the Greeks, Bearing Gifts

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THIS week the bill "to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey" goes before the House. It provides funds for the purposes outlined by Mr. Truman and sets no limitations whatever on his discretion in using them.

It is clear enough what is going to happen if Congress approves the Truman Doctrine in these terms. We'll go into Greece with our dollars and our engineering and financial experts, with our arms and our military experts, and we'll help the Greek government put down the rebels in the north, assuming always guns and money can do it. (This isn't a safe assumption; Italian and German arms failed against the same guerrillas in the same mountains.)

Since we know the Greek monarchy is an empty fake and the government corrupt and greedy as well as tyrannical, we may try to bring about some political changes. We'll certainly keep a sharp eye on the money we lend the government so that it will be spent—presumably in America—for industrial equipment and arms and not siphoned into official Greek pockets. We'll probably do a decent job of economic rehabilitation within the limits imposed by the rotten political situation. But we will not try to oust the government, for that, our leaders are already explaining without a smile, would be intervention in Greece's internal affairs. Besides which, we could hardly oust the government and at the same time use it to crush the guerrilla forces and "stop communism."

Nor could reputable democratic politicians be found who would lend themselves to that job. Some of them undoubtedly deplore the fact that many guerrilla leaders are Communists; they may fear the spread of Communist influence in Greece. But whether they do or not, they know that the whole left, along with masses of people who are neither left nor right but have been terrorized and pushed around by government soldiers and by Royalist and fascist gangs, look upon the guerrilla fighters as their champions and the champions of freedom. For this reason, a leader of any democratic party who accepted a post in a government subsidized by the United States to wipe out the guerrillas and end the rebellion would not continue to be a leader. He would be written

off quickly as a Royalist or fascist traitor. So the idea you begin to hear talked about—that Mr. Truman's mission in Greece can somehow bring into being a more democratic government which will convert the job of exterminating guerrillas into a democratic crusade against Soviet totalitarianism—is a meaningless fantasy. Or more likely it is just sugar-coating for a nasty political pill.

But it won't work. The true nature of the job the President has asked the country to take on has been clearly described by Mr. Acheson. We are going into Greece to put down a rebellion because that rebellion is regarded as a Russian thrust into an area which has become very important to the United States. The Administration believes the moment has come to stop Russia, whatever the means or the cost, because if we don't, Russia won't stop short of—well, where? Perhaps Iran, perhaps China, perhaps Rio or New York. Who knows? In any case, this is the Great Crusade—the one, you will remember, that Hitler invited us to join long ago.

In China the very extreme terrorist right wing has come up, since Mr. Truman announced his doctrine, with new plans to strangle every breath of opposition, liberal as well as Communist. In Spain the Falange has met and called for more aggressive action to bring its "syndicalist revolution" to full flower. The effect of the new policy on relations between the Communists and the other parties in the French Cabinet is discussed on another page. Everywhere, since Mr. Truman spoke, fascists and royalists and other assorted reactionaries have welcomed the new American doctrine with naked satisfaction; they believe their day has come. Set back, temporarily broken, by the defeat of the Axis, they suddenly see the tide reversed. If George II and President Inonu, why not they?

For the same reasons, liberals and Socialists abroad are openly anxious: more anxious, I am sure, than the Communists. The assertion in some inspired quarters that a setback to the President's policy "would discourage the friends of the Western democracies throughout Europe" is not borne out by the specific comments of individuals and non-Communist left newspapers. They talk about the new American imperialism and believe it means war. They believe we shall soon reverse our small, reluctant gesture against Franco. They are afraid we shall make tougher political conditions for loans or relief to European countries. The refusal to give or sell wheat to Yugoslavia or include that country in the proposed \$350,000,000 relief measure will be taken as clear proof of discrimination on political grounds, no matter what the official explanation. Above all they are afraid the United Nations will be shoved aside, to wither or collapse, as bad feeling piles up between the East and West, and the United States goes its way alone, putting down communism by sheer weight of arms and money. With the atom bomb suspended just off-stage.

These things that are going to happen, or that democratic people fear are going to happen, may not trouble Mr. Truman. They are already troubling Congress, and so are a lot of other possible consequences. But the bitter fear of Russia, and of communism inspired and backed by Russia, will almost certainly be strong enough to outweigh their worries. The Administration is already mobilizing its best and most democratic spokesmen to stress the urgency of the situation, and dispel suspicion of its purposes. The debate will waver between the extremes of isolationist retreat and visions of beneficent world tutelage by a mighty America equipped with the latest technological gadgets of mass production and destruction. Old-fashioned democrats of both parties will dislike helping a decayed monarchy put down a popular rebellion, Communists or no Communists. Other democrats, who consider themselves more up-to-date, will argue that our new role as super-state demands that we move in and restore order before Russia takes over in Greece and elsewhere, but that we must do it nicely, with due regard to the sensibilities of the various peoples involved. Some, who have taken seriously the painful and expensive effort to create a real collective-security system, will resist a plan that ignores the United Nations. Others will urge with equal sincerity that the U. N. be spared a responsibility that might sink it; they want to calk up a few of the seams first. But behind all the arguments and all the unease will be the fear of Russia, and Russia's threat to our cherished "way of life."

People like myself, who believe that we are more likely to scuttle our way of life by following the Truman Doctrine than by rejecting it, must meet and answer that fear. It is the strongest antagonist we have to face. We know that communism threatens the established order wherever political instability and economic misery rule; and that includes most of the post-war world. If the only way to end the threat were to dispatch American arms and money to Greece and Turkey and wherever reactionary rulers are killing off Communist-led rebels, the chance of defeating the Truman Doctrine would be even smaller than it is.

If that were the only way. But I do not believe it is. I believe such a program is the product of national hysteria, in so far as it is not based on considerations of sheer power such as Harold Laski discusses on a later page. I believe there is a totally different choice that the American people can still make if they have the brains and courage.

The other choice is to take the revolution away from the Russians.

Does that sound impractical? I hope it does not, for it is clearly the only alternative to a struggle for power that can only widen the breach, perhaps fatally, between East and West in the world at large, and between left

and right in each country. Must this nation be everywhere the champion of reaction; everywhere abandon to Russia the defense of the popular cause?

The way to prevent the spread of communism, as has been said many times in these pages, is to recognize the industrial and agrarian revolution that is sweeping Europe and Asia, and to work with, not against it. This means accepting socialism in most of Europe; and a new agrarian system in the Balkans and in Asia. And this, in turn, implies the overthrow of the ruling groups that have in the past dominated those countries through a variety of political machines—monarchist, fascist, and even republican.

The fact is, the United States has much to gain in the long run from the change the old world is going through: economic advantages as well as the hope of peace. Only by the disappearance of obsolete systems of economy that keep 90 per cent of the populations without means to raise their standard of living, can trade be effectively promoted, and labor protected from low-wage competition abroad.

The most tragic lack at this moment is a progressive political movement in America which could urge this position with real effect—among the public and in Washington. So far organized labor has been silent. No statement of policy has come from the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the C. I. O.—P. A. C., or from any national union. No effective progressive wing now exists in either major party. No left party has the strength to make its views felt. How astonishing it must seem in England and on the Continent that American labor should silently acquiesce in the new doctrine!

Because of this lack it is doubly necessary for such organized groups as exist, and for all individuals with conviction in the matter, to protest against the Administration's bill; to organize meetings; to send letters and telegrams to the President and the State Department, to Senators and Congressmen. The Progressive Citizens of America has issued a strong statement opposing the Truman plan and urging action through the United Nations; it has called a meeting of protest at Madison Square Garden in New York, which is announced elsewhere in this issue. The Americans for Democratic Action has not uttered a word on the greatest issue before the country; can it afford to remain silent? Progressive opinion should consolidate, even at this late hour, and urge that action by the United States be made to coincide with our obligations both as a democratic state and as a member of the United Nations.

The progressive position is easy to state: in-so-far as action is needed to restore the economy of Greece it should be carried out through the agencies of the United Nations in the manner proposed in the excellent report of the Food and Agricultural Organization, which is discussed by Keith Hutchison this week. The funds for

this purpose should be appropriated by Congress, but with certain definite strings attached. No funds should be released until there has been established in Greece a coalition government, replacing the Royalist government now in power, to hold office during a transition period in which honest attempts will be made to end the civil war by conciliation and the promise of fundamental reforms. As for the alleged border violations and threats of military aggression from neighboring states, no action whatsoever should be taken until the United Nations Commission now in Greece has finished its investigation and made its report. And any measures agreed to in the light of that report should also be carried through by the United Nations. The proposal to send huge funds to Turkey to build up its already huge army should be voted down without any qualifications. If Turkey is threatened by Russia its complaints can be brought before the United Nations as was the complaint of Iran a year ago.

Tax Cuts and Politics

THE stand taken by the Administration against any tax cuts in the present year may be politically vulnerable, but it is strongly fortified with economic arguments. The President's budget provided for only a small surplus of revenue over expenditure, and this surplus could easily be wiped out in these uncertain times by unexpected contingencies. Already it seems likely that greater provision will have to be made for foreign loans and relief, while, domestically, a slump in farm prices would involve the government in heavy expenditure under the Steagall act.

The Republicans maintain, it is true, that substantial savings in the cost of government are possible, though they have yet to agree among themselves about the maximum extent of such economies. While the House aims at a reduction in expenditure of \$6 billion, the Senate holds that \$4½ billion is a more reasonable figure. In both cases, it must be understood, these sums represent no more than targets, for even if Congress agrees to sweat down the departmental budgets by the necessary billions, there is no guaranty that expenditure will not be swollen anew by supplementary appropriations. This is all the more probable in view of the nature of some of the "economies" already announced. For instance, the House Appropriations Committee has lopped the impressive total of \$897,072,750 off the Treasury and Post Office estimates. However, \$800,000,000 of this sum was found by reducing the estimates for tax refunds, and as Representative Albert Gore has pointed out, refund claims will have to be met sooner or later.

Even assuming that \$4 to \$6 billion can be saved, the case for allotting the whole amount to debt reduction

cannot be lightly dismissed. We are still in an inflationary situation; business is booming and making bumper profits; national income is at a record level. It would seem elementary wisdom to seize this opportunity to cut down the national debt. Tax reductions now may add to the inflationary pressure; it would be far better to reserve them for a time when lagging business needs a shot in the arm.

Arguments such as these, however, do not impress the Republicans, who are determined to make a record in tax reduction this year if they do nothing else. Representative Knutson, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has stuck firmly to the pledge he gave on behalf of his party during the election, and his colleagues on the committee have now adopted his 20 per cent across-the-board income-tax cut with only slight modifications. To meet the objection that this plan meant less than a 1 per cent increase in net incomes in the lowest brackets while raising those of the highest by over 68 per cent, a cut of 30 per cent has been approved for persons with taxable incomes not exceeding \$1,000. This means that a married man with two children earning \$3,300, before deductions, will save about \$57 on his tax bill. Taxpayers with taxable incomes ranging from \$1,000 to \$302,000 will be treated all alike to a 20 per cent cut, which obviously will have far more significance in

relation to income in the higher than in the lower brackets. The 1,100 persons expected to report incomes greater than \$302,000 are to be allowed only a 10½ per cent reduction—a mere \$110,000 on a million-dollar income.

If we can prudently reduce taxes at all this year, we ought to concentrate on bringing relief to those families in the low-income brackets who have been hardest hit by the rising cost of living. This could be done in two ways: (1) by reducing or eliminating excise taxes on non-luxuries, many of which constitute a heavy burden on wage-earners and people on low salaries; or (2) by raising personal exemptions from \$500 to \$700. Representative Forand, Rhode Island Democrat, has formally proposed the second of these plans, which would mean substantial saving to those in the lowest brackets (particularly if their families were large), moderate but worth-while relief for the middle brackets, and very little for the millionaires. As might be expected, Mr. Forand has been jumped on by the *Wall Street Journal*, which complains that his plan would remove nine million persons from the tax rolls. Why not? This group, whose incomes are so low that this increase in exemptions would remove their liability to income tax altogether, are already paying their fair share toward national expenses through indirect taxation.

Marshall's Role in Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, March 22 (by Cable)

ALREADY a few basic facts have emerged from the Foreign Ministers' conference. One of them is that Bevin and Marshall—for the present, at any rate—are the squeezers and Molotov and Bidault the squeezed. Somebody who was there at the time the question of reparations was first raised said he had never seen Molotov so bewildered and upset as when Bevin and Marshall told him, in effect, that they were not in favor of anything even remotely resembling the Russian reparations claims.

It is true Marshall said it much more nicely than Bevin. In fact, Marshall has become something of a mystery man at the conference. Only once so far has he snapped angrily at the Russians. That was when Molotov asserted that the British and Americans had already helped themselves to ten billion dollars of reparations from Germany—mentioning, by curious coincidence, a figure that corresponds to the Russian reparations claims spread over twenty years. Marshall sharply denounced Molotov's figures as absurd. Apart from this incident, Marshall has been remarkably friendly and polite, never

missing an opportunity to say that the United States can never forget all the Russians suffered in the war and that, of course, they should have reparations—sometime. Marshall, in fact, is so nice most of the time that a somewhat bewildering legend is growing up that he was not really to blame for Truman's message to Congress; some people are even circulating the rather improbable story that the Truman message was rewritten in Marshall's absence after the President's meeting with Vandenberg! Certain Russians have the idea that Marshall, who says little and avoids getting into scraps at the conference, is a "moderate" and that the real Russia hater and bully is Bevin.

That Bevin is a "Russ-hater" is, in a sense, true enough; he also does most of the dirty work of answering Molotov's charges with countercharges. But it is fairly obvious that Bevin and Marshall are on one side of the fence and the Russians on the other, while the French are not really anywhere. They are merely miserable, and spend most of the time complaining that the British are neither allies nor gentlemen.

No one can say how the conference will end, but

the impression is that the Russians are more than ever determined that it should be a success. They are clearly worried about "America's new foreign policy." Although Stalin some time ago said to Hugh Bailey that he did not give a damn about the American navy in the Mediterranean, and still may not "give a damn" about an American naval squadron visiting Istanbul in the near future, he cannot like the implications of this display of American armed might so near to Odessa and Baku. The Soviet Union's economic difficulties are considerable at present, and there is every reason for believing that the Russians will be as accommodating as possible. We have already seen them swallowing their pride over a variety of questions. But there is just the danger that the belt Bevin and Marshall are pulling around Russia's waist may suddenly snap—it might if Russia's economic and other troubles are exaggerated. "We hold all the trump cards and can make the Russians squeal," one British personage remarked. This conviction is a dangerous gamble. When Molotov said that the abandonment of reparations "would be a crime against the Soviet people," he clearly indicated that under no circumstances could he take responsibility for such a "crime."

The arguments on both sides are sufficiently familiar to need no detailed repetition. The British say, in effect, "Let's build up the German economy, especially in the western zone—if the Russians want to cooperate in their zone, so much the better, but if they don't it can't be helped—and we can see about reparations later. Anyway the Russians' demand for ten billion dollars is excessive. Moreover, let them, if they want economic unity, abandon their Soviet *Aktiengesellschaften* representing 70 per cent of the industry in eastern Germany and stop taking reparations out of current production. Let them join us in building up the level of industry and putting Germany on its feet. Then there will be coal and all sorts of commodities for everybody. But meanwhile, let's not start dismantling factories in the Ruhr and Rhineland."

The Russians have not revealed whether they are willing to abandon their hold on German industry in the east, which admittedly is supplying reparations out of current production, although Molotov has assured the conference that "every kopeck taken in the way of reparations would be accounted for." But the eastern zone's industry, as the Russians have reiterated, is a small thing; the backbone of the German industrial system is in the British zone. "If," they say, "we are in agreement with Bevin about raising the industrial level, it is not for the same reasons. By raising the level of industry we can obtain reparations, even though the restoration of German living standards is delayed. But haven't we first claim?"

In other words, unless America agrees that Britain should give the Russians substantial reparations out of

German production, it is doubtful whether the Russians can afford to throw into a common pool for German reconstruction the only resource they have left—those Soviet-run concerns in eastern Germany. If they don't, Moscow will be represented as having wrecked the idea of "economic unity," and Britain and America can go ahead with the building of a "prosperity zone in western Germany." That would mean, in fact, splitting Germany in two, an outcome which some have been prophesying since the beginning of the conference. It is a solution which Russia will probably do its utmost to avoid, but which some people on the British and American side would welcome, since it would fit in with the plan for isolating the Soviets—and moreover put them in the wrong. There is a widespread impression in Moscow that this is the crux of the whole matter.

Reparations are problem number one, and if no compromise on them can be worked out in Moscow, other problems will remain of academic interest. If there are two Germanys, the questions of the level of industry, of centralization versus federalization, of denazification and the rest become matters which will have to be examined from an entirely new angle. Or rather, will they need examining at all if Germany becomes simply one small element in the great conflict between East and West? Bevin so far appears unperturbed by the prospect of the eastern zone remaining separate from the western zones—despite all the ominous implications of such a development. The French, for their part, are between the devil and the deep sea. They say they must have coal or they won't play ball. The British answer is, "Give us time to build up western Germany and there will be coal for everybody." But like the Russians, the French do not want to wait or take a chance on it.

That is how things are at present. At times the four viewpoints seem to be converging quite satisfactorily. But when one thinks of the fundamental problems tied up with reparations one cannot help wondering whether this is not illusory. It seems certain that Marshall, if he wishes to, can play a big role in reconciling differences. Outwardly he has been more generous to the Russians than Bevin; his attitude is more flexible. And he has been more generous to the French on several points. The conference's fate is really in Marshall's hands. There is a feeling in all delegations that he should take upon himself the role of mediator. If, instead, he impersonates St. George slaying the Communist dragon, the conference will lead to nothing good. Marshall could prove to the world that America is not "imperialist" and has not started on an all-out anti-red crusade. But will he do it?

One might almost say that America has the responsibility of deciding whether there is to be one world or two worlds. It seems paradoxical that after the Truman message the French and the Russians and some of the British should be hopefully looking to Marshall for a lead.

A Plea to America

BY ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT

LESS than two years after the conclusion of the war our top government officials have announced a new foreign policy for the United States. Mr. Acheson, our Under Secretary of State, has proclaimed at a Congressional hearing that Communist governments in Greece and Turkey would be dangerous to the security and the future of the United States. This, in so many words, means that the Soviet Union is an enemy nation in the eyes of our government. This statement of policy was put forward to explain why President Truman had asked for loans and military aid to the present governments of Greece and Turkey. The theory behind this proposal is that by making such loans we shall bolster the present governments of these two countries and prevent internal revolt leading to eventual Communist regimes.

What kind of governments are these which we are proposing to bolster? Are they democratic? Not even the most reactionary newspapers in this country have claimed that the present government of Greece or that of Turkey can be classified as a democracy. The fact is that they are much more nearly totalitarian than democratic. There is little free speech. There is oppression of minorities—and of majorities, too, for all we know. But our government chooses to support this totalitarianism rather than risk the spread of communism.

Did we fight the last war for no purpose? Should we have tossed our armies in the fight on the side of Hitler to help bring about defeat of the Soviet Union?

Our government leaders seem to think that communism is a threat to the future of a democratic United States and that they must fight the Communists in Greece. I have read that there is a small, very militant element of the Greek population which is Communist. But why Turkey? I have never heard that there were any militant pro-Soviet Communists threatening the Turkish government. In fact, it is hard to understand the interest in Turkey at all unless we are planning to encourage Turkey to bait the Soviet Union by creating incidents on the border between the two countries, thereby risking a third world war. Is that our purpose?

Turkey was definitely not friendly to our cause in the last war until it became quite evident that we would win. Turkey certainly is not threatened internally with communism. Turkey today cannot be described as a free, democratic country. Why Turkey?

What is the truth of the post-war threat of communism enveloping the world? The truth is that Russia does not have hundreds of millions of dollars with which to spread the doctrine of communism throughout the world.

It is unable to export thousands of tons of food to help the starving people of the world. But communism is spreading in many countries. Why?

At the end of the war the peoples of the Far East and Middle East and of all Europe looked with admiration and burning hope to the United States to lead in the establishment of free and truly democratic governments in their countries. They looked to the United States to back up militantly the doctrines of the Atlantic Charter. What did they get? We made no protest when the European powers moved with force to reestablish their colonial empires. We failed to lead the way in uprooting Nazism in Germany. We did participate in UNRRA, but we later killed that organization and put relief on a political basis. We now use relief for the starving millions of Europe as a gun in the back to force them to support governments of which we approve. Is that democratic procedure? No wonder communism spreads.

The people of Europe have become discouraged. The people of the Far East have become bitter. We have failed to lead. We have not established any principles. We have failed to give force and effect to the United Nations. In fact, by our action with regard to Greece and Turkey we have openly flouted the United Nations and possibly signed its death warrant.

The actions of our leaders have been based on the theory that we could never reconcile our differences with the Soviet Union. They believe that communism and democracy cannot live side by side in the world, at peace with each other. I do not agree with this premise. There must be men of integrity and courage in America who can reconcile the existing differences between ourselves and the Soviet Union and bring peace with honor to our country.

If the leaders in both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party continue our present foreign policy the result will be a divided world which will arm itself again for inevitable conflict. Huge military budgets will remain, and economic disaster will result for the world and the United States within a few years. This will be followed by a war of destruction that will reduce the population of the globe by billions, not millions.

It is my belief that when the chips are down the best answer to the threat of communism is a living, working democracy such as ours can be. I devoutly hope that the people of our country will realize that it is not just their dollars which are being risked in this gamble today. If we destroy the United Nations the last chance of peace will disappear.

Britain Without Empire

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, March 21

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has asked that the "American Century" be opened without delay. Whatever the rhetoric about democracy and freedom, he is asking the Congress to build a new empire and designing its boundaries to safeguard the now vital stake of American oil interests in the Middle East. It is notable that the first two governments he seeks to assist are neither democratic nor free. It is significant that, like all political leaders in his position, he does not point out the real lesson of Great Britain's presence in Greece. An imperial power can never stop at partial domination. Openly or secretly, it must be the effective sovereign authority.

As necessity forces British retirement, policy persuades American entry. The United Nations organization is ignored. The timing can only be intended as a warning to Russia that Washington will go its own way regardless of what the world may think. These are high risks to take if one looks ten years ahead, but the stakes are so huge that the President's advisers are asking the right to put the fate of civilization into hands that are guided, even if only half consciously, by what has been one of the most direct sources of conflict for over fifty years. It is upon the wisdom of that gamble that this Congress has to decide. It is either to found a new imperialism or to stand fast by the policy of planned cooperation without which the United Nations has no meaning.

I

In June, 1948, Great Britain will leave India; within a pretty proximate future Burma will become either a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations or, at its will, an independent state; and within the next year or so Egypt, which Great Britain has dominated ever since the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, will have been evacuated. The situation in Palestine, where on any showing Mr. Bevin has been guilty of grievous errors, is an index to principles of Middle Eastern policy which a Labor government will find it neither possible nor wise to maintain. In British possessions in Africa and Malaya, in the Caribbean and the Far East, there are deep striv-

ings which make likely continuing change in their status.

It is interesting to watch the response to these events in the outside world. The general tendency in Soviet Russia is to regard them as signs of the twilight of the British Empire; for Soviet propagandists we are going the way of Rome and Spain. Many Americans, notably Walter Lippmann, call it the end of Britain as a first-class power. Henceforth there will be a vacuum which in Mr. Lippmann's judgment it is the task of America to fill lest it be filled with the influence of the Soviet Union; this, one is to suppose, would jeopardize the prospects of the American Century. It is not, I think, insignificant that these very different schools of thought are both in agreement, for all practical purposes, with Winston Churchill, who views with horror and indignation what he has termed the "liquidation of the Empire," since he regards the Empire not only as one of the linchpins of law and order in the world but as the sole condition upon which the influence of Great Britain can be preserved.

Whatever view we may accept, it is obvious that Mr. Attlee and his colleagues have taken a series of decisions which are bound to alter the equilibrium of power all over the world. What they have decided makes the United States fundamentally a Mediterranean power; it makes it essential for Americans to watch with care and precision the political evolution of the African continent; it insures that China and Japan must be regarded for almost as long as any of us can foresee as at once frontiers of the United States and, with the newly acquired Pacific islands, bases for both attack and defense in the contingent strategy of war. Because of these decisions, the push of American oil interests into the Middle East becomes an advance which makes the future of Greece of vital importance to the foreign policy of America, and the whole region from the oil fields of Iran to the coastal ports of Palestine must be viewed by the men who advise the President with watchful eyes and a profound sense of responsibility. The objective facts of the situation have made isolationism for the United States a doctrine wholly devoid of meaning. The whole world is now on the doorstep of America. In the next twenty years American statesmen have also to take momentous decisions. They, too, have a rendezvous with destiny.

II

The relations between Great Britain and Russia, on the one hand, and between Russia and the United States, on the other, make the Middle East the nerve-center of our own imperial problem. We are still in Greece be-

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at the University of London, is widely known as one of the leaders of the British Labor Party and the author of a number of books on political subjects. These are the first sections of an article which will be concluded in an early issue.

cause of the strategic significance of the Middle East. We are suspicious of Yugoslavia under Marshal Tito because of our interest in the Middle East. For the same reason we are the patrons of that twilight Arab League which Mr. Eden called into existence during the war. For the same reason Mr. Bevin hurriedly evoked the unreal kingdom of Transjordan while the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine was still sitting. For the same reason Mr. Bevin, backed by the officials of the Foreign Office and the defense chiefs, has sought to bolster up the ugly feudalism of the Arab effendi in Iraq and Syria and Saudi-Arabia, for the defense of the first two of which we are in effect responsible, and to the third of which we pay an annual financial tribute. For the same reason we are ready—assuming its claim to sovereignty over the Sudan is set aside—to evacuate Egypt, ceasing to use it to safeguard the Suez Canal.

For the same reason Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin have been able to persuade their Cabinet colleagues to throw overboard precise and unmistakable pledges made by the Labor Party as recently as May, 1945, to those Jews who seek to go on building their National Home; and, not daring to declare full-scale war upon them, have now thrown the problem of the Mandate for Palestine back to the United Nations, in a rather Micawber-like hope that some way of escape may be found from the cul-de-sac into which Mr. Bevin has led us. For the same reason also we, like the United States, have a passionate faith in the right of Iran to independence and integrity so long as its government does not seek to revoke the invaluable concession to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Were Iran to have a sudden change of sovereign heart on that concession, its independence might acquire a somewhat fatigued and anachronistic air. America knows how easily that air can develop when countries like Haiti, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, and Mexico show an inadequate appreciation of American interest in their well-being.

The Middle East means lines of communication, and it means oil. British policy there is set by these two considerations. When all the complicated rationalizations have been given their due evaluation, it is oil and strategy which dictate our decisions. The emphasis upon oil is intelligible; the navy and a mechanized army, as well as the air force, will, for the next generation at any rate, live or die by oil. The emphasis on lines of communication is less understandable today than it was in 1939. With the coming withdrawal from Egypt and India, with the paralysis, for many years to come, of Germany and Japan, British anxiety for the control of the Mediterranean seems excessive, as patronage of the Arab states seems extravagant, unless the major purpose is to prevent Russian infiltration into this area.

If this is the major purpose, I think two things are to be said. First, we are backing the wrong horse; it is

inconceivable folly for Socialist Britain to support a group of Arab feudal chiefs who have never shown any interest in the well-being of their unhappy subjects, who have used Great Britain to get rid of the French influence in their territories and, as the war made clear, will turn on Great Britain the moment they see their opportunity. Objectively, our Middle Eastern policy makes Mr. Bevin the ally of American Standard Oil on the one hand and of the Grand Mufti on the other. It makes him hostile to every interest which wishes to see economic progress in that area, whether it be Jews in Palestine or Communist-inspired reformers in Persia. The Middle East needs a TVA, indeed, a series of TVA's. But they will not be developed if the Arab effendi can help it, for the simple reason that they would be fatal to the vested interests the effendi represent. Then, on the strategic side, picturesque phrases about the "life line of Britain" and the rest do not conceal the fact that the Middle East, by its geographical location, is the "life line" of Russia too, and that if the vast army Britain maintains there assures us Iranian and Mosul oil, it also provides protection for American oil interests at the expense of the British taxpayer, without a shadow of proportionate return.

If Mr. Bevin were the realist he always insists he is, he would tell his military and diplomatic advisers that the Crimean War is over and that India is on the threshold of independence. If he mingles imagination and resolution with the sturdy common sense he shows in a trade-union negotiation, he can throw away his fears, settle down to a sensible negotiation with Stalin and his colleagues, save Great Britain much obloquy, and dissolve a good deal of fantastic mythology which reads more like a legacy from Mr. Kipling than a sober estimate of contemporary realities.

III

A Socialist Britain cannot be an imperialist Britain. The contribution we can make to world peace must not be set in terms of domination by our naval strength or, as in the past, by our power to exploit the resources of subject peoples but by our cooperation with free peoples on terms that make their well-being the correlative of our own. Our security will then be not a by-product of imposed authority but a collective security resting upon the common purposes of an economic structure which, increasingly, seeks planned production for community consumption.

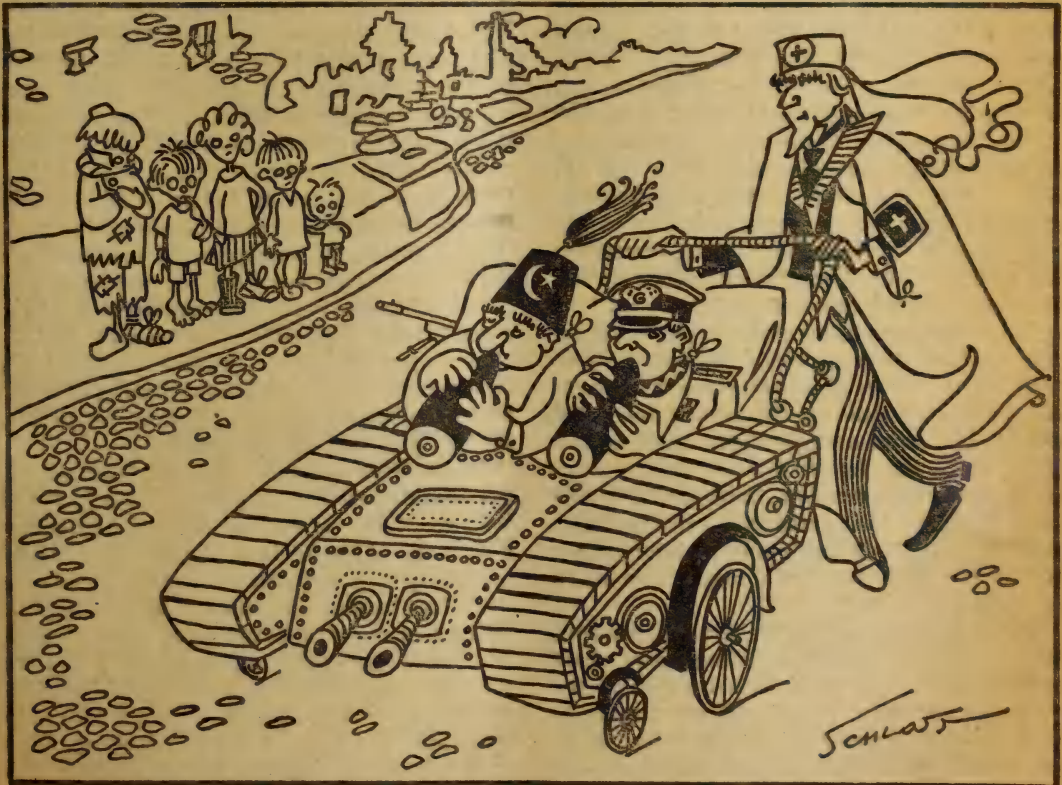
When, therefore, American commentators speak of the "end of the British Empire," it is well to be clear what they mean. If they mean that Britain has no longer a place as a first-class power, the answer is that they are accepting a pattern of the future which assumes already the breakdown of the United Nations and the rapid drift to a third world war. On this point I hope that

no Socialist would wish to see Great Britain struggle for equal power with the United States and Russia if the price is the continued subjection of India and Burma and the rest. Burke was right when he said that you cannot suppress freedom abroad without ultimately destroying it at home also. There is not an atom of reason, once our economic reorganization is complete, why in the altered pattern of British relationships our people should be poorer or less influential than in the past. Britain's investing class, no doubt, will suffer. But their loss, in the long run, will be the people's gain. The artificial structure of the Empire will be adjusted to foundations compatible with those relations of economy which will make possible a new expansion, granted we can keep the peace.

Socialists have no reason to fear the new pattern that is emerging, once there is hope that peace will be kept. Here, I venture to think, two general conclusions are in order. The first is that if peace cannot be kept, the next war will destroy Great Britain as a civilized people, and that all discussions of its prospects as a non-imperial power are simply speculations in a vacuum. The other is in confutation of Lippmann's theory that since Great Britain has abandoned the task, the United States must hold Russia "at the key points, at Germany and Western Europe, at Turkey and in Japan; . . . the place to stop the Greek guerrillas who are trained and equipped in Yugo-

slavia is in Moscow." This theory not only presupposes a "redefinition of the balance of power" in terms of a threat of war, but also assumes the incompatibility of Russian social principles with the "American way of life" and the consequent need to back with men and arms as well as dollars a policy in essence similar to that which Mr. Churchill sponsored in 1919 and Hitler preached in the years when he was hoping for Anglo-American support in a crusade against Bolshevism. At least it is a comfort to us who are Socialists to know that a Britain in process of shedding its imperialism does not need to play with that kind of fire. I suspect that Jefferson and Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, would none of them have been very eager to risk wrecking the world in order to preserve those vast industrial empires which, however unconsciously, Mr. Lippmann really makes the beneficiaries of his crusading zeal. Certainly it offers no happy prospect to the ordinary American worker in Passaic, New Jersey, or Youngstown, Ohio. I think it is better to attempt to readjust, as we are doing in Britain, the productive relations of society than to call a momentous threat to peace a redefinition of the balance of power. But perhaps this is what is really meant by the "American Century."

President Truman must know that he plans by his



new policy to make American money the safeguard of Greek reaction and American advisers the architects of its efficiency. He must know that he is, in fact, instructing Turkey to act as a barrier against Russian access to the Mediterranean and that he thus is not only asking his people to support a still partially feudal dictatorship but accepting on their behalf the traditional British folly, originated by Disraeli, of backing the wrong horse. The peoples of the Middle East are to be pinned down in

vassalage to obsolete regimes until there arises a power strong enough to rescue them from the dependence America will be driven to force upon them. I had thought the great lesson of the Roosevelt years was American recognition that the task of the United States was to aid in the emancipation of peoples struggling to be free; but if Congress accepts the Truman policy it throws overboard that lesson for an objective as old and as evil as the history of political society.

What America Could Do in Greece

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Athens, March 23 (by Cable)

THE Greeks don't kid themselves. They are politically too keen to misinterpret America's sudden interest in their welfare. They know the urgent Greek request for aid did not precede the American decision but followed it.

The Royalist right is ecstatic, the center confused and worried, the left shaken and bitter. The people in general are hopeful, ashamed, and frightened. Their very deep affection for the United States makes them hope that something may work out, but they are ashamed of their fawning, prideless leaders who are scraping and bowing before "Uncle Truman" and acting as if they had had something to do with the American decision. And they are frightened by the coupling of Greece with Turkey. The geography of Greece and the temperament of the people are two major reasons, they say, why Greece cannot be an effective American bastion against Russia like Turkey. But the people know they need help.

Because of the government's increasing expenditures for the army, the Greek people would slide down to a dangerous bread-and-water diet and industry could not operate at better than 33 per cent of its pre-war level if Greece did not receive any outside assistance this year. With the original State Department sum of \$50,000,000 for economic assistance only, Greece could have pulled through this year on a bread-and-olive-oil diet and its industry could have functioned at slightly over 50 per cent of the pre-war figure. With the \$125,000,000 allocated by the President's recommendation, the Greek people can be fed pretty nearly as well as before the war and industry can be maintained at roughly three-fourths of its pre-war level.

But this estimate presupposes a great deal. It assumes that the Greek government will willingly reverse itself on its stubbornly defended *laissez faire* economic policy. Past experience indicates that it will not. The Anglo-Greek economic agreement signed in January of last year specifically provided that the Greek government

would take steps to revise its taxation set-up. This was not done. The report prepared last fall by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization at the request of the Greek government recommended various governmental reforms. The British Economic Mission in Athens has given a great deal of good advice. Last August the London *Economist* warned that *laissez faire* in Greece "under present conditions would mean anarchy." No one in the Greek government took heed. It would have meant cracking down on boys who had spent millions of gold sovereigns to put them in power.

The American Economic Mission will be powerless if it is to serve in an advisory capacity only. The chief of the American Economic Mission to Greece must have the authority to shut off dollars on twenty-four hours' notice. Not at the end of a month or the end of a quarter, for that will not feaze the dilatory, procrastinating Greek government and its backers. Some American observers here believe it would be advisable to leave the final authority in Washington, but with assurances that when a recommendation to block funds came from Athens it would be acted upon immediately. It is suggested that this would avoid giving too much responsibility and power to one man. But there would always be the danger that a recommendation to Washington would have to go through a bureaucratic shuffle of low, middle, and high policy and counter-policy.

One of the things demanded by the Porter mission was the establishment of a Department of Foreign Trade under the Ministry of National Economy. This department would be headed by an experienced American working, under contract, for the Greek government. It would issue licenses for imports and exports, control all foreign procurement, and maintain a division of statistics. Such a department, cooperating closely with the already established Anglo-American Currency Committee, would enable the American Economic Mission to keep track of how the dollars were being spent. Its actions should be supervised by the mission, which

should also have the authority to ask for and to check any information bearing on the economic situation.

This brings up the matter of military supplies and equipment. The amount of money to be expended for this purpose must be precisely determined, and it must be stipulated that none of the sums allocated for economic assistance may be later diverted to military use. One can easily visualize the Greek government pleading at a not very late date that the funds granted for military purposes are exhausted and suggesting the transfer of sums from the economic-aid reserve. In this it might well be supported by American military men on the Economic Mission, who would want to keep strengthening the anti-Russian army in the Balkans, and by American diplomats in Athens, who would want to continue chasing that will-o'-the-wisp "law and order."

It seems dead certain that we can pour a billion dollars into Greece without making the country safe for democracy unless we are ready to support and work with the progressive forces there. If, as President Truman warned, Greece is in danger of falling into the hands of the Communists today, the fault lies squarely with the British, who three years ago refused to work with anyone except the extreme right Royalists. If Greece falls into the hands of the Communists tomorrow, the fault will be ours.

President Truman said, "Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence." Is this the fault of the Greek left or of the Greek right wing and its government—which has squandered and dissipated Greece's foreign credits in the past two years on Packards, Buicks, nylons, and cosmetics?

President Truman said, "A militant minority exploiting human want and misery was able to create political chaos, which until now has made economic recovery impossible." In all of Greece the "militant minority" is weakest on the island of Crete. Yet in the first weeks of this month there was a serious general strike of Cretan farmers against the government. The farmers demanded the sale of their olive oil through their own cooperatives and not through profiteering brokers and middlemen as the government insisted; provision of adequate funds by the agricultural bank for cultivation needs; reduction of the high government tax on wine production, which seriously limits export possibilities; rebuilding of their school houses and appointment of school teachers.

The government wants to cut its tax-free backers in on the lucrative olive-oil market. It will lend them money to buy oil while they hoard their gold sovereigns. Meanwhile the Cretan farmer who produces the oil gets a miserly return and the government banks have no funds to lend him to enable him to till his soil. Cretan children did not go to school during the occupation and still can-

not go because no attempt has been made to rebuild the schools. If there is a school building, there is no teacher. Yet the government can afford to buy limousines by the dozen for Ministers, and Ministers' wives can afford to go to the elegant bars and night clubs of Athens playfully carrying around with them "the latest American novelty"—a pocket radio which costs \$90 here, the equivalent of three months' pay for the average worker.

The Greek story is an old and oft-told story. UNRRA files in Washington are certainly available to the White House; they give a good idea of who it is that has been exploiting "the human want and misery of the Greek people." Last year, when the government allowed its friends to bring into the black market foodstuffs from Turkey and Egypt, the UNRRA mission in Greece turned its head. Had it reported, as required by the regulations, that supplementary foodstuffs were being brought into the country independently, UNRRA headquarters in the United States would have automatically reduced the food allotments for Greece, and the Greek people would have been forced to buy black-market stuff at exorbitant prices.

For two years the Greek rightists have shrilled that the country's troubles are primarily political and only secondarily economic—as if the two could be divorced. They have proved themselves incapable of bringing improvement in either field. They have no economic program except one which drives the people in desperation toward the extreme left. Their only political program is something they call "super-dynamic," which means extermination of the left.

Let us assume that the government, encouraged as it has been by the American action, manages to suppress and disperse the partisans. What then? As the Liberal leader, Sophoulis, said in the Greek Parliament last January, "For one whole generation there will be no calm in our land, and the Greek people will be divided by an abyss of savage and unquenchable hatreds." A royalist-military dictatorship under the sponsorship of the United States will flourish for a while, and later a new and bitter struggle will break out, with substantial help for the left "from the north." Spain all over again.

The United States has a grand opportunity to make Greece a prize example of political and social democracy progressing along parallel lines. With United States help, Greece can, as the FAO report said last year, "double or triple its per capita production and national income within a short span of years by the effective development and use of its potentialities." The FAO report urged a "New Deal" for Greece. That is all the Greek people want. But if Roosevelt's successor believes he can bring the New Deal in Greece by working with the Royalist right wing he is due for a rude awakening.

Although Acting Secretary of State Acheson, in his first appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee, said the United States would deal with the present Greek government, he recalled that General Marshall, as the President's envoy to China, had urged the Chinese government to take steps to make itself more representative. In the case of Greece, a word to King George would be sufficient. George will do as he is told—even if it means dissolving Parliament and asking

the Liberal Party to form a coalition government which would function until conditions permit the holding of elections. Otherwise, to preserve our new frontier, we shall have to acquiesce in a vicious rightist dictatorship.

I expect the musical show which opened here last week entitled "Send Us More, Uncle Truman," will have a long run.

Kolonaki and the Others

BY ALLEN D. FIELDS

NOW we must get to know about Kolonaki Hill. Americans will like to say Kolonaki, because once you learn to say it straight, after repeating it slowly, it rolls right off your tongue. You get to say an unusual foreign word and you can get the flavor of speaking an alien tongue without having to bother about learning how to talk the whole damned language.

I think that the men we send over to Kolonaki Hill will like the word, and unless I miss my guess, I think they'll get to like the place too, just as the Italians, Germans, and British who were there before them did.

Kolonaki is a Greek word for a place in Athens.

Kolonaki Hill is over to one end of Athens. It rises behind the Royal Palace, which faces Constitution Square. Constitution Square—that's where Dmitri Kessl, of *Life*, took those pictures the time the Security Battalions, still wearing their German uniforms, shot at a parade that had been banned, or had not been banned, or too late—it was all very confusing, and it happened some time ago.

There was one picture of some people, some girls, dunking a banner into some blood of some of the people who were killed there in front of the palace at the very foot of that Kolonaki Hill.

Over to the right of the palace is the Grande Bretagne Hotel, but our men won't be able to get that nasal sound in "Bretagne"; so, like the British who had their HQ there, they'll just call it the "G. B." Our men will say, "Meet me at the G. B. bar," all the time.

✱

Kolonaki Hill is the Park Avenue of Greece. The embassies, and the fine homes, and the mansions, and all the kinds of places that make you think you're not in Greece at all are up there.

There's no destruction up on the hill, as there is throughout the rest of Athens and Greece. That's because when the British were fighting the Greeks, they kept

withdrawing and withdrawing, and then the British decided to base their defense around the base of Kolonaki Hill. I don't think that there was any real military reason, because they could have defended Piraeus instead, but the British were more at home at Kolonaki Hill than anywhere else, and they just naturally tended to defend "home." We'll be inclined to do the same.

What's wrong with defending Park Avenue? This isn't meant facetiously—there's nothing wrong with defending Park Avenue. But that's why we must get to know about Kolonaki Hill—it isn't *really* like Park Avenue.

In Greece there are in the main just two kinds of people. The Kolonaki—meaning the people of the hill—and the others. You could identify people quickly and easily that way. Is he Kolonaki?

We'll get to know many more Kolonaki than "others." They'll be our interpreters, and our friends, and when we do go out to dinner it will be on Kolonaki Hill. We're small-d democrats—certainly! But the Kolonaki will be better dressed—neater, cleaner—and they'll talk more English than the "others." They'll make better aides; they know how to get things done. It would be crazy and inefficient as hell not to use them. We can handle them, and they're more fun to be with.

✱

Some things about the Kolonaki will disturb us a little, but we'll get used to them. When we get to go out on a field trip, and when some farmer presses some food on us from his meager ration, we'll take some token goat cheese or something so the man won't feel bad, but our Kolonaki interpreter will do better by himself. He'll tell us, with his mouth full, to go ahead and help ourselves, and then he'll talk to the farmer almost as if he's ordering him to push more stuff at us, and this I think will embarrass the men of our mission.

If we come across someone who's been hurt—maybe a broken rib—our Kolonaki aide will almost get mad at us if we try to help out. He'll explain why—the Greek peasant isn't used to too much attention, he takes care of himself, and there's no telling what trouble we might

ALLEN D. FIELDS, newspaperman and magazine writer, spent eight months in Greece as director of public relations for UNRRA's Balkan mission.

get into if we stick our nose into that kind of business.

Our Park Avenue residents wouldn't act like that. On Park Avenue, too, philanthropy and interest in things like social welfare are almost fashionable, but on Kolonaki Hill they aren't.

✱

Kolonaki got along with the Germans, when they occupied Greece.

It wasn't collaboration, but the Germans liked music and so they'd have musicales.

Leland Stowe reported that one funny thing was that while almost every single family in Greece was in mourning for a father, a brother, a daughter, killed by the Germans, there were scarcely any Kolonaki families that suffered that way.

A few did, of course. And not everyone who lived on the Hill was without a mind or conscience. One friend of mine who lived on Kolonaki Hill but did not consider himself Kolonaki explained it this way: "The Germans wanted to split the Greek people among themselves, and so while they executed many of the others and burned their villages down with flame-throwing tanks, they deliberately spared the Kolonaki to blacken them in the eyes of the others."

He just got to the States—this friend—and I asked him about the collaborators. When I was there, only one sixteen-year-old kid who had worked for the Germans was executed; the rest were all over the place, in the government, in the army, and so on. He said: "It's a matter that makes me feel so ashamed that I can't discuss this in front of your American friends. They wouldn't understand." Later he told me that the score was the same and that the collaborators were more powerful than ever. My friend is just a nice guy, but he's the apologetic kind. He wants to be reasonable.

✱

Some of the money we're sending to Greece is for relief, and we'll employ Kolonaki to distribute it. We just about have to. Kolonaki women helped us to distribute clothing for UNRRA. They'd wear their oldest rags to the depot, and then exchange them for the best clothing they could fish out.

Others would too. But the Kolonaki had plenty of good clothes at home. So then the government put a halt to that. They made a law that people whose homes had been looted should have first choice of clothing.

Well, the only homes that were looted were homes that had something lootable that the Germans didn't take. Kolonaki Hill was the place that was defended, though—so how could those homes be looted? Well, they weren't. But all Kolonaki had summer villas at the seashore and they *were* looted. So our clothing relief lines were packed with women whose closets at home bulged, but they didn't have to wear their old things to the depot after that. They wore their fur coats.

There's an outdoor Taverna on the Hill; it's called Jimmy's or Johnny's and it's the place for an afternoon Ouzo. Our mission will be found there, and they'll meet some gorgeous women who will tell them all about their hardships and sufferings. Our men will understand. They'll have to because they'll like to.

They'll live well. Servants? For cigarettes. And boy, will their boots be polished, rubbed with bone, saddle-soaped! The Germans and British brooked no nonsense, and neither should we.

✱

Most of the Greeks have had enough. They had

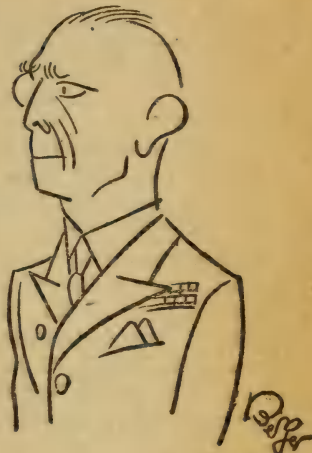
the Italians in the Albanian war, and the Germans, and the civil war, and they want a magazine-ad post-war world as hard—if not harder—than we do. The older folks are mournful after almost ten solid years of bloodshed. Strangers in cafes tell you how tired they are of fighting, and they feel they must impress you with the fact that Greeks really are not fighters, hate warfare.

Yet for four hundred years they fought the Turk. It's as if the States had been occupied by a foreign invader clear through from the time of Pocahontas and John Smith, through the Tea Party, the Gettysburg Address, the Spanish-American War, World War I, the flapper age, World War II, and right up to Harry Truman.

These other Greeks are not much the restaurant type. They're wiry, tough, and emotional, and they sit in the mountains and in island jails rather than give up their freedom. For the unemotional Anglo-American, their passion for *Eleutheria* is almost embarrassing.

But when we're there we won't be bothered by the fellows who used to come up and shake hands and tell you they're John Papadapolous, of Scramtum, Pa. Our men will have to travel in groups anyway. We won't feel as uneasy as we used to, about the bulging jails. Now it will be clearer that only the others are in them.

Kolonaki Hill will be velvet. A good place to hang out—nice to come home to. We must get to know about Kolonaki Hill.



Drawn from life by Oscar Berger

King George

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

II. The People Win in Georgia

Atlanta, Georgia, March 19

THE corridors had been packed for days. The people who were waiting for the decision shuffled their feet and talked in low voices. The general air of expectancy was a little dulled today; clothes were dampish and spirits lowered by an all-day rain outside. Then like a skyrocket on a Fourth of July night, the court's ruling came. Talmadge is out; Thompson is Governor by a five-to-two decision of the Supreme Court. The crowd moved into the halls of the Legislature and filled the seats of the galleries. The session was sixty-seven days old, would end on Saturday, and aside from the white-primary bill, the Legislature had passed only one other measure of state-wide significance. The few bills it had passed were now illegal and would not be law until and unless the new Governor, M. E. Thompson, decided to approve them. The Legislature, having been frustrated by the court in its attempt to destroy the people's voting rights by installing Herman Talmadge, spent itself on the day of the voters' triumph fulminating against the State Supreme Court. Then, realizing the futility of its sound and fury, it adjourned.

Herman Talmadge, who had so brazenly stolen the governorship, walked out of the Capitol vowing he would be back in 1949. The people, "the court of last resort" he called them now, would vindicate him. On Atlanta's wet streets those people, well remembering young Talmadge's contempt for people and their votes, were buying extra editions of the *Journal*, congratulating each other and enjoying the strength that comes when democracy is found to be living and in action.

Truly Georgia, in its two months of hectic dictatorship, had had enough. The moral revolt which started with Herman Talmadge's coup d'état had now succeeded. The air was cleaner, but thoughtful Georgians were asking themselves, "Is this truly the beginning of a new era?" Law and the rights of man had triumphed, but the things which made possible Herman Talmadge and his father, "Old Gene," are still very much alive.

The original troubles still remain, and they cannot be solved in Atlanta alone. Race relations, the hold of

Northern monopoly, and industrialization are Georgia's big underlying problems, but they affect the whole South and the entire country.

The North demands that the South better relations between Negroes and whites, forgetting New York's Harlem, Detroit's Paradise Valley, and Chicago's South Side. The South wants Northern monopoly to empty its carpet-bag and get out, forgetting that Southern bourbons have been full partners in forging the chains on the South's economy. North and South, the majority of people are ignorant of the price which the entire nation pays for race prejudice and monopoly. Exploitation by Northern monopolists and their Southern quislings keeps the South poor, even where it has rich resources. The poverty is reflected in bitter competition for a share of the few pennies which are available. The competition is naturally most severe and malignant at the lowest level—in the mill towns, in the hills, on the land.

These conditions have been only too well illustrated in Georgia during Herman Talmadge's ascendancy, when the state government degenerated into a joke with sinister overtones. Let us look at the facts behind the political tent show. Georgia is the biggest Southern state east of the Mississippi; it has a splendid climate, vast forests (twenty-four million acres), and a variety of minerals. And it has 3,200,000 people. But see what happens to the people. Each person has to get along on an average of \$761 a year—the figure for the best year in Georgia's history. In forty-one states people are better off. New York has a per capita income of \$1,595. Georgia's big farm population, producing cotton, peanuts, tobacco, and sugar cane, has less than one-half the per capita cash income of rural citizens outside the South. Nearly half a million Georgia homes—farm and city together—have no running water; the infant death rate is exceeded in the whole country by only four states, and they too are Southern. The nation spends annually \$103.49 per public-school pupil—teachers' strikes and pupil discontent testify to the inadequacy of even this amount—but Georgia spends only \$45.47.

Georgia's peculiar politics are, in fact, based on poverty and financed by those who would perpetuate it. Money comes from the Northern owners of Southern railroads, textile mills, utilities, and banks and from their allies, the Southern bourbons. Though the poverty-stricken masses are the voting backbone of the hate politicians, the Talmadge campaigns have not been dependent on the nickels and dimes of the "wool-hats"—a name used to describe the back-country people who in earlier times bought

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," has spent the past several months making a new survey of the South. This is the second article of a series he is writing on current political and economic trends in various Southern states.

a square of felt and shaped it into a hat by soaking it in hot sheep fat. Georgia politics are controlled by the right wing of the Democratic Party, which has kept the South hog-tied for generations. In this context the position of James A. Farley, who split with Roosevelt because of the latter's progressivism, as chairman of the Board of the Coca-Cola Export Corporation is easily understood. Mr. Farley may have no connection with the Talmadge group, but many others of his kind have taken an active, if silent, part in Southern political campaigns.

The monopolists and bourbons leave the talking to the Talmadges and their henchmen, who make political hay out of race prejudice. At the same time, because they know their back country well, the Talmadges expose many a legitimate grievance. "Old Gene," until his death in 1946, was unequalled in sensing and aggravating the fears and discontents of poor people. A superlative servant of the rich corporations that financed him, he was skilled in making poverty and reaction seem virtues in the man whose vote he needed. "Keep a man poor," he used to say, "and you'll keep him honest." Talmadge kept men poor. He fanned the discontent of the wool-hats and directed it against the more prosperous and better-educated people of the towns as well as against the ever-present Negroes, the traditional scapegoats.

"OLD GENE'S" MARCH TO DICTATORSHIP

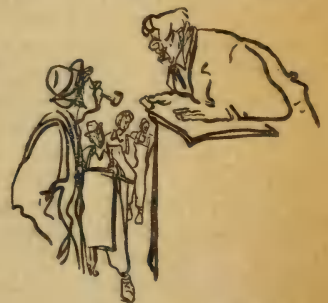
Talmadge's career shows how easily an American can become a dictator by using the masses and their needs as leverage. "Old Gene" got his start in 1926 as state commissioner of agriculture. In that post until 1932, he became the spokesman for the farmers, who had never been in worse plight. He spent the state's money to stop the falling market in hogs. Faced with impeachment for this, he dramatized himself as the champion of the people. He became a popular hero and beat down a dozen other candidates for the governorship in 1932. In the campaign he stumped the state denouncing the politicians who had exploited the people. His own great promise was to provide three-dollar automobile plates. Once in office, he made good on this promise, defying the Legislature in order to do it and beginning his career of governing by decree. Thereby he and his henchmen propagated the powerful legend, "Talmadge always keeps his promises."

He kept the issues simple; so that they could be understood by people with the least money or education. When he ran again, in 1934, he didn't need a platform. He was the simple man from Sugar Creek, not a man who spoke high-sounding words about fiscal affairs and such things, just a man who kept his promises. And the wool-hats turned out again to reelect him. By 1936 his eyes were on the United States Senate, but the record of his governorship was beginning to catch up with him. He had shoved textile strikers into concentration camps; he had frequently used state troops; he had forcibly ousted

elected officials and commissions. Instead of answering these charges he raised simple issues about national government. He promised to bring back two-cent postage and to cut the national budget. But the New Deal was delivering the goods, and the very people who had voted in "Old Gene" before were benefiting from AAA, FSA, and TVA and supporting Roosevelt. More than two-cent postage was needed to hold the country people. And suddenly Talmadge's real backers came into the open. The man from Sugar Creek, it appeared, was the darling of the bankers and the Liberty League. The big employers made speeches for him, and their arguments revealed how little "Old Gene" had done for the rank-and-file voters. The financial and industrial interests said they wanted Talmadge because he had cut taxes and public services, in marked contrast to a federal government spending billions on relief.

Realizing that the Liberty League would not save him, Talmadge invoked the Negro menace. Before 1936 he had not needed, or bothered, to use it. But the times were not right, and his bid for the Senate was defeated. In 1940 he again pulled out all the stops on white supremacy and was elected for another term as governor, during which he used dictatorial methods to destroy the state university system. On his next try, in 1942, "Old Gene" was defeated by Ellis Arnall. Then came 1946, bringing labor's organizing drives and the Supreme Court decision that Negroes might vote in primaries. The combination was manna from heaven. With it "Old Gene" played on the simplest and most direct fears of the country folk. It was almost enough to elect him—almost but not quite, for when the votes were tabulated he would have lost had it not been for the county-unit system. Talmadge's opponent had more votes than he had, but they did not count.

The county-unit system is one of those voting restrictions invented by the Talmadges for the Talmadges. It effectively cancels the city vote and delivers the preponderant power to the rural areas. Under it the primary vote for elected state and federal officials is tabulated by county units. Each county has twice as many unit votes as it has representation in the lower house of the state legislature. Fulton County, in which is Atlanta, with a population of 400,000 has three representatives in the lower house and therefore six unit votes. Echols County with a population of 3,000 has one representative and therefore two unit votes. Thus one vote for Talmadge in Echols County counterbalanced





fifty votes for his opponent in Atlanta. In another county a single Talmadge vote was worth more than fifty-six against him in Atlanta.

The system permitted Talmadge to ignore the cities and concentrate on his crossroads show. He went to the crossroads riding on cotton bales. He stood in his red suspenders, drinking from a gourd, and responded to cues from a stooge in overalls perched in a tree near the platform. When the speaking was over, his henchmen carried him off on their shoulders. This routine got the votes. "Old Gene's" success was greatest where discontent was deepest, needs most desperate. He knew what the country people wanted, but he never gave them anything but three-dollar auto tags—for a little while—and federally financed projects and roads. "Old Gene" kept many more promises to his financial and corporate backers. Today the people of the back country are left with a legend which is false and with old needs which are real. The Talmadge legend will be fuel for the next demagogue's fire until that day when the country people have seen that somebody really cares and is doing something about it.

DEMAGOGUE'S FORMULA

The back country, not only in Georgia but everywhere in the South, fails to get the services it needs. Farm-to-market roads have not been built, and the farmer is left at the mercy of a city middleman. County roads have not been hard-surfaced and are impassable a good part of the time. Schools are hopelessly dilapidated, incompetently manned, and impossible to reach in bad weather, even if there were enough school buses, which there are not. Good teachers cannot be obtained. There is a great deficiency of hospitals, doctors, and nurses, and where they do exist, their quality is poor.

Anyone who promises to improve things will get a hearing from the wool-hats. Who prevents the farmer and the small-towner from having these essentials? The answer of every Southern demagogue follows the same pattern. It is the goddess, overdressed, overeating city dweller. "The cities have the hospitals, schools, and roads. They have stolen what you are entitled to; that's why they have them and you don't. Hate the cities." And there is enough truth in this to convince people whose discontent is real.

The second villain, according to the Southern demagogue, is monopoly. Never, never does he name the Georgia Power Company, the United States Steel Corporation, or du Pont. Always he limits himself to a general accusation against monopoly. But when he begins to rail against Yankee labor leaders, his reticence leaves him. He rolls their names on his tongue—Baldzani, John L. Lewis, and Sidney Hillman (for the politician's purposes the last remains alive and well). He loves to linger on the Italian and Jewish names, which sound especially outlandish to the isolated Scotch-Irish of the Piedmont.

"What are the Yankees trying to do to you? Make you into coolies, slave labor, paying dues to un-American unions. They'll give you jobs to niggers." There comes in the familiar note. From that point it is easy. The "nigger," if the demagogue's opponent wins, will supervise all jobs, take over the land, push Mr. Wool-Hat off the street—he thinks the "nigger" is acting too uppity in the cities anyway—and end by raping his daughter.

As part of the formula, the demagogue ties up his opponent with the outsiders. "Arnall is a Wallace man, Wallace is a C. I. O. man," therefore they are "nigger lovers." "Turn out and beat them—keep Georgia pure." And in the wings, while this hammy act goes on, stand the financial and industrial backers.

Helping the demagogue on the local level is the Ku Klux Klan and its thousand variants—one even has "Coast Guard" in its title. All of these are anti-labor or anti-Negro, or both. Here and there the aid of a preacher is enlisted. "Parson Jack" has his headquarters in Columbus, Georgia, in a tabernacle that cost \$100,000. The building was the gift of Columbus Roberts, a gentleman with large holdings in the Coca-Cola Bottling Company and other industries. "Parson Jack" publishes a sheet called the *Trumpet*, which specializes in anti-union diatribes. Not long ago he explained in the *Trumpet* in heavy type that C. I. O. stood for Communist International Organizations. When admonished by another preacher who said he could prove the C. I. O. was not Communist, Parson Jack replied, "You may be able to prove the C. I. O. isn't Communist, but you will never convince me that the Federal Churches of Christ in America is anything but Communist." Anti-labor employers who provide funds for preachers like Parson Jack explain blandly that it is an old Southern custom for mill-owners to contribute to churches in the small towns.

BOURBONS IN RETREAT

The Northern industrialists and Southern bourbons who finance the demagogues resolved to keep their men in power. Today they are in retreat, Governor M. E. Thompson sits in the State Capitol and the people rejoice. The next big step comes in December, 1948, when the election for governor is held. Between now and then Herman Talmadge and his Northern friends will be try-

ing to stave off change. Already Talmadge has announced a speaking tour on which he will make his bid for all-South leadership in company with none other than Gerald L. K. Smith. These will be critical days for the new forces which came into being in the moral fervor of the fight to oust Herman Talmadge. The demagogues and their backers, in installing their pretender, stimulated a valiant opposition. They brought into action against them almost the entire organized church of Georgia and the South. (Preachers like Parson Jack are not accepted in most organizations of ministers.) A large section of the decent citizens of the state became aroused by the immoral nature of the white-primary bill. Voters and politicians who had been excluded from party councils demanded their rights and were determined to take steps inside or outside the one-party set-up to get those rights; this may lead to a two-party system.

In June, 1946, a Gallup poll revealed that 62 per cent of all Southerners having an opinion believed that the one-party system was bad for the South. More than a majority wanted a two-party system. The majority would be much greater now since the attempted seizure of the Democratic Party and the governorship by Herman Talmadge in Georgia. An organization called "The Aroused Citizens of Georgia" has been formed to revamp the Democratic Party so it can serve as a democratic vehicle. This movement will go forward.

The signs today foretell a better era, although the 1,085,000 Negroes who are the submerged third of Georgia may well remain depressed. Their day has not yet come. White supremacy is still a staple, and while it exists it will be felt by the Negro in every relationship. The lynching of four Negroes at Monroe, Georgia, followed "Old Gene's" incendiary speeches, and this year in Greenville, South Carolina, a Negro was lynched after a white-primary bill was passed in that state.

The demagogue has been able in the past to sell his race-hate bill of goods to the wool-hats, the Crackers, and the red-necks. Their reaction is conditioned by their ignorance, their poverty, and their prejudices. The root of the trouble which plagues the South is not in these people of the back country but in the evils which beset them.

The use of race hate in politics, in Georgia or any other Southern state, will have to be fought with deeds. Southern liberal leaders are learning that what is said is not so important as what is done. When a hard road or a school is built in the red-clay hills, the families living near know who got it for them. That is an argument which sticks, as the demagogues' empty promises do not. Southern progressives who can offer this type of concrete help will be supported in the rural areas. There are many more people in the South who will welcome a working democracy than is indicated by newspaper reports, which deal almost exclusively with coup d'états, lynchings, and fiery crosses. In every walk of life, save among practicing

bourbons and Northern overseers, people have stood up to be counted in the face of public threats of violence and private warnings from their bankers. Among them are leaders as able as any to be found in New York or Washington. Hosts of young people, on the campuses, in the factories, and in the churches, are readying themselves to fight a political battle for social ends. But if they are to win the victory, Southern needs must be recognized as national problems, important not only in Atlanta but in Seattle and New York.

Meanwhile Atlanta and Georgia may well celebrate. They have had a victory in which people's rights became state's rights.

In the Wind

TOM KELLY, twenty-six, Aleutian campaign veteran and Reed College (Oregon) student, was arrested last month and jailed overnight by the Portland police when they found him reading Shelley by moonlight. He was held for investigation by the FBI before being released.

"I EXTEND TO YOU my sincere congratulations in this your sixtieth year of publishing. Faithfully and fearlessly you have crusaded . . . and fought against disloyal destructive forces . . . within our God-blessed land."—Francis Cardinal Spellman to William Randolph Hearst, in the *New York Journal-American*, March 3, 1947.

WILLIAM W. WALISZEWSKI was fined \$150 in the Columbus (Georgia) city court last February 12 on a charge of driving while under the influence of intoxicants. Wilson Greenleaf, a Negro, same court, same day, same charge, was given a fine of \$500 or a sentence of twelve months.

WE, THE MOTHERS, Mobilize for America, one of Elizabeth Dilling's organizations, has whipped up a fifty-four-page pamphlet accusing the Jews of having kidnapped the Lindbergh baby and murdered it for ritual purposes.

SHORT STORY from the March 10 Associated Press wires: "Rome—Rear Admiral Ellery W. Stone, former Allied Commissioner in Italy, announced today his engagement to Countess Renata Arborio Mella di Sant' Elia, member of a prominent Italian family closely connected with the Vatican. . . . Born a Protestant, Admiral Stone was baptized into the Catholic church Saturday and was received Sunday by Pope Pius XII. . . . Admiral Stone and the former Louise F. Wardwell were divorced a fortnight ago in Reno."

PROFESSOR HERBERT D. LAMSON, a Boston marriage counselor, has advised "eligible men and women" to pick a mate who is a political conservative in order to insure marital happiness.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

KEITH HUTCHISON

Why Greeks Go Left

IF THERE were no Communists in Greece, the Greek government would have to invent them. For in order to survive, the Athenian regime must do something to improve the desperate economic situation in Greece, must provide at least subsistence for the Greek people and offer them some hope for the future. This necessitates large financial assistance from abroad, and since Britain has no more pounds to spare, the United States is the only possible banker. But if Mr. Truman had appealed to Capitol Hill for funds to invest solely in the economic reconstruction of Greece, he would surely have been turned down. Only a Congress scared to death by a vision of Greece being dragged behind the iron curtain is likely to vote assistance on the required scale.

The result is that the Communist danger has been played up, and the real menace in Greece, the abysmal poverty which a corrupt and inefficient government cannot cope with, the menace which swells the ranks of the partisans, has been played down. This subject, however, has received a good deal of attention from the United Nations agencies which the Administration has cold-shouldered. Last May, for instance, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) sent a mission to Greece to study agriculture, fisheries, and related industries and to make recommendations for their rehabilitation and development. In carrying out this task the mission, most of whose members were American, was compelled to review the whole Greek economy. Its recently published report, therefore, throws much light on the basic causes of the Greek crisis, and its recommendations include valuable suggestions for restoring the country to a modicum of prosperity.

Greek losses in the war were prodigious, for the Germans did a more than usually thorough job of earth-scorching. They destroyed or seriously damaged about one-eighth of the country's dwellings, blew up innumerable bridges, wrecked a large part of the railroad system. The Greek merchant marine, important as a means of earning foreign exchange and essential for local communications, was decimated. Altogether, it has been estimated, the country's losses totaled some five billion dollars. Yet, with so much work to be done, unemployment is rife. Compared to totalitarian Yugoslavia, which suffered devastation on a similar scale, "democratic" Greece has shown little energy in tackling the job of reconstruction.

Even before the war Greece was one of the most poverty-stricken countries in Europe. Mainly agricultural, it was attempting to support far too large a population on its soil. On the average, the FAO mission reports, cropland per person on farms is only 1.31 acres—about the same as in India. Working with primitive implements and using too little fertilizer, the peasants achieve crop yields far below the Euro-

pean average. What is needed in Greece is more intensive cultivation by a smaller number of farmers, but to achieve that industries must be developed to drain off the surplus population and expand the market for farm products.

The outstanding recommendation of the FAO mission—the development of the neglected Greek water resources—is related to both these objectives. Like California, Greece has a mild climate with a rainfall which would be fairly adequate if evenly distributed throughout the year. Unfortunately concentration of this rainfall in a few winter months means that a great deal of it runs off rapidly, causing erosion, flood damage, and the creation of malarial swamps in the low country. A systematic program of water control and development must therefore be the first step toward making Greek agriculture more productive. It should be possible, the mission suggests, to irrigate, and so make available for intensive agriculture, about one-fifth of the cultivatable land. Considerable areas could also be reclaimed by erosion control and drainage works. In connection with such projects, the mission proposes hydroelectric developments large and small, which eventually could give Greece an energy supply equal to that produced at Boulder Dam. Provided that electric-power charges were based on actual costs and not on costs of alternative methods of power production, such a program could immensely stimulate the growth of industry.

Apart from such specific plans, the mission makes a number of recommendations regarding agricultural research and education, reconstruction of transport, development of fisheries, encouragement of cooperatives, emigration, and so forth. But its members obviously realized that the best of schemes will be still-born unless handled by government midwives with clean hands and some degree of energy and technical skill. Hence their report goes somewhat beyond their terms of reference by suggesting basic government reforms in a manner that implies sharp criticism of the prevailing system. For instance, speaking of the "shortcomings" of the civil service, it mentions "exclusive reliance on seniority in promotions; excessive centralization of control in Athens; frequent political interference . . . an exceedingly inadequate scale of civil-service pay . . . unduly short working hours; and conflicting and duplicating allocation of administrative responsibility."

The mission's comments on the present Greek tax structure are even more revealing. It points out that the present system is extremely regressive, with the burden weighing far more heavily on the poor than on the well-to-do. Only about 15 per cent of the current revenue comes from direct taxes on profits, rents, and real property; the remainder is raised by imports on "almost every stage in production, transportation, and trade," with the result that the production and marketing of goods are both inhibited. Moreover, as the report points out, "the tax structure is responsible, in part at least, for the exceedingly unequal distribution of wealth and income in Greece"—an inequality demonstrated by the contrast in Athens between the luxurious living of the few and the rags and hunger of the many.

The mission suggests that the Greek government should seek technical aid from the United Nations and financial assistance from the World Bank. But, it hints unmistakably, such aid should be conditioned on internal reform. Now that

President Truman has pushed the U.N. out of the picture and assumed for the United States the economic and moral burden of Greek resuscitation, I hope he will be equally insistent on radical changes in the Greek system of administration and fiscal and economic policies. Otherwise Greece is likely to turn out an exceedingly bad investment, with the bulk of the American taxpayers' money ending up in the pockets of the Greek government's rich supporters, and communism continuing to draw strength from the hunger and despair of the masses.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THE fight for better radio went off on a fresh tangent a fortnight ago when a group of top-drawer advertising and network executives organized a Broadcasters' Advisory Council which, in the words of Charles G. Mortimer, vice-president of General Foods, will "see if [it] can make radio more what the public wants."

The industry and its trade association, the National Association of Broadcasters, have always insisted the public was getting what it wanted, but the people behind the Broadcasters' Advisory Council have long been disturbed by the industry's penchant for feuding with the Federal Communications Commission instead of cleaning house and getting on with a profitable business. The announced intention of the new organization to meet instead of ignore criticism brought the schism into the open.

Behind the break is an interesting chain of events. For twenty years the N. A. B. has been struggling to shed its diapers. In its early days it was dominated by the networks, so much so that for a time the non-network stations had their own organization, the National Association of Independent Broadcasters. This group lasted only until the independents acquired more power in the N. A. B., but the internal conflict in the latter organization left it without effectual leadership.

During this time the networks lost their monopoly fight in the courts and Congress. Finally, knowing that the FCC was preparing its indictment of their programming soon to be published as its famous "Blue Book," they persuaded the industry to put a strong man at the head of the association. Justin Miller, educator and ex-judge of the United States Court of Appeals in Washington, was given the job at \$50,000 a year.

Judge Miller was an eminent jurist but a novice in radio, and when the "Blue Book" was released, he took the advice of certain men of limited vision on his staff and on that of

the *Broadcasting Magazine*, the industry's most affluent trade publication, and proceeded to fight the FCC in public meetings and the press. The "Blue Book," however, had caught radio *flagrante delicto*. The networks and a few enlightened broadcasters realized that fighting it would only keep the spotlight on the industry's weak spots and do it no good. Instead of arguing with the FCC, they wanted to talk about the many things radio had to its credit. In the end the N. A. B. Board of Directors ordered Judge Miller to "stop trying to lick the FCC and to win them with friendship instead." The Judge refused to go along.

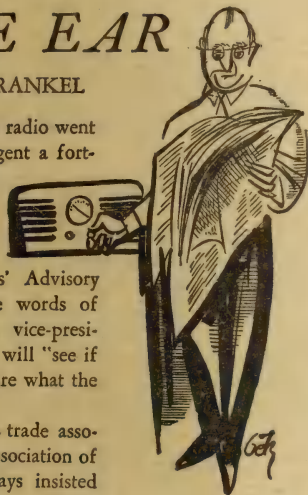
He had been out in the sticks talking with the small broadcasters, most of whom were guilty of the abuses documented in the "Blue Book." From them he had gathered that the majority of his members wanted a fight to the finish with the FCC. So today the Judge and his staff are busy throwing bricks at the commission, and *Broadcasting Magazine* is leading a drive to cut its budget. In protest, the two major networks, NBC and CBS, have resigned their representation on the directorate of the N. A. B. and with Mutual are now supporting the Broadcasters' Advisory Council.

For several years key men like Frank Stanton, president of CBS, and Edgar Kobak, president of Mutual, together with important people in the advertising agencies and representatives of powerful advertisers like Lever Brothers, Standard Brands, and General Foods, have sweated to stabilize the industry. They standardized rate cards and coverage maps, clipped the chiselers, and tamed the greedy. They knew radio advertising was a gold mine. They knew that both sides get dirty in a mud-fight. They strongly counseled moderation. Even when "The Hucksters" lambasted their business, they played it smart and refused to fight back.

These people know how to interpret figures. They read the Hooperatings. They see that more radio sets are in use now than ever before. They know things are going well. But they keep a finger on the public's pulse, and they also know that a considerable minority among listeners are unhappy. For these men fighting is out. If they cannot provide what the public wants they will try to persuade the public to take something else. They remember all too well the stench uncovered during the fight against the pure food and drug regulations. Radio broadcasting is a quarter-billion-dollar business. Let it ride with the punches.

When the split came in the N. A. B., it was only natural for the moderates to create the Broadcasters' Advisory Council. Within a year a considerable segment of the radio industry may have joined them. What it means is that the broadcasters, unable to run their own show, are giving the customers—that is, the advertisers and agencies—control of commercial radio. This will make for better commercials, but just what it will do to programs in the public interest is a question.

Anything which cramps the reactionaries within the N. A. B. strengthens the FCC. Likewise anything which standardizes the commercial side of radio should free brain power for the sustaining and public-interest programs. Perhaps when the Broadcasters' Advisory Council is really in the saddle, stations and networks will lend a more attentive ear to what the listener wants.



BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NORFOLK MEMORIALS

I

North Pickenham

The army was ours that spring. Landing in England
Captured an island much reduced by rain.
Deep in the humpbacked huts we cursed and cowered,
Waiting for mid-July, for now it seemed
Spring was the traitor, continually it seemed
The summit of the summer was the sun.

The planes got up and barked all over England,
And here rode such a ruddy Alexander
As England greened to look upon. His voice
Was Akron and Atlanta, but his eyes
Covered the skyline with a natural grace,
And when he took the air the air took fire.
This was the springboard, lifting him so high
He thought at first all diving was to fly.
His government provided scant instruction
As to the downward journey; then his life
Turned in the hand of God, he was on his own,
For where was the manual on how to die?
If he sometimes had to fall, his flaming hair
No more concerned the medical department
Than symptoms of an unproscribed surprise,
An unmilitary terror in his face.

Some only fell in love. For them the land
Hovered under the sky. They lay in meadows
Trimmed like movie sets, where bursts of green
Startled the flying bombs and where the sun
Managed its cocktail parties all day long.
Much that they did was vital, but the stamp
Set on their records marked them as *autre temps*;
They loved love, when they should have laughed it off.
How could the brow describe so brave an arc
As that improvident parabola
Carved by the bomber on a screaming sky?

Incessantly the planes proclaimed disaster.
The lovers of the nightride in the lorry
Lingered as long as any could afford,
But when the runs of liberty were canceled
Even the least passionate embrace
Seemed overdone, so widely was it done.

And all the planes leapt overhead and soared.

II

Wendling

Here were planes. But everything else was gone.
Somewhere in the southern part of France
Peasants gathered like vultures, and the life

Seized from the grounded airman oddly bent
Under the platane, this life was flesh,
Love of our life caught in the upturned eyes.
Defying all the mockeries of maneuvers
And violating all the secret commandments
It justified the war, and in its hand
Turned the neck of a flower like the stem
Of a wine glass, while the grateful peasants,
Raising their arms in prayer, proposed a toast.

Some read the numbers on the casualty list,
Counting the odds. Others, the erstwhile friends,
Showed shocked faces, thought as long as they dared
On the impossible event. Others shed tears
In private. Beyond these there were those
Who sleepwalked in the daytime, groping the air
For something that never seemed to be wholly there.
Their hands went out and faltered and their eyes,
Dry and blind as mirrors, walked the earth
Like tourists who only have time to cover ground.

All this concerned the younger generation
(The oldest pilot would now be twenty-six).
Some who escaped wept on the ravished field,
Hiding their faces from their thoughts of home.
The lovelorn found it a time for awkwardness
In public places. The resigned pose came later.

Who could have said which look of love was real?
And how many knew what loves were gone forever
In those days when the war wound up the war?

Now watch the planes move over the horizon
Much like the elephants of Leconte de Lisle.

COMAN LEAVENWORTH

THE MATERIALISTS: 1946

This delight condemns us, what can we do for hope,
The elisions of immortality
Strike to us here.
No day after tomorrow enlarges shape.
This is delight's immediate sphere.

What will relieve us, the salutary
Outward offense of disaster
And circumstance,
Or your whole loss, or any lost vagary?
We are condemned beyond the hope of chance.

When the hanged men of burning autumn
Reproach themselves
Upon the brilliant branch,
We, reproaching them for their variable outcome,
Stay to delight's invariable task.

JOSEPHINE MILES

SPEAK UP NOW

or Forever Lose Your Peace!

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S PROGRAM ON GREECE AND TURKEY CAN SHATTER THE U.N.

If you believe that starving people need food, not guns—that the American ideal of democracy can only be preserved by people who are fed, not fought—that we should aid people, not armies—

that the enactment of the Truman proposals will undermine the U. N., divide the world in two, and usher in a century of fear—THEN YOU MUST SPEAK UP NOW!

WHAT P.C.A. IS DOING

P. C. A. is *acting* in this crisis—with full-page ads in the New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Sun, and other newspapers reproducing the complete text of Henry Wallace's magnificent radio address of March 13,

in answer to the Truman proposals—with a mass rally in Madison Square Garden—with two coast-to-coast broadcasts—with a mass delegation in Washington—by distributing hundreds of thousands of leaflets of

the Wallace speech—with community group activity throughout the country (opinion polls, rallies, forums, petitions, delegations).

We are giving the public the facts it needs to act!

What YOU can do

If you can't act in person, will you *send your dollars* to act for you? Every dollar received goes into a special fund used solely to mobilize public opinion to the significance of the Greek crisis—

which is really a *U. N. crisis—an American crisis*—YOUR crisis. Every dollar will go into advertising, radio, and leaflets.

P.C.A. BELIEVES: This is not an issue of any single progressive organization. Every group and individual believing in the U. N. and peace must stand together.

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

205 East 42nd St.

New York 17

Jo Davidson — Frank Kingdon, co-chairmen

HEAR

HENRY WALLACE

ON GREECE AND TURKEY

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Monday, MARCH 31, 7:30 p.m.

Tickets 60c — \$3.60

HELP SAVE THE UN

I want to help spread protests against the Truman proposals to support the reactionary governments of Greece and Turkey and enclosing \$..... for advertising and pamphlets.

☐ Allocate \$3.00 of the above toward membership in P. C. A.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Political Anthology

DISCOVERY OF EUROPE. Edited with an Introduction and Comments by Philip Rahv. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5.

AMERICAN writings about Europe during the first 170 years of the Republic aggregate into a library of great volume and richness. Its authors have few illusions as to the youth and rawness of their own civilization, yet tend to look with disaffection upon what passes across the ocean for ripeness. They themselves are transplanted Europeans; most of these writers look back to an English origin, and all are tied with some closeness to literary England by the bond of language. So their situation is poignant; much as when a young man individually comes to self-consciousness and is obliged to appraise his nearest elders, who are enveloped with the complacency that comes of success, and not visibly infered as they ought to be by any sense of guilt.

Philip Rahv anthologizes from these writings and furnishes running comment as a cultural historian. The originality of his selections is in the large display of writings in which the European influences are not embraced but repelled. He likes the indigenous elements in the American culture.

He is also a political idealist, and the reader will approve his fidelity to the old commitment of this nation to an equalitarian society. But I have the feeling that his political interest is continually and unnecessarily getting in front of his cultural interest; for the two are not the same. The fathers must have picked like magpies from the glittering artifacts, the social rites, the evolved tastes, of countries politically very alien, without especially vitiating their own polity. I should imagine that nothing on earth is humanly much stronger than the set of the democratic principle in American character. So I feel surer of the national integrity than Mr. Rahv seems to be.

He is sternly and oddly on his guard against English influences. Now I presume that I vote pretty much as Mr. Rahv does at election time, and am therefore entitled to some sort of liberal rating; but in attaining to it I do not seem to have noted the need for arbi-

trary an animus. In his commentary it is as if he projected himself backward into the period when some American wrote fondly about England, and felt that such a man was vicious, and no true patriot; because he must have been socially arrogant, and here was only finding excuse for setting up his own aristocracy, after some miserable and reduced American plan. And Mr. Rahv rejoices when, about the end of World War I, American travelers begin to prefer to stop in France, where there is a "revolutionary tradition" and a truly "intellectual" stimulus, and our country is delivered of the menace of the Anglophiles forever. I think the term "intellectual" may be the key to his position. A new severity has come to political thinking in our time, in that it is abstract, or intellectual, and produces revolution as soon as not, if logic calls for it. But this country has not been very deeply modernized in this sense; it prefers a kind of political action that is more spontaneous in origin, and only evolutionary in the degree of its displacement. Considering the precariousness of the intellectual fiat in an existential world, I am satisfied with that. But historically it is doubtless an effect of English background. The new proficiency at foreign languages which has made us acquainted with other nations than England, or for that matter the eclipse of the British Empire itself, has come far too late to undo it.

Mr. Rahv might register less comfort, and more concern, when he presents Randolph Bourne in 1913, finished with his studies at Columbia University and entering on the Grand Tour, as stopping briefly in England and then settling down more suitably at Paris, from which city he writes presently about the Sorbonne: "This splendid free university . . . makes Oxford look like a primary school, and even Columbia, which is incomparably superior to any British university, look like an expensive high school." We think of Bourne's youthfulness; but he was twenty-seven. So far as I know, it is precisely as distressing when a man declares an incomparable superiority for the Sorbonne or Columbia over Oxford as when he declares an incomparable superiority with the terms reversed. An intelligence whose sensibility was both wide and open could not declare it either way. Of course Mr.

Rahv is not so brash as that, but he is like Bourne in that he is not so good with sensibilities as with political ideas. But a civilization is largely made out of sensibilities. There are natural likings which it is not necessary for politics to denounce; there are free perceptions which it is not the business of politics to deny.

He gives us a letter by William James apropos of the Dreyfus affair, and a postscript which reads: "Damn it, America doesn't know the meaning of the word corruption compared with Europe." We like Mr. Rahv for relishing that sentiment. And in due chronological order we come to some discussion of the matter by Ernest Hemingway, taken from "For Whom the Bell Tolls." After much fighting in Spain Robert Jordan is wondering why he feels that the old purity of his participation seems to have been subtly corrupted. At first he thinks it is because he has been softened through self-indulgence—with fine food, with love—but soon he is reflecting upon the dirty tricks he has had to play as a soldier, and the lies and "political assassinations" that he has seen performed in the name of the good cause. It seems to be the final sense of Hemingway's hero—and I believe Mr. Rahv would share it in the last resort, as I do—that corruption comes not so much by softening oneself as by hardening oneself. The virtue of American politics, according to this principle would be in the fact that at least the great political figures have been innocent, maintaining their integrity as human beings, amateurs rather than professionals at politics, and even in office keeping the scruple of sensibility. Like wise it would be the virtue of the American electorate to sense this innocence, and rate it high in their official, as a kind of safeguard against trusting their business to liars and assassins.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM

Out of the Frying Pan

THIS IS MY STORY. By Louis Budenz. Whittlesey House, The McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$3.

LOUIS BUDENZ'S book, "This My Story," is important because of its exposure of the American Communist Party and the world Stalinist mov-

PM's Views On Greek Relief

President Truman on March 12th requested from Congress a \$400,000,000 appropriation "for assistance to Greece and Turkey" and—authority to send a detail of American civilian and military personnel to these countries "to assist in the tasks of reconstruction and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished."

PM's Editors believe that this is a definite step towards a New Struggle for World Power.

Here is PM's Formula for Handling the Situation in Greece

"First, give aid to the Greek people, but on conditions that the government be reformed to include the elements now unrepresented. To help such a government would not involve us in a struggle with Russia, yet it would give the stability in Greece which ought to be what we are seeking. There were some rumors, before the President's speech, that he would incorporate in it this condition. His failure to do so is an omission of first importance.

"Second, the aid we give the Greek people must be wholly economic, not at all military. It should include no military or training mission or war material, as the President proposes. Granted a change in the government, as proposed above, it would be possible to keep the aid wholly economic. For there would be no need for fighting a civil war to the bitter end.

"Our action in aiding Greece should be done under the UN, along with Britain and Russia, (to the extent that either can afford aid), and within the spirit of all our international commitments. It is hard to grow wrathful at Russian violations of that spirit and Russian interventionism when we make ourselves guilty of both."

Max Lerner
(in PM, March 13th)

READ PM REGULARLY FOR—

MAX LERNER

Searching editorial comment—at home and abroad

ALEXANDER UHL

The Washington picture—from the capitol

I. F. STONE

Eyewitness facts directly from Palestine

JENNINGS PERRY

Measured comment on affairs of the day

ALBERT DEUTSCH

Crusading for correction of social disorders

BILLY ROSE

Whimsical and sharp humor straight from B'way

FRANK SULLIVAN

Humorous sidelights on the passing scene

Send this coupon now for your subscription to PM with check or money order to PM, Box 81, Times Square Station, New York.

	One Year	Six Months	12 Weeks	4 Weeks
Daily & Sunday	\$16.00 ☐	\$8.25 ☐	\$4.20 ☐	\$1.50 ☐
Daily only (5 issues)	\$11.50 ☐	\$6.00 ☐	\$3.00 ☐	\$1.10 ☐
Sunday only	\$4.90 ☐	\$2.50 ☐	\$1.25 ☐	

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Newsstand rates \$.05 daily & \$.10 Sunday

NA-2

You'll find PM Dynamic... Different... Stimulating... Informative... The Newspaper of Comment

ment. Reading it, one can readily see that the author tells only a small portion of what he knows. But what he does tell is damning, and even sensational. Budenz declares that the plot to murder Leon Trotsky was organized on American soil, and he even admits that he was used as an unwitting dupe in the organization of this plot. His revelations concerning the assassination of Trotsky are consistent with what is already known. Budenz also remarks that a leading member of the Communist Party, "H," declared to him that the Russian NKVD (the OGPU) had "liquidated" Julia Stuart Poyntz. She was a leading member of the American Communist Party and a known Russian agent. The late Carlo Tresca—himself mysteriously assassinated on the streets of New York—made the same charges some years ago before a federal grand jury. In addition to these revelations, Budenz describes the leaders of the American Communist Party as puppets and pawns who tremble before foreign agents. Critics of the Communist Party have long been aware that these men and women do not think for themselves: the revelations of Louis Budenz confirm what these critics have long maintained. When Earl Browder was deposed as the beloved leader of the party, nearly all his faithful followers confessed to being guilty of "Browderism," and then denounced him. Budenz includes a description of this scene in his book. It was one of the most debasing and shameful spectacles in contemporary American politics.

Louis Budenz left the Communist Party to return to the Roman Catholic church. He substituted one form of authoritarianism for another. Shortly after he joined the Communist Party, that organization advanced the slogan that communism is twentieth-century Americanism. Budenz's present views can be characterized as a mere variation of the same slogan. He now seems to think that Roman Catholicism is twentieth-century Americanism. He equates American democratic thinking with Catholicism. This is incorrect. The Constitution is a secular document. It contains no appeal to the Deity; on the contrary, its appeal is to the self-interest of men. Thus it must be described as a materialistic document. However, to Louis Budenz, the greatest evil facing the world

today is that of "sinful" materialism. He also affirms the economic and moral principles laid down in papal encyclicals of the last half-century or so. These encyclicals advance the idea of the corporate state. In urging America to adopt the proposals of the popes, Budenz is really asking us to establish a corporate state.

After years in the Communist Party, Louis Budenz gives the impression of a man who has been humiliated but who is not humble. He associates his own reconversion with the conversions of St. Paul, St. Augustine, and John Henry Cardinal Newman. He is different from these men. When he writes to expose his old comrades in the Communist Party, his style is clear, direct, and reportorial: when he tries to convey his own emotions of reconversion, he indulges in pieties and banalities, and he seems to find it necessary to rely heavily on quotations. The Italian novelist, Ignazio Silone, once remarked that in a dictatorship men do not think; they quote. As a reborn Catholic enjoying his new state of grace, Budenz must use quotations to express his deepest feelings. As a Communist, he was a zealot and an authoritarian; he has not changed. He insists as strongly on conformity as do the American Communists. His change of mind and of heart is in reality a mere change of rigid dogmatism. His views are clerical, and he proposes an out-and-out Vatican political line for the American people.

Budenz also declares that he was aware of the methods of the Communist Party as far back as 1921. He admits that for almost the entire period that he was a party member he was aware of the control which foreign agents exerted over this party. He indicates that he had knowledge of the plot against Trotsky for about five years before he spoke out in public. Despite such knowledge, he was able to remain a leading Communist for many years. And he worked zealously for an alliance of his party and the church. Let his fellow-Catholics now remember that before he rejoined them he wanted to make them the allies of the NKVD.

This is a terrible book. It is always terrible to read of how men turn themselves into puppets. The fact that after he had passed the age of fifty he needed to write a confession such as this pre-

sents a striking lesson for all Americans. Here are some of the fruits of totalitarianism. And by its fruits one shall know it. Louis Budenz reveals, in an extreme form, the experiences of thousands all over the world who welcomed the Popular Front when it was laid down by Dmitrov in Moscow in 1935. Others feel as he does. Some of them have already talked, and others will talk. Budenz's book is not likely to be an exception. It should be studied for its symptomatic value and also for its revelations. At the same time it is essential to stress the fact that Louis Budenz is a man who has only a strait-jacket to offer his fellow-countrymen. If we accept his pious advice, we have nothing to lose but our dignity and freedom.

JAMES T. FARRELL

Infantilism and Steinbeck

THE WAYWARD BUS. By John Steinbeck. The Viking Press. \$2.75.

FROM the popular practice of honoring the makers of half-truths in order to stay clear of whole ones probably no living writer has profited more than John Steinbeck; and probably as good a way as any to indicate the diseases of the time would be to analyze the particular combination of narrative skill and dishonesty of mind involved in this triumph. Of the most obvious aspect of the dishonesty a good deal has been said already, and more will be, for Steinbeck's various falsifications of the "lower depths" of this country—swinging from one social sentimentality to another that cancels it out, and back again—have to do with more than the faulty vision that shows up in any ten pages of "The Grapes of Wrath," however effective the tear-jerking of which he is a master. There is also a will to irresponsibility which is never missing in this author's work, though it takes many forms, literal idiocy and immersion in the Communist Party being only two of them, and in which lies the root of more political troubles than Steinbeck will ever dramatize. But there is another aspect of this infantilism, and of its appeal in some quarters, too, no doubt, that is not so easy to stop and that bears more directly on "The Wayward Bus." That is the question of sex and the relations between men and

STOP THIS MAD RUSH TO WAR!

"IT IS NOT A GREEK CRISIS THAT WE FACE, IT IS AN AMERICAN CRISIS. ONLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FULLY AROUSED AND PROMPTLY ACTING CAN PREVENT DISASTER."

—Henry A. Wallace

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has set America upon the road to World War III. The claim that the proposed \$400,000,000 loan will be used to bolster Democracy in Greece and Turkey will not hold water. In the first place, neither Greece nor Turkey is a Democracy. Secretary of State Marshall, suggesting the minimum changes required in Greece, called for political amnesty, participation of all elements in the government, and a host of other reforms which make it abundantly clear that Greece today is NOT a democracy. Turkey is run by the same gang of reactionaries who all during the war made millions from the sale of chrome to the Nazis. American lives also paid for that chrome. To embrace Turkey now and call her a Democracy and offer her our millions and perhaps our sons is indeed a perversion of everything we fought for.

What Greece Needs

Greece, like most of Europe, needs a peaceful period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Greece needs FOOD, CLOTHING, MEDICAL SUPPLIES, MACHINERY, and FARM EQUIPMENT. Greece needs to rid herself of the quislings who have been placed in power by British guns and who have made Greece a land of prisons and Isles of Exiles. And until a truly democratic, coalition government comes to power, Greece will continue to seethe with civil strife. Hunger, starvation, and misery will continue to be her lot, and all the money and all the young men that America will sacrifice will not bring one shred of Democracy to this unhappy land. On the contrary, American intervention will only strengthen the present fascist government of Greece in its determination to exterminate all opponents and will leave the people no choice but to continue the struggle.

The Danger to America and World Peace

There is talk of a crisis in Greece. But it is the whole world that is in crisis because of American foreign policy. Our concern for the tottering fascists of Greece broadened overnight to include the feudal rulers of Turkey. The warlords of China long ago received our blessings, our money, and more military equipment than China received during the war. It is clear that no government is too reactionary for us to support so long as it is anti-Russian. This can only fore-shadow a revival, on a vaster scale, of the anti-Comintern pact which resulted first in the destruction of Democracy in most of Europe and finally in the bloodiest slaughter in world history.

We Must Use the U. N.

Have we already forgotten the lessons of the war that we blithely by-pass and scuttle the United Nations Organizations? Why not refer the Greek situation to the U. N.? If Iran could be taken to the U. N. why not Greece? At this very moment a U. N. commission is investigating conditions in Greece. Why not await its findings? How do we justify this unilateral action . . . we who have always condemned it in others? There is no substitute for U. N. EXCEPT WAR.

The People Can Stop This Rush to War

Only an aroused people can stop this mad rush to war. Already there is hesitation in Congressional circles. All of us must speak up NOW. We must tell our President and our Congressmen that we are absolutely opposed to any loans to Greece until she has put her house in order—until democracy has been restored and all sections of the population are fully represented in the government, and until all political prisoners have been freed and all exiles returned from their barren Aegean purgatories. Then and only then should America help. For only then will she be helping democracy in Greece.

The Time Is Short

But there is little time left. Congress, afraid of an America awakened to the danger inherent in our present Greek policy, seeks to rush through the President's request for aid to Greek and Turkish reaction. They hope that by March 31st they can confront the people with a "fait accompli." Then it will be the old story. "We're in it now and we can't turn back." But we need not be "in it," if we but act quickly! An aroused public opinion, an America aware of the threat of war inherent in our present policy, can force the Administration and Congress to place the issue of Greece on the agenda of the United Nations Organization.

Funds Needed

Reaching the public with the facts is a very expensive undertaking. Newspaper advertising, mailings, public meetings, forums, speakers—all require a great deal of money. But no cause is more worthy. It is an investment in Democracy, an investment in the peace of the world. Our organization, American Council for a Democratic Greece, has carried on a continued educational campaign on the importance of Greece to world peace. We have sought to bring the truth about Greece to the American people. We have always advocated aid to the democratic people of Greece. We need funds to carry on our work. A stroke of your pen will mean a great deal. Make checks payable to:

American Council for a Democratic Greece

CONTRIBUTE

I want to help STOP THIS MAD RUSH TO WAR.

I enclose \$..... as my contribution towards the work of your organization

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR A DEMOCRATIC GREECE

152 WEST 42nd STREET

• Telephone Wisconsin 7-3072 •

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Timely Treatment of Urgent Topics

SOIL and STEEL

Exploring the Common Interests of Farmers and Wage Earners

By P. Alston Waring
Co-author, *Roots in the Earth*
and Clinton S. Golden
Co-author, *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*

Never before has the vital problem of co-operative political and economic relations between farmers and industrial workers been so constructively examined as in this timely volume. It explores the common purpose and interests of these two groups and develops a much-needed workable program for their increased cooperation and mutual benefit. "You have made a fine contribution toward understanding a most important problem." —HENRY WALLACE

\$3.00

AMERICAN PLANNING

Past, Present, Future

By Cleveland Rodgers
Author, *New York Plans for the Future*, etc.
Member, New York City Planning Commission

Here at last is a lucid, appealing, vigorous overview of the what, why and how of America's historic efforts at national planning. In absorbing style a qualified expert rescues this necessary, statesmanlike idea from the faddists, showing its roots in the works of the early leaders of the Republic, and demonstrates the present needs and the approaches to the social and economic foresight which are essential for our nation's sound growth.

\$3.00

TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY

Through Industrial and Agricultural Development and Expansion

Edited by Mordecai Ezekiel

Economic Advisor, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture

This book is an answer to the urgent demand for authoritative information as to the opportunities for economic expansion in every continent today. More than twenty experts contribute to the study of the conditions and prospects for industry and agriculture in individual countries, treating the problems of reconstruction as well as new development.

\$5.50

REFUGEES in AMERICA

Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe

By Maurice R. Davie

Department of Sociology, Yale University

Here is the first thorough and comprehensive study of the thousands of refugees who have recently streamed into the current of our national life. A complete record of their status, their occupations, and their important contribution to American life, as well as their problems or adjustment. "Orderly, readable and authentic . . . a book without which nobody can understand the situation . . . needed by every socially and morally responsible American." —DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

\$4.50

At your bookstore or from
HARPER & BROTHERS
49 East 33rd Street, New York 16

women in general, and it is relevant because the only conceivable purpose of this otherwise trite and meaningless book is to express an eruption of sexual interest so crude and obsessive as nearly to swamp even the technical talent that Steinbeck has usually had at his command.

This seems surprising only because the nature of his subjects until now has drawn attention chiefly to his social meanings, such as they are, and somewhat obscured the much deeper escapism in his treatment of adult human relations. But the process is embarrassingly clear, even to the glorification of the mother. His other women are the merest sex objects, usually rather comical and the stupider the better; and when he speaks of "love" he is referring to an association of men, at least two of his books being quite literal fantasies of escape into a world without women, that is, a world without the main component of adult responsibility. This was the childish charm of "Tortilla Flat" as well as the basic distortion in "Of Mice and Men," in which he made it quite plain that he was not even retreating into homosexuality but was simply abandoning the problem of sex as an integral part of life altogether. It is a separate, biological matter, so desperately kept apart from Steinbeck's thoughts of human beings in general that if women are capable of any personality or intelligence aside from bed and motherhood, no one would know it from his books, as witness the young moron who passes for a woman, and even an admirable one, among the male Communist heroes of "In Dubious Battle"; and even she is kept apart by having just had a baby. It is also suggestive that a writer so concerned with social injustice should never, as far as I can remember, have spoken of prostitution as anything but amusing.

All this adds up to one of the commonest, and saddest, maladies of the time, and it expresses itself in "The Wayward Bus" in a fashion that will be equally recognizable, especially to anyone who has ever traveled in a club car. This time the social implications, if there are any, are lost in the hay; the contrivance of throwing an assortment of characters together in a public vehicle has an air of being a stock one even if it is not, the characters have the same

air and are, and the only overt motivation of the whole business is to show, as the blurb says and with no more irony than we all have our heartaches, etc. But the real purpose is to lead up to the moment toward the end when the bus breaks down on a lonely mountain road and all its occupants except one old man who is having a stroke can scamper or be dragged off into the bushes. It is a story of sexual polarity, the two main forces in which are a kind-hearted "cookie" named Camille, who causes all men to lick their lips and say "Whew!" and who makes her living sitting in large wineglasses at stag conventions, and the half-Mexican bus-driver Juan representing what is perhaps the noblest effort Steinbeck has ever made to create a grown-up man. But he is spoiled, too, by being paired off in the crisis with a stereotyped college girl, who fell "swollen and itchy" at her first sight of him, and who when she feels sexually rebuffed says to herself, "Basket-ball . . . that's the stuff"; so that the D. H. Lawrence episode we have been led up to through 200 pages turns out to have more the quality of peanut brittle. Other figures in the parade are an unattractive waitress dreaming of all things, of Clark Gable; an adolescent youth with acne, called Pimples; a well-off business man borrowed whole from Sinclair Lewis—"Wherever he went he was not one man but a unit in a corporation, a unit in a club, in a lodge, in a church, in a political party"—and his wife, who provides what ought to become some kind of classic among writings on the female mind: "Bernice too could draw a magic circle around herself, with motherhood, or, say, menstruation, a subject like that and no man could or would try to get in."

This extraordinary performance is by the man who is reported to be one of the two or three modern American writers most highly regarded in Europe and Russia, and who has been praised at length by some of the most astute critics in France. It is also a current Book-of-the-Month Club selection; if it were not, at least if it were not by Steinbeck, it is doubtful whether anyone would have reviewed it. And yet though its cheapness is easier to see, not being hidden behind picturesque personalities or a righteous cause, essentially it is of a piece with the rest of his work, and

ht to inspire a little sober question-
of the nature of the author's popu-
y. For the reputation he enjoys in
ope, aside from the French respect
some of the technical equipment he
res with and may have learned from
ningway, there are presumably some
ra-literary reasons such as curiosity
ut American life, because, unlike
oyan, Steinbeck has known how to
ce the most of his California sur-
undings. To some extent the same
osity probably operates here. But it
not on those grounds that he is most
russed, and this latest book makes
wonder again whether the Stein-
k phenomenon may not represent
ve all an increasing yearning in peo-
to be either morally incapacitated
what amounts to the same thing,
victims of some insuperable force.

ELEANOR CLARK

atonic Bohemian

ELLEY: A LIFE STORY. By Edmund
Blunden. The Viking Press, \$3.75.

NOW that Shelley has been mocked,
lamented, and vilified, now that
life has been academically explored
Newman Ivey White and then, again,
te microscopically, by Robert Met-
f Smith, with opposite conclusions,
re would seem to be small room for
Blunden even if he has tempered
scholarship to the "general reader."

we have, for the moment, exhausted
Shelley biography. The "general
der" will probably still wish to think
Shelley as Ariel; the literary his-
ians will still rely on White or
ith, according to their persuasions.
As a life of Shelley we could hope
little from Blunden's book. As
icism we could hope for everything.
nd we get nothing, or almost nothing,
ond a sensitive and reliable comment

Shelley's literary affiliations. In a
orous sense all the Shelley criticism
still to write.

Here and there Blunden enlarges our
erpretations—when, for example, he
phasizes Shelley's wit and suggests
at the caprice and illusion of "Pro-
theus Unbound" and "The Witch of
las" are operative. There are, however,
tortions: he dislikes Godwin too
ch or else does not understand him.
ere is also too much Victorian ap-
eciation—Shelley's "dearest adventure

was simply watching the changing and
eternal heavens above him, their gather-
ing thunderstorms, their delicate gos-
samer clouds, . . ." and so on.

The pity is that Blunden has missed
his opportunity, critically, for the poetic
problem in Shelley is inseparable from
the biography. It is nothing less than
Art and Neurosis or Art and Society.

Except for Mario Praz critics have
not been much concerned with the ro-
mantic agony, its confusion of impulse,
its ambiguities and paradoxes. For Shel-
ley the delight in sorrow, the "shadow

of the pleasure which exists in pain,"
is sweeter than pleasure itself. Hence
open those abysses in the soul, those
ambivalences that paralyzed Schopen-
hauer and drove a frantic Nietzsche,
later, to transvalue all values. Read
believes that the separateness of Shelley
is really an integrity of personality.
Blunden is not deceived as to Shelley's
integrity, though he does no more than
describe his "many-sided" temperament.
The many-sided temperament is a fissure
within the romantic world-view. Shelley
creates, like Schopenhauer, his own

*Vision
unlimited*

"Manhattan is hot jazz in stone and steel . . .
the skyscrapers of New York are too small!" With char-
acteristic unconcern for convention, but great concern
for the human values that our cities are thwarting, the
world-famed French architect and advisor to the United
Nations writes his opinions of America and its urban
life. Exhorting us to rebuild, he presents his provocative
plans for the new city, where the housing shortage is as
obsolete as today's "little" skyscraper. *Illustrated by the
author.* \$3.00

WHEN THE CATHEDRALS WERE WHITE

By Le Corbusier

*Classical
reevaluation*

These brilliant studies by a celebrated critic
examine ten important English poems from the Eliza-
bethan period to the present, and explore not only their
structure but reveal also their poetic message. \$3.50

THE WELL WROUGHT URN

By Cleanth Brooks

*Birth of
an epic*

Working with material never before available
in a study of Melville, Olson explains the creation of
Moby Dick through the literary influences that revolu-
tionized Melville's thinking. "Not only important but
apocalyptic!"—FERRIS GREENSLET, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*.
\$2.50

CALL ME ISHMAEL

By Charles Olson

world as a projection of his *ideas* and his *will*. For Schopenhauer the world "is there only as idea," an extension of our consciousness. Since consciousness is will, it is also there as an extension, a mirror, of our own urgencies. Further, the activity of the will is from suffering to suffering, for "the basis of all willing is need, deficiency, and thus pain"; and the fulfilment of the will is satiety or despair—like the frustration in those unbidden chants issuing from Shelley's incandescent mind. What began as Shelley's dilemma of will and idea was resolved in Carlyle and Nietzsche as a *mystique* of violence.

The narrower, more literary problem in Shelley is the paradox of pleasure in sorrow, *Wellschmerz*, the desire to surrender without the ability to do so, the vision that is pain, the attainment that is ennui, the pursuit that is escape. Ecstasy and death, triumph and defeat—that is the agony upon which Shelley endlessly improvises in his life and in his verse. Prometheus suffers and defies; his Byronic insolence, through a feat of pity, forgiving wrongs darker than death or night, makes the world anew by a submission that is no submission at all. In "Adonais" Shelley presents himself as a Power girt round with weakness. Beneath the affirmation of an awful Beauty is the terrible fear that even the poetic triumph of the dead Keats did not allay:

Whence are we, and why are we?
of what scene

The actors or spectators?

Similarly in "Alastor" the attainment of the ideal is defeat, death—the poet is hounded to destruction by the vision for which he quests. Thus Life becomes

Death, Pursuit becomes Flight, and Vision ends in Annihilation. Out of disillusion springs the wildest assertion, in which will is only desperate wish. Blunden does not speculate upon the final line of Shelley's final poem, the inescapable riddle: "Then, What is life? I cried." Behind the painted veil, the many-colored glass, lurk Fear and Hope, Shelley's twin destinies. The high Promethean triumph is the vision created by Hope from the wreck of what it contemplates. The achievement is not stoicism but idealism, not attainment but perpetual quest and reaffirmation of illusion.

Throughout Shelley's illuminations the veiled maid, his most obsessive symbol of the Ideal, is a figment of the will. The vision was never realized in woman herself—Harriet, Mary, Claire, Emily; and thus Shelley was cruel. Blunden notes Harriet's verdict: "This is a vampire." Shelley's special hypocrisy—dividing him from Blake, a visionary who scorned the curtain of flesh over the bed of desire—is his self-deception in his sexual impulses. Always in Shelley Venus Pandemos—she of Eros—is disguised as the pure Uranian Venus.

The rapture of "Epipsychidion" is death, too: "I pant, I sink, I tremble, I expire." Read has diagnosed the malady as narcissism. Undeniably Shelley's intensest Platonic vision is orgastic, both possession and surrender.

The fierce luminism of Shelley's imagery is also rapture and death, the flame before extinction; for life is light and death is dark. "A Vision of the Sea" is for Blunden an "inedited conception of the terrible." It is more—a burning chaos, like the conflagrations of Turner, of the impulses to life and

to death; the inedited Shelley was savage a *voyant* as Rimbaud. As he lies in the agony of his neurosis among the Euganean Hills, senseless and cold when the "solid darkness black" closes over him, the sun springs up within chasm of light and flames over Venice at once in Shelley mounts the brilliant vitality that is pain, and then as the illumination is withdrawn, the blackness of defeat. (Ruskin knew the same vocation, the infuriating radiance and then the night, the will to renounce; in very prose is luminist.) Shelley's Platonism was never authentic; his idealism was never more than an instant of vision when intellectual beauty fell momentarily on him as he shrieked and clapped his hands in ecstasy. For the instant the will was imposed on a world consumed within his madness. But the triumph was defeat, for the brightness was transitory and could not insure to onw life either calm or liberation from the real world's dark slavery. The vision at once compensation and alienation. The Blunden record includes Shelley's letter to Godwin: "My father has regarded me as a blot, a defilement of his honor." One thinks of Kafka; in Kafka this alienation was acceptance of profound and final guilt. In Shelley it was intolerable revelation, then, immediately, exhaustion and a sense of inadequacy—"kindled he was, and blasted."

If art is neurosis, then in successful art, William Barrett has argued, the writer displaces his neurosis far away and incorporates larger and larger areas of reality within it until a triumph of adjustment occurs in the imagination. But when the world idea, this displacement is not achieved; the imaginative triumph is only another evasion, a further removal from reality. Blunden has submitted considerable evidence that Shelley might have belonged to the intelligentsia, the writers who correlate social with intellectual evolution. When Shelley visited the Groves, he wrote in disgust, "I now with people who, strange to me, never think." One of his own thoughts was that "vile as aristocracy is, commerce is more contemptible." Yet, Blunden admits, his revolt bears marks of aristocracy. With a place to stand on, Shelley might have moved society. He had no such place. He v

REAL UNITED STATES MONEY



THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON MEMORIAL HALF DOLLAR

"A SYMBOL OF DEMOCRACY"

This coin should be in every American home. The life story of Booker T. Washington inscribed on the reverse side. Philadelphia and San Francisco Coins, \$1.00 each. Denver Coins, \$1.50 each. Add 10c Postage for each coin up to 3 coins; 1c to each coin thereafter.

Proceeds to be used in establishing an INDUSTRIAL TRAINING PROGRAM FOR NEGRO YOUTH.

SEND YOUR ORDER TODAY!
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
BIRTHPLACE MEMORIAL
ROCKY MOUNT, VA.

Send reply to Dept. N.

intellectual disinherited because he understood the social problem only fitly, illuded as he was by his Platonic version of Godwinism. With sad pathos Hazlitt called him a philosophic madman. His art was deprived of its triumph because he was unable to incorporate large areas of reality within

Simply because to him the world is as he is not, like Blake, the Aristotelian social man. His vision is not political. Shelley's revolution—as in "Prometheus Unbound"—occurs by a change of mind; when man is redeemed from his delusions and becomes "an agent of pure emotion," tyranny is conquered and the state of nature is instituted. In Nietzsche values are unvalued by force; in Shelley by ease.

The close of "Prometheus," Shelley's ultimate social vision, establishes man as scepterless, uncircumscribed, king over himself. This sounds like Freudian operation, or the stoicism of Bertrand Russell, who sees the free man defiant of the forces that rule his outward life and sustaining alone a private world at his own ideals have fabricated. The difference is that in Shelley's case the outward world, the reality principle, the trampling march of power, never existed. Shelley never accepted Godwin's determinism, the "immense and uninterrupted chain of causes and effects." He neo-Platonically transformed the mechanical atoms—necessity—into "the Universal Spirit," a benign pantheism.

The romantic paradox has nowhere been more injurious than in Shelley, and we welcome Blunden's generosity toward him. He was not of the intelligentsia; he was not a revolutionary. He was calamitously estranged—the atonic bohemian. His political failure was, initially, a failure in imagination. In his "Defense of Poetry" he wrote that poetry is the expression of imagination, that the good man will imagine intensely, that he will "put himself in the place of another and of any others." By this definition the poetic imagination will perform a displacement into reality, a submission to necessity. Through this detachment, his comprehension, Shelley might have left his Byronic-Platonic world of will and idea. In verses like "The Masque

of Anarchy"—his protest against the Peterloo massacre—Shelley in his wrath at social injustice becomes the political man. But he is not the poet because his neurosis—what is most personal to him—has not displaced itself into the world, and is only indirectly involved. There is reference to reality instead of an appropriation of reality; the triumph of "The Masque of Anarchy" is political, not imaginative. In 1821, at last—shortly before he was drowned—Shelley seems to have understood, by a conversion resembling Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty," that his imagination must, in humility, incorporate larger areas from the real world, that he must establish himself

On vanquished will, quelling the
anarchy
Of hopes and fears . . .

Too late, his political imagination finally rose up against the idealist-immoralist who had made madness beautiful.

WYLIE SYPHER

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

WILLIAM McCLEERY, the author of "Parlor Story" (Biltmore Theater), will probably never know why he hasn't a smash hit on his hands. What, he must be asking himself, did "State of the Union" and "Dear Ruth" have that I haven't got?

One answer might possibly be: precious little—and that is the trouble. Half of "Parlor Story" is a bit too much like the first of these hits and the other half a bit too much like the second. But that answer, though neat, would be more convincing if audiences were not rather more prone to like than to resent the comfortable discovery that they know in a general way what they are in for, and I am afraid the limit of my helpfulness will have been reached when I assure Mr. McCleery that the answer, if he ever discovers it, will be found to have something to do with the show business rather than with either art or intelligence.

We like to think that contemporary playwrighting operates on a somewhat higher level than it did in the days when Eugene Walter confessed that it was essentially a trade and when the maxim "Plays are not written but rewritten" was supposed to sum up the

attitude of a skilful practitioner. Sometimes, more often, I think, than thirty or forty years ago, it does actually operate on that higher level. A man with something to say and merely a reasonably competent way of saying it has at least a chance. But the fact remains that so far as the run-of-the-mill comedy or drama is concerned the difference between a smash hit and "what closes Saturday night" is determined, nine times out of ten, by the success or failure of the author or his director to exhibit some slick shrewdness which is so far from being important from any other standpoint and so largely a matter

"A classic in its field."

—STUART CHASE

CAPITALISM SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Revised Edition by

Joseph A. Schumpeter

"Easily the outstanding book in its field. . . This is genuine scholarship and real political economy brought to bear on a mare's nest of ideologies and political slogan thinking camouflaged as 'economics.'"

"The new material, which covers the Second World War and its aftermath is easily the most pungent bit of writing as the Soviets and their policies that I have seen in print anywhere. It is strong medicine, but that is a tribute to the author and publisher."

—HARRY D. GIDEONSE

\$3.50 at all bookstores

HARPER, NEW YORK 10

MOTION PICTURE

'CARNIVAL in COSTA RICA'

IN TECHNICOLOR

A Twentieth Century-Fox Film

STARRING

Dick HAYMES • Vera ELLEN
Caesar ROMERO • Celeste HOLM

—PLUS BIG STAGE SHOW—

CONNIE BOSWELL

Buster Shaver & Peters Sisters

Extra Added Attraction

JACKIE MILES

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by **GARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4250
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

"A completely satisfying and enjoyable comedy."

—Chapman,
News

FREDRIC FLORENCE MARCH ELDREDGE IN YEARS AGO

The New Smash Hit by **RUTH GORDON**
Directed by **Garson Kanin**
WANSFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9056
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATIONS TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Shows by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York: NATIONAL THEA.—with **Jane KEAN**
Pittsburgh: NIXON THEA.—with **Betty KEAN**

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN "HILARITY IN PLURTY" Barnes, Her. Trib JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by **NORMAN KRASNA**

Directed by **MR. LOGAN**

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A NEW HIT!"—Morehouse, Sun

HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by **ANITA LOOS**

Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A SMASH HIT!"—Life Magazine

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by **IRVING BERLIN**

Book by **HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS**

with **RAY MIDDLETON** Directed by **Joshua Logan**

APARTHEA THEA., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:40 Thurs. 8:10 Wed. & Sat. 2:40 Shows

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COL SEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
B'k. LEX. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

WESTCHESTER

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

ALDEN
Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 42 St.

RKO NOW

"SALTY, CYNICAL HUMOR."—N. Y. World-Telegram

- ROBERT YOUNG
- BARBARA HALE
- FRANK MORGAN

'LADY LUCK

—AND—

'SAN QUENTIN'

Lawrence Tierney

EXPERT CAST AND DIRECTION."—N. Y. World-Telegram

IDA LUPINO

ROBERT ALDA

'THE MAN I LOVE

Directed by **RAOUL WALSH**

From **MARITTA WOLFF** Novel

—AND—

'THE VERDICT'

SYDNEY GREENSTREET

PETER LORRE • JOAN LORRING

From Novel by **ISRAEL ZANGWILL**

BOB HOPE • DOROTHY LAMOUR

'My Favorite Brunette

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA

PLUS

PAT HEENING • Lyn Shirley

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

Shows Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax. Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESBY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

of the mode of the moment that I doubt it will still be detectable ten years from now, when, to return to our previous example, the difference between "State of the Union" and "Parlor Story" will have ceased to exist. I am told, and I take it on faith, that a really skilful milliner can, by the mere touch of a finger here and there, make all the difference between a hat for which an ultra-fashionable woman would pay a hundred dollars and one which she would not wear to a dog fight or a parent-teachers' meeting. The difference between a smash hit and a failure is often of the same order.

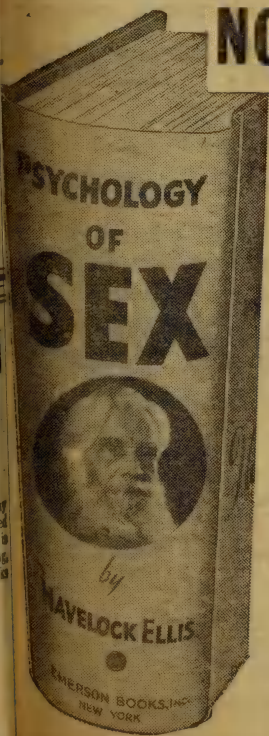
"Parlor Story" is concerned with a professor of journalism who finds himself in the middle of a political intrigue when he is proposed as candidate for the presidency of his Midwestern university. Most reviewers complained that there was rather too much of this plot, which really means, of course, that it was too obviously contrived. But "State of the Union" has a plot which could hardly be less inevitable or more deliberately pushed around in just the directions its authors have decided it ought to go. Both plays try to buoy themselves up with smart dialogue, and there is, so it seems to

me, rather more spontaneity in "Parlor Story" than in the smash hit. Indeed, as most of the reviewers noted, there is a good deal of warmth and charm as well as humor in the conversation which Mr. McCleery has written and which Walter Abel, especially, speaks with informal ease. There is nothing exactly new in the sub-plot, involving the elder of the professor's two adolescent daughters and the love affair of one of them with the editor of the college paper whose editorial against that outworn institution called marriage gives the professor's enemies their talking point. But it is quite an ingratiating family, and it doesn't seem fair that by lacking so little a play and a production should, on Broadway, lose everything.

At the Century Theater "The Chocolate Soldier" gets a lavish, well-sung, and beautifully costumed revival in a version which has been subject to no very drastic modernization. It is due, I think, for a successful run but also pretty certain to be the subject of violent disagreement between those to whom it seems delightfully quaint and those to whom it is merely old-fashioned enough to be thoroughly tiresome. Despite the fact that the librettist took a

Shaw play as his starting-point, he managed to fashion out of it a book which follows with positively Byzantine fidelity every tradition of the romantic operetta, and he constructed the action around the four inevitable dramatis personae—hero, heroine, soubrette, and comic—whose types are as fixed as those in a Punch and Judy show. The composer adhered with the same fanatical piety to the established formula, and having first written the big waltz song to be introduced in the first act and then having dutifully arranged to bring it in as a *réprise* at the end of the second, where it always comes, he felt himself relieved of the responsibility of doing more than providing listenable but forgettable melodies to be scattered here and there. In the present production Frances McCann and Keith Andes sing very agreeably the romantic leads, which they act with a certain degree of stiffness, and Billy Gilbert plays the comic with a good mastery of the absolutely standard technique. Since we are inclined—perhaps often with reason—to regret the good old days, it may be worth while to point out that there is five times the invention in one act of "Oklahoma!" that there is in the whole of "The Chocolate Soldier," but I

NOW EVERY ADULT CAN STUDY this BASIC BOOK on SEX



"Best of All"

"The best of all available books on this subject."

—*Hugo* (Published by the American Medical Association)

"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."

—*Carl Van Doren*

"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

—*Bertrand Russell*

"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

—*The Nation*

"Best book yet published on the subject."

—*Mail and Empire*

"The Art and Technique of Love"

"Dr. Ellis deals in detail with the technique of love and the necessity of converting it into an art if marriage is to be saved from many of its present frustrations and failures. Never sensational, but always scientific... a sex classic of our age."

—*The Observer*

"Ellis knows his husbands! He does not hesitate to ascribe to them the 'frigidity' of so many wives."

—*Alexander Goldenweiser*

"Art in love is defended and described."

—*Journal of Public Health Reviews*

"Another chapter, perhaps the best in the book, deals with marriage and with the difficulties which are so often encountered."

—*Journal of Mental Science*

"Packed with most interesting and significant facts concerning sex life."

—*Mental Hygiene*

"Sexual Difficulty"

"Should prove a certain help to any one perplexed with sexual difficulty."

—*The Churchman* (Oldest Religious Journal in the English Speaking World)

"The best place to go to get straightened out on the sex business."

—*Cincinnati Inquirer*

"Sexual Joy"

"Sexual joy is neither immoral nor unmoral. It is a positive good... The finest art can only grow out of knowledge and understanding; hence the need for a science of sexual behavior."

—*Marriage Hygiene*

"The section on coitus is full of detail skilfully welded together, nearly every line containing information invaluable to doctors whose advice is asked by nervous young couples."

—*British Journal of Medical Psychology*

"Fearless and Direct"

"His approach is fearless and direct; yet he never gives offense."

—*The Lancet* (Leading English Medical Journal)

READ FREE—DECIDE

Mail this coupon now to your bookseller or to
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 851-C
221 West 19th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' **PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX** in plain wrapper marked "Personal." I will pay \$3.00 and few cents postage on delivery. I MUST BE SATISFIED or I will return book within 5 days and you will refund purchase price. (I am over 21 years old.)

Name.....
Address.....

☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only \$3.00 with coupon, thus saving delivery charges. (Same money-back guarantee of course.)

might as well also confess that I spent a sufficiently agreeable evening à la recherche du temps perdu at the Century.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IT IS not a lack of proper respect for musical scholarship that has produced my occasional unfavorable comments on the operations of the German musicologists in our midst, but a proper lack of respect for the poor quality and the misuses of their scholarship. This column's favorite correspondent is at present satisfying a desire for factual knowledge with which he is and will be able, on suitable occasions, to document or amplify the judgments of a first-rate critic. That is all right; what is wrong is the fact-grubbing of people for whom this is a substitute for the esthetic response to music they are incapable of, and who then claim a validity and importance for their "objective" facts which they deny to "merely subjective" judgments of value.

My correspondent passes on to me the results of his researches when he thinks they will interest or amuse me. And the following item gave me the pleasure he expected:

On p. 829 of his magnum opus ["Music in Western Civilization"] Herr Professor Doktor Lang informs us that Auber's "La Muette de Portici" (1828) founded the French grand opera—which may or may not be true, but which is a statement often found in music histories. On the same page he also says Auber's opera was a success. But on p. 832, when he gets to Meyerbeer's "Robert Le Diable," he tells us that "the modest beginnings of 'La Muette' had been forgotten." This is absurd on the face of it; a successful opera just isn't forgotten in three years. I looked up "La Muette" in Lajerte's "Bibliothèque Musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra" (vol. 2, p. 130) and found that up to 1876 it had had, in fact, 471 performances, and had not been out of the repertory between 1828 and 1852. Lang could have looked also; but nobody except an unthinking fool would have made the statement he did in any event.

That could stand as the complete and sufficient comment on the equipment, methods, and achievements of the man who at Harvard University's symposium on music criticism presumably will repeat his denunciation of the ignorance

of musical journalists and his demand that newspapers remedy this by opening their columns to musical scholars.

But I wish there were space to supplement it with a detailed description of another performance of the Herr Professor Doktor—his review of the fourth volume of Ernest Newman's "Life of Richard Wagner" in the July 1946 issue of the *Musical Quarterly*, and in particular his method of dealing with the "Bombastes Furioso" appendix. The appendix is concerned with a paragraph from Carl Engel's review of the third volume, and is largely a demonstration that this paragraph about "the royal patient" reveals Engel's ignorance of the published evidence that the doctors who certified King Ludwig's insanity had never even "been in his presence, exchanged a single word with him." Lang omits Engel's paragraph and Newman's discussion of it; instead he states falsely that Newman "rehabilitates the King, pronounces him hale and hearty" (as well as correctly that Newman pronounces the King "the victim of unscrupulous politicians"), and answers this with evidence of the King's insanity. I don't need to say what would happen to a physicist or a geneticist who, writing in a scientific journal about someone's report on a piece of work, suppressed the essential part of the material he was supposedly discussing and misrepresented the rest. Nor do I have to add that nothing of the sort has happened to Lang for doing this with Newman's appendix. On the contrary, he has been given a column in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, where—after having screamed once against the type of music criticism concerned with "the amorous adventures of singers and virtuosi" which "in our day . . . appears in so-called biographies (cf. Ernest Newman's 'Liszt')"—he recently published a vulgar account of Liszt's amorous adventures.

Another letter from my correspondent brought me the news of his discovery of a French musicologist who "beats the Germans on their own ground—thoroughness and accuracy—and in addition has an obvious flair for, and love of, music; and being a Frenchman he writes a prose that reads like a sane language and always makes good sense. His name is Lionel de la Laurencie; he wrote the article in Lavignac on 'La Musique française de Lulli à Gluck,' and his great work is a history of the seventeenth and eighteenth century French school of violinists." By now my correspondent was certain that

"French musical scholars are as good as the Germans or better, and have been passed over simply because the Germans have all been blowing their horns like mad for the last fifty years while the French have been backward in the fine art of self-advertising."

This was only one of his comments on the bias of the Germans in favor of their own achievements in music, and the way they have imposed it on our musical life—which I too have been made aware of. A couple of years ago, discussing Dr. Willi Apel's Harvard Dictionary of Music, which I said was the only good book the German scholars had given us, I mentioned the bibliographies in it that referred mostly to obscure and inaccessible German publications, and the article on music criticism—a shockingly sloppy and shoddy job of scholarship in the assembling of its factual material—in which Dr. Hugo Leichentritt held that "Eduard Hanslick, who wrote from 1864 for the *Neue Frei Presse* (Vienna), may justly be called the father of musical journalism"—in disregard of Berlioz's writing in the Paris *Journal des Débats* from 1835 to 1863. A few weeks ago I happened to look up the article on conducting, and discovered that Dr. Archibald T. Davison had added a few English and American treatises to Wagner's and Weingartner's in the bibliography, but not Berlioz's. And I also found that the editor had added to the entirely German bibliography of the article on the concerto only the worthless book by Veinus—omitting Tovey's great monograph in "Essays in Musical Analysis" and the well-known French book by Girdlestone.

CONTRIBUTORS

COMAN LEAVENWORTH is studying at Columbia University after having served four years in the army.

JOSEPHINE MILES is the author of "Local Measures" and other books.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM, a distinguished poet and critic, is also editor of the *Kenyon Review*.

JAMES T. FARRELL is the author of the "Studs Lonigan" series and many other books.

ELEANOR CLARK is the author of "The Bitter Box."

WYLIE SYPHER, a professor of English at Simmons College, is a regular contributor to the *Nation*, the *Kenyon Review*, and *Partisan Review*.

RESORTS

Homestead Inn

and Annex
NEW MILFORD, CONN.
Serene and Quiet
- Finest Food -
"recommended by DUNCAN HINES
recommended by GOURMET
Summer Restaurant
OPENS APRIL 1st

50 Mi.
FROM
NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

Ridgefield, Conn. Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction,
informal atmosphere. All seasonal
activities. Varied indoor program.
NEW LOW RATES
New York Office: MU 2-2424

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty and
rest and relaxation. One hour from
New York.

CLOSED—REOPENS APRIL 4th

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7965

FOR SALE—STOCKINGS

ADIES ALL-NYLON STOCKINGS,
5 gauge, Sunlure—beautiful Spring shade,
minimum 3 pairs, \$1.25 per pair postpaid.
Sizes 8½ to 10½. Send check or money
order to: LAUER'S MAIL ORDER CO.,
528 49th St., Brooklyn 19, N. Y.

BOOK

NEW BOOK IN RUSSIAN.
M. JERLITZYN, "THE LEGEND OF
THE BLACK HORSE." A poem. Price
1.50. Send orders to M. Jerlitzyn, 222 East
10th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

COLLEGE STUDENT (VET.) seeks sum-
mer position outside N. Y. C. Can serve as
companion-chauffeur, etc., or what have
you? Box 1696, c/o The Nation.

DRIVER WANTED—EXCHANGE

Going to Coast July-August. Want one or
two experienced drivers. Exchange trans-
portation. Nathan Fox, 660 Haddon Ave.,
Collingswood, N. J.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST
HATHAM, New York. Farms in the
Mass.-New York Berkshires. Also consult-
ing broker for organizations.

LANGUAGES

ALL LANGUAGES. Phonograph courses,
linguaphone, other makes. Sold, bought,
rented. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New
York 17. MU 3-1093.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum
cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid.
Send check or money order, ACE MAIL
ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

TO PLACE AN ADVERTISEMENT
CALL BARCLAY 7-1066

EXPEDITION

ADLER EXPEDITION FOR TEENAGERS



Co-Educational—14 to 18 years
Exploration • Travel
Northeastern U. S. & Canada
Fun • Excitement • Educational
Safe • Reliable • Supervised
Write for Details
120 Boylston St., Boston 16, Mass.

RESORTS

PLUM POINT

Vacation Fun Year-round
on the majestic Hudson

• Seasonal sports
• Delicious food
• Gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270



Come out wherever you
are... enjoy winter's
wonders; beautifully
etched "scapes... sports-
backoning slopes...
satisfying twin lakes. And
when day is done—a
grand fireplace within
plus all the trimmings:
fine food, congenial hos-
pitality, relaxation, fun



OAKWOOD

New Windsor, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
ICE SEATING ON OUR PRIVATE LAKE
Charming Colonial Estate—53 miles from New
York City—Informal and Intimate—Wood-
burning Fireplaces—Famous Cuisine—
Recording for Listening and Dancing

Reserve Now for Easter & Passover Holidays!

Lakecrest

On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
90 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of
DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations.
Cordial hospitality. Recorders. Library. All seasonal
sports. Via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amentia, N. Y. Open all year.
WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2328

REOPENING MARCH 28TH Zindorest

★ Park Monroe N. Y.
Telephone 4421
A Resort for Adults Only

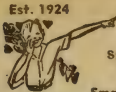
Exclusive location. 150 acres of un-
usual beauty. All sports. Lake and
Pool on premises. Delicious food,
relaxing atmosphere, dancing, horse-
back riding on premises, modern
accommodations.

45 Miles from New York City
Greyhound, Adirondack Railway and
Short Line Buses stop at our Entrance. ★



CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Est. 1924



PIONEER YOUTH CAMP in the Catskills

Sponsored by
Educators Boys — Girls 7-15 Years

Small Groups—Sports
Creative Program—Community Jobs

Non-Sectarian, Non-Profit-Making, Intercultural
Inquire Mrs. Frima Feunies, Registrar
45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y. GE 3-1727

EAGLE POINT

For Girls—Established 1905

IN THE WHITE MOUNTAINS, RUMNEY, N. H.
On Lake Stinson. Professional staff. Resi-
dent physician. Nurse. Brother Camp
Stinson. Post season. Fri. Eve. services.
Openings for a few new campers.

Mrs. & Mr. A. L. RICHMAN, Directors
527 Riverside Drive, N. Y. C. AC 2-1061

Shaker Village Work Camp

TEEN-AGE CO-ED SUMMER CAMP

Full recreation and athletic program. • Work
projects include farming, construction, all
shopcrafts. • Fine arts, folk-music and dances.
Music program includes Tanglewood Festival.

For brochure:

285 Madison Avenue, New York CA 5-2133

CAMP STINSON FOR BOYS

Est. 1927
IN THE WHITE MOUNTAINS, RUMNEY, N. H.
On Lake Stinson, Sandy Beach. Profes-
sional Staff. Resident Physician. Nurse.
Sister Camp, Eagle Point. Post season.
Friday Eve. services. OPENINGS FOR A
FEW NEW CAMPERS.

Mrs. & Mr. A. L. RICHMAN, Directors
527 Riverside Drive, N. Y. C. AC 2-1061

WALTELL HOUSE ON FRANKEL FARM

MT. BETHEL, PA.

VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Modern farm hotel combined with progres-
sive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y.
All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry,
dairy products and vegetables from the farm.
Rates: — Adults \$65 Week — Children \$50 Week.
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

RESORTS

GREET SPRING in the RAMAPOS!

At Its Best on Our
1600-Acre Estate



Ride along 21 miles of woodland
trails. Indoors, enjoy our game
rooms...or, relax in our pleasant
cocktail lounge. We offer you ex-
cellent accommodations
which have been greatly
increased and expanded
...superb cuisine...en-
tertainment every night.
The Glenmere is an ideal
spot for an early Spring
vacation. Only 51 miles
from New York City.

CHESTER, NEW YORK PHONE CHESTER 200
New York Office: RE 2-5047

HATHAWAY LODGE

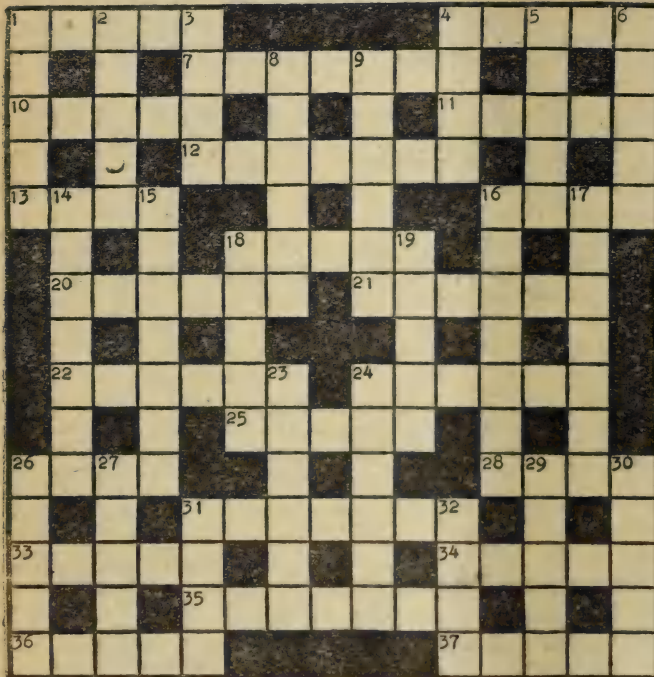
OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful
"Hills of the Sky." Comfortable rooms.
Winding mountain trails. Skiing. Skating. Delicious
food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.

For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

Crossword Puzzle No. 205

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Sal I see is involved with the law
- 4 A hot favorite in India
- 7 One was in Elsinore and another in the Battle of Trafalgar
- 10 We hardly find any persons of good sense save those who ---- with us, said La Rochefoucauld
- 11 The youngster is simply cut out for graft
- 12 A figment of the imagination
- 13 Provides many a turn on the radio
- 16 Often described as mountainous, but are only a few feet high
- 18 Shoulder high
- 20 Time of the conjuror's, and sometimes the conductor's, wand
- 21 Appetite comes with this—or Montaigne's did
- 22 Flak?
- 24 They are not pot shots that he takes
- 25 I wept for this bird
- 26 Pretty strung up
- 28 Not in good taste
- 31 Whereon kings sit in state
- 33 Sounds like Napoleon's famous marshal of horse
- 34 Pater is better for a change
- 35 Puts one's name down
- 36 What not to do at the photographer
- 37 It is vital to maintain the beat

DOWN

- 1 "There goes the parson, O illustrious ----"
- 2 How Handel exorcised a household spirit
- 3 Man in a tall hat
- 4 Comfortable surroundings for tea

- 5 Brine up
- 6 Snaky (anag.)
- 8 Stock farm in Mexico, perhaps
- 9 An Irishman
- 14 The oldest salt
- 15 "It is more ----- to give than to receive," as any prizefighter will tell you
- 16 A ski? No, another kind of footwear
- 17 Enraged, a French angel gets red
- 18 Condescend to produce something to drink
- 19 A John whom Caesar might have distrusted
- 23 Reigned supreme during the first French revolution
- 24 Though obvious, may need interpretation
- 26 Where they prohibit very loud music in Canada?
- 27 I go, Ma (anag.)
- 29 If you want to make a marine blue, give him this
- 30 Otherwise the aigrette
- 31 An article and a letter --- in that case
- 32 Badge of distinction

□-□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 204

ACROSS:—1 HINDUSTANI; 6 AVONS; 10 ANCIENT; 11 SQUARED; 12 PLODDERS; 13 EXITS; 15 OATHS; 17 HALF-BAKED; 19 NICODEMUS; 21 EXTOL; 23 TICKS; 24 VEHEMENT; 27 RIDDING; 28 AIR CELL; 32 EASY; 30 PLATELAYER.

DOWN:—1 HEAT; 2 NECKLET; 3 UP-END; 4 TOTENHAM; 5 NOSES; 7 WARWICK; 8 SIDE-SADDLE; 9 QUEEN BEE; 14 ROUND TABLE; 16 SIDESLIP; 18 LOSE HEART; 20 CICADAS; 22 TANNERY; 24 VIGIL; 25 MORAL; 26 SLUR.

MONEY-SAVING
MAGAZINE COMBINATIONSFOR YOUR
CONVENIENCETHE *Nation*
☐ with Harper's Magazine
... \$8.50 You Save \$2.50

—•—

☐ with Consumers Union
... \$9.75 You Save \$1.25

—•—

☐ with Harper's Magazine
and Consumers Union
... \$12.25 You Save \$3.75

—•—

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

• • • • •

THE NATION
by itself:

- ☐ One Year \$6
☐ Two Years \$10
☐ Three Years \$14

☐ Serviceman's Rate \$4 a Year
 Canadian & Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

THE NATION
 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

- ☐ Remittance enclosed
☐ Bill me

NAME.....

STREET.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

3-20-47

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 5, 1947

NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS TECHNICALLY responsible for violations of the Safety Code that led to the tragic mine disaster at Centralia, Illinois, since this is among the properties seized last year. That being so, and because there is good reason to believe that recommendations made by Mines Department inspectors are often ignored, we hope that the Committee of Inquiry will be rigorous and thoroughly unbiased in its work. However, if Senatorial speeches are any guide, there was rather more political opportunism than human sympathy in the demand for an inquiry. Senator Brooks's failure to refer to the conduct of state and company officials clearly showed that his indignation had also the object of discrediting Secretary Krug and past and present Democratic Administrations. Hardly less demagogic, and certainly no more effective, was John L. Lewis's decree of a week's work stoppage in the soft-coal industry. It seems to us that it would have been just as dramatic if the nation's coal miners had been asked to contribute a day's pay to the survivors of the 111 victims, rather than forego a week's pay with no one the gainer. We hope, in any event, that these grandstand plays will not divert attention from the real source of responsibility. The Centralia operators had twice ignored recommendations of mine inspectors, and more than a year has passed since Local 52 of the United Mine Workers first appealed to Governor Green of Illinois to compel the owners to put their pits in safe condition. A country that has exercised itself so strenuously to check the irresponsibility of Mr. Lewis can do no less than demand safeguards for his hard-working followers.

★

THE HUTCHINS COMMISSION ON FREEDOM of the press, like many another prober of that institution, has found that it is easier to say what is wrong with the press than to suggest a sure-fire cure. In other industries in which technological progress has encouraged concentration of ownership, we may prescribe government regulation or, in special cases, nationalization. But few of the many people who feel that freedom of the press is inadequately provided for now would wish to see the entry of government into the field, and even public regulation is a tool to be handled with extreme care. The

commission recognized this fact by including in its recommendations only one suggestion for legislative action—a law which would supplement the present remedy for libel by giving an injured party the right to obtain "a retraction or a restatement of the facts by the offender, or an opportunity to reply." In regard to the decline of competition in the communications industry generally—the commission has covered radio, movies, magazines, and books as well as newspapers—there is a recommendation that "the government maintain competition among large units through the anti-trust laws but that those laws be sparingly used to break up such units." Put into concrete terms, which the report of the commission, an academic body, studiously avoids, this means presumably that the action of the Department of Justice in attacking the exclusiveness of the Associated Press is approved, but that any attempt to separate the links in a newspaper chain, like the Scripps-Howard press, would be regarded as dangerous. Yet, of all monopolies, those in the field of communications are the most dangerous. With due respect to the commission, we feel that the time has come to curb those horizontal combines which gather into one hand the production of newsprint. For newsprint is the raw material of press freedom, newspaper publication, and the operation of radio stations.

★

THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM IS hurt. It feels that *The Nation* and other interested outsiders who assumed that William Shirer was displaced from his famous 5:45 Sunday "spot" because of his liberal views have been unfair to the company. To a deputization of citizens who questioned him about the change, William S. Paley, president of CBS, insisted that the company acted on the basis of an "editorial decision" which had nothing to do with Mr. Shirer's opinions or with the action of the sponsor. We cannot prove the contrary and are willing to believe that, in spite of Shirer's high Hooper rating among news analysts, the management may have had uncommercial, non-political reasons to shift him. But we'll wager that if the Williams shaving-cream company, sponsoring the program, had renewed its contract with Mr. Shirer, he would have been retained by CBS. The fact that cannot be ducked

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	381
Best Foot Forward	383
Liberals Beware! by <i>Freda Kirchwey</i>	384

ARTICLES

Washington Witch-hunt by <i>Henry Steele Commager</i>	385
Witch's Sabbath by <i>William Gropper</i>	386
Vatican Versus Left in Italy by <i>J. Alvarez Del Vayo</i>	388
The Crusaders by <i>Ezekiel Schloss</i>	390
Voices Without Smiles by <i>Heinz Eulau</i>	392
Mountbatten's Task in India by <i>Shiva Rao</i>	394
Land Without Conflict by <i>Martin Gumpert</i>	395
Everybody's Business by <i>Keith Hutchison</i>	397

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

World War III by <i>Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.</i>	398
The Children by <i>Robert Fitzgerald</i>	399
Imagination and Reality by <i>Robert Lowell</i>	400
The Innocents by <i>Eleanor Clark</i>	402
Africa by <i>Alfred Werner</i>	402
A Small Thing by <i>William Empson</i>	403
Drama by <i>Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	403
Art by <i>Clement Greenberg</i>	405
Records by <i>B. H. Haggin</i>	406

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 407

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 206 by <i>Jack Barrett</i>	408
--	-----

Editor and Publisher: *Freda Kirchwey*

Managing Editor *J. King Gordon* Literary Editor *Randall Jarrell**
European Editor: *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: *Joseph Wood Krutch* Music: *B. H. Haggin*

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: *Jerry Tallmer*

Copy Editor: *Gladys Whiteside*, Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: *Doris W. Tanz*

Business Manager: *Hugo Van Arx*

Advertising Manager: *William B. Brown*

Director of *Nation Associates*: *Lillie Shultz*

*Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: *Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.*

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

by the broadcasting company is the neat coincidence in time between the action by the sponsor and its own. If its decision had been made strictly on an editorial basis, it would have told Mr. Shirer directly about it and not waited for the Williams people to break the news. Through its own unfortunate acts, CBS has generated suspicion of its motives from here to Moscow, and its great public has been deprived of Shirer's insight and immense knowledge. We shall wait with impatience to learn on what station he will be heard from now on.

★

BY CASTING THE DECISIVE VOTE FOR THE Lateran Treaty of 1929 the Italian Communists have written that relic of medievalism into the constitution of the Italian Republic. What has been gained by this bewildering move is difficult even to imagine. No one supposes, least of all the Vatican, that a Communist government would continue to tax the Italian people for the payment of clerical salaries or that it would sanction compulsory religious education in public schools. The Holy See will therefore not abandon its implacable hostility to communism, or for that matter to any other form of socialism. It may also be doubted whether the turn-about will win any large number of votes for the Communist Party at the October elections, although Mr. del Vayo's analysis on page 388 suggests that this must have been one of its chief objectives. Signor Togliatti has vehemently denied any such political motive. But if we are to believe him, what is the explanation? Why have the Communists gone out of their way to strengthen their mortal enemy?

★

THE BEST ANSWER WOULD APPEAR TO BE that the maneuver was partly based upon a tactical estimate of the situation in Italy and of that country's place in the world. It can be argued that at present the left-wing parties cannot offer the peasantry the economic inducements that would be necessary to win them away from the church's political control and that the eventual showdown is best postponed. By voting for the Lateran treaty, the Communists may also have hoped to prevent Italy from falling under the influence of the United States during the present crusade against communism. The view is not without a degree of realism, for had the Communists not broken the anti-clerical front in the Assembly it is possible that the De Gasperi Cabinet would have fallen, to be followed by one from which the left parties would have been excluded. If these were Signor Togliatti's reasons, the most that can be said for them is that they are plausible. The damaging sacrifice of principle was unnecessary, for since the right-wing parties do not wish at present to force a division of Italy into two clear-cut factions, the debate might have been indefinitely postponed with no danger to Italy's independ-

ence. The important fact is that having gained one of their most dearly prized objectives the Italian right has been strengthened, while a new source of confusion has been introduced into the left.

✱

THE APPOINTMENT OF JERRY VOORHIS AS executive secretary of the Cooperative League places a good man in a good job. The former California Congressman had already rendered service to farm cooperatives during his term on the House Committee on Agriculture. Now he will fight in the front office, as he once fought in committee chambers, for the interests of the two and a half million families who have linked efforts in the cooperative supplying of foodstuffs, petroleum products, insurance, housing, and medical facilities. And the interests of co-op members are the interests of all of us—peace, welfare, security. Pointing to the astonishing achievements of cooperatives in their newest and most exciting venture, the production and international distribution of cooperative oil, Voorhis told a Canadian audience last week that oil might some day "become a river of peace instead of a sleek road to war." It is not too far-fetched an aspiration, and Voorhis is the proper person to voice it. Twice voted by Washington correspondents as the most sincere and one of the most useful members of Congress, he will, happily, be no less useful now that he has lost his legislative seat.

Best Foot Forward

IT IS fairly apparent that the Truman Doctrine is about to be put into practice. The new Mediterranean outposts of American security are to be manned by American dollars and Greek and Turkish mercenaries. The United States is taking over England's time-honored role of trying to keep Russia away from the Dardanelles; and \$400,000,000 is the down payment on an incalculable bill the American taxpayer, for years to come, will be asked to foot.

America has entered the school of imperialism and is showing remarkable aptitude in its early lessons. As a first recitation it was required to restate an imperial purpose in terms of a world mission. This, Senator Austin managed to do with great aplomb and even erudition at the United Nations Security Council last Friday. Of an action that quite evidently had bypassed the United Nations, the Senator was able to say with impressive conviction, "The United States is giving momentum to the United Nations by its present policy and welcomes corresponding interest and support from other members of the United Nations." Sir Alexander Cadogan was observed to give an envious side glance at the Senator at this point of his presentation.

Senator Austin built his case effectively. He linked the

United States intervention in Greece and Turkey with the activities of the United Nations commission now investigating the unpleasantness on Greece's northern borders. "Neither action would be of much effect if taken without the other, for these are complementary, not conflicting proposals—one to watch areas where actual disturbances occur—the other to strengthen Greece sufficiently to maintain internal order, and to restore to her people hope and confidence in their future as a free people." The United Nations was not equipped for emergency measures: hence the United States had to act quickly on Greece's cry for help. But the United Nations was well-suited for programs with long-term objectives—FAO, Economic Commission for Europe, etc.—and in carrying out these could, of course, count on the full support of the United States. (Members were expected to forget that the United States had jettisoned UNRRA almost single-handed, sabotaged the food program of FAO, delayed the World Bank, blown hot and cold on the International Refugee Organization, and was still undecided at the Congressional level whether to go back to Hoover tariffs or on to the World Trade Organization!)

Turkey was awkwardly dragged in as just another fine upstanding young country, badly in need of a helping hand. No mention was made of military assistance, no reference to the strategic core of the project, and only an echo of President Truman's heroic challenge that in "the present moment of world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life," the "free peoples" on one side, the "totalitarian regimes" on the other.

Now, it is worth while considering what the United Nations could have done to help Greece in its present extremity. Could it have given emergency aid? Here it should be noted that the "emergency" is not something that had suddenly been brought to the notice of the United States on March 3. It was reported by UNRRA representatives, by the FAO investigators, and by the subcommissions of the Economic and Social Council while preparing the data for their reports recommending an Economic Commission for Europe as long ago as last September. The situation is worse now. But it is worse because we refused to lift a hand to provide for the continuation of the work of international relief after the date UNRRA was scheduled to terminate. We had the facts, we had the personnel available. What we lacked was the will to put an emergency program into action. Why? The answer is plainly that the Administration was intimidated by the fear of rising Congressional reaction, and lacked international imagination. It would not risk its political neck by giving world leadership to a plan of international economic rehabilitation which, had Roosevelt lived, would certainly have been carried out. Even at this late date it is possible for the American government to bring its entire emergency program of relief—economic, advisory, and technical—under the

direct supervision of United Nations agencies and special missions. And we hope that in next Monday's debate Senator Austin's colleagues on the Security Council will press for just this course of action.

In the second place, could the United Nations carry out a long-term program of economic rehabilitation that would help Greece onto its feet and put a floor under those of her citizens working for the rebuilding of Greece's democracy? The answer is plain: the plans for such programs are already made. But more than Senator Austin's glib assurances are needed to persuade us they will be put into effect. Some of those plans called for emergency efforts which will now be carried out independently by the United States. Nor are we quite satisfied with the Senator's statement that the present United States' measures are of an "emergency and temporary character." Unless we've entirely misjudged the scope of the new American foreign policy, the United States will find it increasingly difficult to extricate itself and the United Nations will find it increasingly difficult to "muscle in." And we've set a precedent for "emergency action" of which other nations have, no doubt, taken full note.

Finally, we may ask, could the United Nations have acted to guard Greece's national integrity against outside aggression and internal subversion? To the first part of the question, yes, it is already acting. The Security Council's commission is now on Greece's northern borders. It will soon be presenting its report—or reports. Senator Austin has kindly pointed out to them that they might propose "a system of border control regulations and a continuing commission made up of representatives of the Security Council." Russia might veto such a proposal but, in so doing, would clearly put itself in the wrong. Had we rested our case firmly on the Security Council decision, in terms of the Charter, we should have been in a vastly stronger moral position to take any independent action should the occasion arise at a later date.

One of the tragic results of our action has been that we have lost the respect of many nations who know their whole security rests on the strengthening of the United Nations. We have weakened the United Nations. And we have weakened the cause of European democracy to which we have been giving such voluble lip service. In supporting the reaction regimes of Greece and Turkey, we have brought those regimes a temporary stability, perhaps, but have made more inevitable the final struggle between those extremes of right and left with which American democracy has nothing in common. But American democracy has much in common with the struggle of the common people of Europe, whether in Greece or Yugoslavia, to lead a secure and free life. To those aims, the United Nations is committed, and if they are not realized we, more than any single nation, will be to blame.

Liberals Beware!

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

IN THESE days people who have lived long enough feel as if they had suddenly been transported back to 1919 and 1920 when A. Mitchell Palmer was protecting American institutions from the aggressions of the reds. The period after World War I was marked by hysteria, repression, and the start of a federal police system which has survived to this hour in the shape of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI. Before the fever dropped, along in the early twenties, the country was subjected to a legal reign of terror that broke the strength of the progressive forces for a grim ten-year stretch. It was not until economic collapse had discredited the Republican Party even in the eyes of its own followers that the people gained enough courage and cohesion to reassert their political will.

One week soon, *The Nation* is going to publish a brief history of that historic red-hunt. It is important to recall at this critical time the ugly weapons which American reaction turned against all groups that advocated a decent peace in Europe and a better life over here. Today, two years after the end of World War II, the hunt is on again, and the prospect of an early return to sanity is poor. Not only are the Republicans, in control of Congress, set for a quick kill, but Democratic members of all shades seem eager only to beat their opponents to the draw. And whereas in the early twenties right-wing panic was generated by a new-born revolution struggling to establish itself in a vast and turbulent country, today our statesmen, peering out from under their roll-top desks, see communism full-grown, armed to the teeth, and making unfriendly gestures and clanking noises.

Still worse, the liberal and progressive forces in 1947 are badly demoralized. Fear of Russia has become an obsession in groups which a generation ago had a more solid faith in the country's capacity to remain both democratic and free. The liberals of the post-Wilson era fought well against nationalistic panic and reactionary fury; they lost, but at least they resisted. Today an alarming percentage of liberals are either taking to cover or digging up reasons to believe that the Truman purge order, the inquisition now going on in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the rash of repressive legislation before Congress, are merely signs of a healthy resistance to communism.

The threat of communism in this country is insignificant; while the threat of reaction is explicit in the Washington red-hunt and implicit in Mr. Truman's new foreign policy. However provocative Russia may be, however infuriating the obstructive maneuvers of the American Communists, liberals know, or should know,

that it is only in countries sunk in economic misery, like Greece, where hunger and idleness conspire with injustice, that communism wins the support of the democratic masses. Instead of obliging the reactionaries by focusing their chief attention on the remote possibility of Communist control in America, our liberals would do better to consider the present fact of a repressive drive which may indeed force Communist activities underground but will certainly strangle the progressive movements that operate in the open.

Let liberals review the record of 1919-1922 before they join the hunt. Let them read Professor Commager's acute and ironic comments in this issue on the logical implications of Mr. Truman's executive order. Let them consider the injustices already perpetrated against their ideological blood-brothers: against Warren of the Labor Department and Menefee of the International Labor Organization and many others. Not to mention the infamous attacks, not yet ended, on David Lilienthal. And then let them pluck up their courage and show that liberals know the value of liberty. The hour calls for protest and political action, not for ingenious rationalizing.

And this leads me to a few somewhat relevant remarks about an article appearing in this issue of *The Nation*. Since James Burnham's "The Struggle for the World" is clearly destined to become the bible of the Bomb Russia

First boys, I was rather surprised by Arthur Schlesinger's review of the book (page 398). Without fully accepting the Burnham thesis, Mr. Schlesinger does not conceal his admiration for the bold strokes with which the author slices through our remaining national hesitations and scruples. In a conservative, this susceptibility would be easy to understand. But our reviewer is not a conservative, much less a near- or neo-fascist. His own writings attest to his liberalism. And it is this fact that makes the obvious enthusiasm lurking behind his disagreement—he is glad Mr. Burnham is not Secretary of State—a disturbing phenomenon. In other countries, when fear of Russia sent liberals scurrying toward the campfires of the militant right, the final result was something worse than communism. I hope Mr. Schlesinger's review is an individual impulse, not a symptom. But whatever it is, I think he should have risen superior to such dubious devices as to tell the audience (page 399) that "the Progressive Citizens of America and the Chicago *Tribune* have now clasped hands" in an "interesting joint effort" to prevent any "interference with the Communists." It would be as apt and as accurate to retort that the "Americans for Democratic Action and Bill Bullitt have clasped hands in an interesting joint effort to launch an immediate atomic war against Russia." In other words, it would be silly and inaccurate. These days, the bedfellow argument has at least two sharp edges.

Washington Witch-hunt

BY HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

IT IS not improbable that President Truman's executive order on disloyalty in the executive branch was designed to steal the thunder of the Thomas committee or head off such extreme bills as that proposed by Representative Rankin—that it was intended, in short, to furnish some protection to persons in government employment wrongfully accused of disloyalty. If so, it is a pity that it was not more carefully drawn, that it does not more scrupulously observe legal and constitutional proprieties. For as it stands it is an invitation to precisely that kind of witch-hunting which is repugnant to our constitutional system. And as it stands, it should be added, it is liable to instigate persecution not only of radicals by red-baiters but of reactionaries by radicals.

The crucial clauses are in Part V: Standards, and these

merit close attention. Most striking is the looseness, the almost unbelievable looseness, with which standards are fixed. Here are the "activities and associations" of an employee which are to be considered as a test of loyalty:

Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

Note first how all-embracing these terms are. It is not only membership in or affiliation with subversive organizations that is proscribed, but "sympathetic association" with them. What is sympathetic association, and how is it to be distinguished from unsympathetic association? Is a member of the Democratic Party in New York sympathetically or unsympathetically associated with the Demo-

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER is professor of history at Columbia University and author of "Majority Rule and Minority Rights" (1943) and "Tocqueville's Democracy in America" (1945).



Witch's Sabbath

cratic Party of Mississippi, which denies Negroes their rights under the Constitution of the United States? Note, too, the connection—it is difficult to use a more precise word—that is made suspect. It is not only membership and so forth in actual organizations but membership in and sympathetic association with a "movement" or a "group or combination of persons." What is a movement? Is the Wave of the Future a movement? Is anti-Semitism a movement? Is hostility to organized labor a movement?

Here is the doctrine of guilt by association with a vengeance. For almost a hundred and fifty years American law labored under the handicap of being unable to prove guilt by association. The Alien Registration Act of 1940, directed against aliens and enacted under pressure of war, for the first time wrote that odious doctrine into American law. Now, apparently, it is here to stay. Guilt is no longer to be personal, no longer to depend upon overt acts. It is an infectious thing, to be achieved by mere "sympathetic association" with others presumed to be guilty, or even with "movements" presumed to be subversive.

Nor is consolation to be found in the designation of the Attorney General as the person to classify organizations and movements as subversive. An intelligent Attorney General, an open-minded and tolerant one, would doubtless use this broad power with discretion. But how would it be used by a Stanton, who double-crossed his President; how would it be used by a Richard Olney, who smashed the Pullman strike; how would it be used by an A. Mitchell Palmer, who rounded up the "reds"; how would it be used by a Daugherty, who broke the railway strike of 1922? What guaranty is there that J. Edgar Hoover may not some day be Attorney General, Hoover who recently asserted that "'so-called progressives and phony liberals" are little better than Communists?

The same pervasive and pernicious looseness of phrasing characterizes another of the standards set up in this section. For one of the tests of loyalty is "performing or attempting to perform his duties, or otherwise acting, so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States." What is "otherwise acting" so as to serve the interests of some government other than the United States—and who is to decide? It is worth noting, in passing, that much this same test was enacted once before, in the Logan act of 1798—and failed. Did Walter Hines Page act so as to serve the interests of Britain rather than the United States? Many contemporaries and some later historians have thought so, and we may well believe that the right kind of Attorney General—Henry Cabot Lodge, let us say—might have agreed with them. If this principle were applied to Congress, as it might logically be, would it result in wholesale decapitations? Anyone who reads faithfully the *Congressional Record* knows how many

Congressmen plead the cause of Lithuania, or of the former Polish government in London, or of Eire—at the cost of a good many thousand dollars to the American taxpayer. What government's interests are being served when Mr. de Valera's St. Patrick's Day address is reprinted in the *Congressional Record*?

But let us turn to some of the possible applications of this extraordinary order. What organizations, associations, movements, or groups, after all, may be said to be embraced in the esoteric phrases of Part V? Communist and fascist are, perhaps, obvious enough, though "totalitarian" takes a bit of defining. But what of others that "advocate or approve" the commission of acts of force to deny persons their rights under the Constitution or to alter the form of government? The Ku Klux Klan is obviously one of these, and we may confidently expect that it will be so designated by the Attorney General and that all its members in government service will be promptly charged with disloyalty.

What shall we say, what may we expect, for other organizations? Is membership in the Democratic Party, or "sympathetic association" with it, an indication of disloyalty? Assuredly, that party countenances the use of force to deprive Southern Negroes of their rights under the Constitution. What of membership in labor unions? Several of them have, notoriously, denied to non-members or to the public their constitutional rights. What shall we say of membership in or association with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, which—we follow the Supreme Court here—denied Negro firemen their constitutional rights? Nor should we forget that numerous Congressmen have again and again asserted that various unions were Communist-dominated. Clearly they must know what they are talking about, and clearly all who associate with or sympathize with these unions are guilty through association.

A number of organizations, membership in which must create at least a suspicion of disloyalty, come to mind: whether these organizations are subversive or not will depend upon the interpretation given that slippery word "force," and force, it must be remembered, does not necessarily require violence. Does the American Bar Association come under the Presidential ban? Its committee counseled disobedience to the National Labor Relations Act. Does the American Medical Association come under the ban? It was found guilty of denying members of the Medical Society of the District of Columbia their constitutional rights. Will association with the Associated Press be evidence of disloyalty? According to *Associated Press v. United States*, it too was guilty of denying to outsiders rights which they could exercise under the Constitution. What of "sympathetic association" with railroad corporations which persist in denying to Negroes the constitutional right not to be segregated? May stockholders be presumed to be "sympathetic"

associates, or is there a presumption of non-sympathy? Or, to turn to government employees, is service with the FBI to be an indication of disloyalty if that agency attempts, as it clearly wishes, to deny Communists their constitutional right of freedom of speech and of assembly?

Fortunately for those who tremble for the safety of the Republic, the dragnet is to be spread widely enough to catch even those whose sympathetic association with subversive groups or movements is not clear. For all those who seek "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" are equally subject to the Attorney General's disapproval. What are "unconstitutional means"? It is a bit difficult to know what may be considered unconstitutional in the future, but perhaps recourse to the past will clarify the issue. Clearly, all those who carried out the Congressional mandate, in 1862, to abolish slavery in the territories were guilty of this crime, for under the Dred Scott decision the act of 1862 was unconstitutional. Even more clearly, all officers, who executed the First Reconstruction Act, and its amendments, were equally guilty, for these acts were palpably unconstitutional, and, no less palpably, they altered the American form of government.

An application of Mr. Truman's executive order to the past would, indeed, greatly have simplified our his-

tory. An order of this kind would have disposed of that dangerous radical Andrew Jackson, who not once but twice flouted the Supreme Court, and of Jackson's Attorney General, Taney, later Chief Justice, who aided and abetted him, and of his Postmaster General who unlawfully withheld funds which Congress and the Court said must be paid. It would have embarrassed that subversive executive Abraham Lincoln, who illegally, according to Chief Justice Taney, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, thus denying to John Merryman rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution. It might have put that dangerous agitator Theodore Roosevelt in his place—Roosevelt who, according to President Taft, illegally withdrew public lands from entry, thus denying persons their constitutional right to homesteads. And, whatever we may think of more recent situations, such an order—had it but been effective in time—would inevitably have disposed of Mr. Truman's trouble-making predecessor, Thomas Jefferson. For Jefferson "sympathetically associated" with Jacobin clubs, Jefferson "sympathetically" joined combinations to nullify Congressional acts, Jefferson was affiliated with a party which worked a "revolution" in 1800, and—worst of all—Jefferson openly announced that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and martyrs."

Vatican Versus Left in Italy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Milan, March 20

THROUGHOUT the war I kept hoping to wake up one morning and find the Vatican transferred to Montevideo, or Rio de Janeiro, or some other distant place. If that had happened, Hitler would have performed one good deed in his life, for it would have meant the salvation of Italy. Today we would have our own domestic and foreign policy. We would feel free." This was said not by a Communist but by a liberal Italian politician whose identity, were I at liberty to reveal it, would astonish Americans. It is common talk these days in Rome that the Vatican rules Italy in the person of Premier de Gasperi, leader of the Christian Democrats. However, my liberal friend believes that to concentrate the attack on De Gasperi as former librarian of the Vatican and its faithful servant is to miss the crux of the problem. Actually the Italian Premier has done his best as head of a coalition government composed of mutually antagonistic forces, and his last speech in the Assembly, which I heard the other day, sounded like a sincere profession of faith in the republic. De Gasperi, my friend maintains, was a political accident; the real, continuing problem is the Vatican.

No Italian anti-Fascist can forget that during twenty years Mussolini's infamous regime enjoyed the backing of the Holy See. February 11, 1929, marked the signing of the Lateran Agreement which healed the breach between political Rome and Vatican Rome dating from 1870 and, incidentally, solved most of the latter's financial problems. "From that day on," wrote Anton Zischka, one of the dictator's enthusiastic biographers, "the Duce could count on the support, direct or indirect, of 336,000,000 Catholics throughout the world. By this move . . . clever Mussolini immensely strengthened his position both inside and outside Italy. Henceforth his policy would be defended by 320,000 priests, 265,000 monks, 400,000 nuns, and 35,000 missionaries scattered from Greenland to the Malayas, from Japan to North Africa; by 1,578 bishops, 245 archbishops, and 55 cardinals; by the papal nuncios in the various capitals, who . . . are agents of inestimable importance." Pope Pius's numerous army is not likely to prove as loyal a defender of the Italian Republic!

In the light of its record, we might logically have expected to see the Vatican isolated at least for the next few decades. But logic was not one of the victors in the

late war. The Vatican has emerged more powerful than ever, as a rallying point for the forces of world reaction. The voice of the Pope is heard at every critical moment: on the eve of the Italian referendum on the monarchy; on the eve of the French elections; on the eve of the Moscow conference. In fact, the Vatican has completely recovered from the temporary decline in moral prestige it suffered as a result of its identification with fascism. Italian leaders, asked to explain the rapid resurgence of Catholic political power, invariably answer, "the United States."

By a series of unprecedented acts as inspired as Mussolini's, Pope Pius has altered the traditional course of the church. For centuries Vatican policy has been oriented toward the Catholic countries of Europe; now the hierarchy's main efforts are concentrated on America. His Holiness sees that predominantly Protestant country as the Vatican's chief future ally—and source of funds. The trend became very apparent last February in the selection of the new cardinals: for the first time the Pope skipped over Italian candidates to elevate fourteen prelates of North and South America. Since then he has named American Catholic dignitaries as his special envoys to Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Germany, though in the past such delicate missions have traditionally been intrusted to the Italian members of the Sacred College. These appointments were intended not only to flatter American Catholics but to create the impression that the Vatican's policy is linked with that of the United States; the envoys speak as representatives of the church and as citizens of the strongest country in the world.

Anti-clerical leaders have denounced the use of American prelates for diplomatic missions as "subservience . . . to the Anglo-American powers." But this subservience has been amply rewarded: evidence of American diplomatic backing for the Vatican; of close relations between Myron S. Taylor, special emissary to the Vatican, and Republican leaders in the Senate; and of the almost magical influence wielded by the Pope's good friend, Cardinal Spellman, have persuaded many Italians that opposition to the church would mean the end of American economic assistance to Italy.

One of the principal factors in the new orientation of the church is the Pope's personal conviction that only the United States is strong enough to halt the political advance of the Soviet Union. Mindful that 80,000,000 Catholics live in countries now within the Russian sphere of influence, the Vatican has drawn upon the experience of twenty centuries in its effort to follow a militantly anti-Communist policy and yet conciliate Russia's neighbors. On the surface the result appears to be a curious zigzag strategy, but examination reveals a fixed central objective—a Western Christian coalition against godless Russia. Few Italians, however, want to become involved in bloc politics. For years their country has been a satellite

of the big nations. Now they want a strong, independent Italy that will never again be used as a pawn in the game of power politics.

In the face of a two-pronged offensive by foreign capitalism and native clerical reaction, Italy must depend upon the strength of its working class to bring about a long-needed economic and social transformation. In the vanguard of the large but still inchoate left movement are the two parties that formed the backbone of the Resistance—the Socialists and the Communists.

THE SOCIALISTS

The old Socialist Party is headed by Pietro Nenni. Since his recent resignation from the government he has devoted all his time to party activity, speaking up and down the country and making frequent visits to Milan, the real center of the Italian labor movement. He is a brilliant orator and, above all, a courageous leader. At the height of the crisis precipitated by the announcement of the Italian peace terms, when the right was eagerly preparing to make capital of the government's dilemma, Nenni asked for the post of Foreign Minister, a thankless job coveted by nobody under the circumstances. His first official action was to clear out the appeasers and pro-Fascists from his ministry.

Though Nenni held the foreign-affairs portfolio for only a brief period, his prestige increased steadily. In Rome they tell of the day he summoned a suspect functionary in charge of the personnel division. "By tomorrow," he told him, "I want a list of the Fascists still in the department." Next day the functionary appeared with a list of seventeen names. Nenni pulled a scrap of paper out of his vest pocket, glanced at it, and remarked calmly, "I said *all* of them—all thirty-nine." The functionary departed and returned a few minutes later. "Here's the complete list, Your Excellency," he announced with a smile. "Yes," Nenni retorted, "after we have added your name." Another story describes Nenni's reaction to an effusive telegram of congratulations he received from an Italian diplomat abroad, one of those "flexible" career men who get along equally well with monarchists, republicans, fascists, and democrats. Nenni replied: "Received your cable. Have charged it to your personal account. Will charge this acknowledgment to my own." Nenni initiated a progressive foreign-policy that rejected Italian participation in blocs, east or west, while at the same time proclaiming Italy's willingness to cooperate with all nations.

With the aid of other Socialist leaders—including Basso, the secretary of the party, Cabinet Ministers Morandi, Romita, and Cacciatore, and Vechietti, head of the foreign-affairs section—Nenni is now trying to repair the damage caused last January when a small right-wing faction headed by Saragat broke away from the party congress over the issue of relations with the

Communists and formed the "Italian Socialist Workers Party." This split weakened the left and made it possible for De Gasperi to set up a new Cabinet along more conservative lines.

Of course foreign interests have also played a part in determining the character of the De Gasperi government; dollars flowing into Italy by various channels have a questionable effect. At times American financial influence takes the form of public loans, as in the case of the \$100,000,000 which the Italian Premier brought back from the United States in the hope of restoring his party's waning strength in the next elections. Or it may be disguised under the euphemism of "international union solidarity." In this connection I need only quote a section of a letter sent by the Italian Socialist Party to the other European parties explaining the congress split: "Saragat and his scissionists were inspired by the Italian American Luigi Antonini, president of the Italian American Labor Council and a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. . . . He financed and is still financing anti-Communist movements of every description as the attached documents show. Antonini favored the secession of the Saragat group, both directly and indirectly through his agents in Italy and Switzerland."

At the January party congress Nenni delivered an extraordinary speech lasting three and a half hours in which he pointed out that collaboration with the Communists was neither a whim nor a concept peculiar to his followers but rather the logical by-product of the agreement on united action unanimously adopted by the old

executive committee of which Saragat was a member. In the first days of the liberation Nenni may have been somewhat carried away by the hope of a single working-class party, but his insistence at least on unity of action between Socialists and Communists was vindicated by the victory of the two left parties in the June elections. And it is an ironic fact that Saragat, now faced with the responsibilities of leadership in his own new party, has been forced to denounce publicly the anti-Communist obsession of some of his followers and to call for closer relations with the other left forces.

While the split has undoubtedly harmed the left as a whole, it may in the long run prove beneficial to the Socialist Party. "You know," Nenni told me, "I could have, and by rights should have, expelled Saragat and his clique in 1945 when they were still a mere handful. Instead, I tried to delay the break as long as possible; in times like these every man counts, and I did not want to deprive the left of a single 'active.' But now that it has come, I must say we are all breathing easier. It was an impossible situation. Our energies were being dissipated in the effort to maintain a fiction of unity."

Developments in the last two months have justified Nenni's optimism about the future. Although Saragat's party has won over a large number of deputies, it is unlikely that his bloc will maintain its present strength in the next Assembly. "When we go to the polls in October," Nenni said to me, "we will be voting on the present, not the past. In the first elections many of the scissionists won seats merely because the rank and file remembered their names from the pre-Fascist era—they



THE CRUSADERS

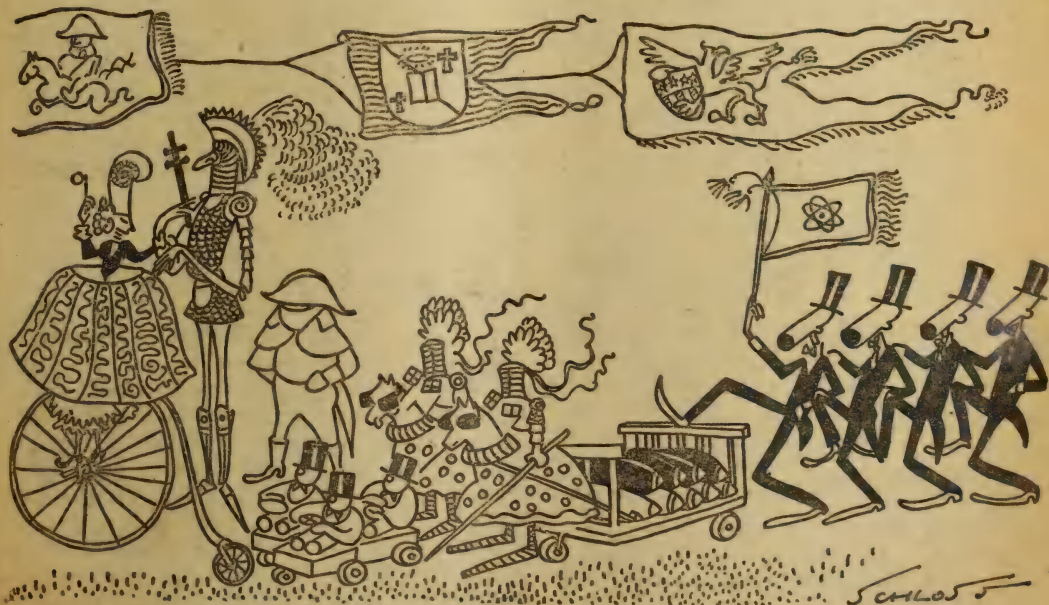
were old veterans, so to speak. This time people will vote not for names but for programs—for concepts like agrarian reform, national reconstruction, labor's rights, and consolidation of the republic." The Saragat faction unquestionably includes a number of capable and sincere men, notably Faravelli, Treves, and Calosso. Some genuine Socialists, even from the left, joined in protest against the domineering attitude of the Communists. But the membership is predominantly middle class, and its program can be summed up as a kind of Italian "new deal." Perhaps if the party stopped dressing its reformist goals in Marxist language, stopped using the hammer-and-sickle emblem, and came out frankly as a liberal bourgeois party, it might even accomplish some good.

Taking a cue from the political line laid down at the congress, the Socialist press has intensified its polemics against the reactionaries. Nor do the Socialists spare the church; their attitude on the relations of church and state under the new constitution is strongly anti-clerical. Similarly, in an editorial entitled *The Shadow of the Vatican over Our Foreign Policy*, *Avanti* recently took the offensive on an issue which it had avoided for several months so as not to embarrass a coalition government in which Catholics were the majority. The Vatican retaliated the same afternoon with an editorial in the *Osservatore Romano*. Incidentally it honored me with an equally prompt reply to an interview I had given *Avanti*, in which I had merely stated what is common knowledge—that the Catholic hierarchy in Spain continues to support Franco.

COMMUNIST TACTICS

The Communists, paradoxically, are hampered in the fight against Vatican power by their present strength. At the moment of the liberation they were in a leading position; since then they have experienced a series of ups and down responding to internal and international events. Since the last municipal elections, however, opinion polls show them to be again on the way up. It is difficult to make predictions about the October elections, but most observers in Rome believe that the Communists will win additional seats in the Assembly, probably at the expense of the Christian Democrats. And it is precisely for this reason they do not want to frighten the middle class and encourage opposition parties to form a united front against them. Moreover, the Communists have won a large following in the rural districts and are anxious to avoid alienating the Catholic farmers.

A strategy as intricate as this requires a leader of unusual political experience. The Italian Communist Party has such a man in Palmiro Togliatti. His fame has spread beyond left circles; people who are hostile to everything he stands for recognize his ability and remarkable intelligence. I had not seen him since the final tragic days of the Spanish war. This time as always it was a pleasure to talk to him, for unlike many Communist leaders Togliatti rarely bores his listener with hackneyed party slogans; he knows how to size up the person with whom he is speaking and does not counter serious arguments with shallow propaganda. Nor has Togliatti's extraordinary devotion to his party dulled his critical faculties. To describe him—as many do—as



a new Machiavelli is absurd. Though he is certainly one of Italy's shrewdest political leaders, one cannot picture him as an intriguer for intrigue's sake. Togliatti's training as a lawyer—he holds a doctorate of law from the University of Turin—has served him in good stead in his current debate with the *enfant terrible* of post-war Italy, Giannini of the l'Uomo Qualunque Party. He has succeeded in splitting that dangerous semi-fascist movement by forcing Giannini to dissociate himself publicly from Emilio Patrissi and the extreme anti-Communist cabal who were his most active supporters.

The Communist leader's stiffest ordeal was Trieste. But even here he succeeded in holding to his conviction that the issue should be settled by direct negotiation between Yugoslavia and Italy without antagonizing his sensitive countrymen. The right, which had hoped to use Trieste to finish him off, was disappointed.

The real test between left and right will come in the course of the debate on the new Italian constitution. In the opening skirmish last week the Christian Democrats,

Liberals, and Common-Man Front mustered a slim majority of twelve votes to knock out a Communist amendment to Article I by which the opening sentence would have read, "Italy is a democratic republic of workers." In its place the Constituent Assembly adopted a compromise wording proposed by the Christian Democrats to the effect that "Italy is a democratic republic founded on labor." Another battle will no doubt be fought over the law on the Defense of the Republic—drafted by Togliatti and approved by the Council of Ministers—which provides sanctions, including the death sentence, against Fascists and monarchists who conspire against the state.

The Vatican is concentrating its main effort on that section of the constitution which controls its relations with the state. A recent editorial in the *Osservatore Romano*—the second in three days—has already demanded the inclusion of the Lateran Agreement as an integral part of the Italian constitution. This issue is likely to find Communists and Socialists on opposite sides.

Voices Without Smiles

BY HEINZ EULAU

Washington, March 30

UNLESS a last-minute settlement breaks the impasse in the negotiations between the National Federation of Telephone Workers and the Bell Telephone System, the nation's telephone network will be shut down on April 7 by the first really country-wide, effectively coordinated strike in the industry's history. Thirty-nine unions, with jurisdiction over some 287,000 telephone workers, will participate in the walkout. They will be joined by another 55,000 workers belonging to small, independent unions.

In deciding to strike, the N. F. T. W. dares to move where much stronger C. I. O. or A. F. of L. unions fear to tread. Paralysis of the country's telephone system might hasten restrictive legislation by a hostile Congress. An inconvenient public might be bamboozled by the Bell System's well-oiled publicity machine. Defeat might wreck the plan for a compact national union. Above all, a strike is a bottomless barrel, a belt-tightening business—especially as it will be a fight against one of the most powerful monopoly corporations in America.

The huge Bell Telephone System is controlled by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which owns more than nine-tenths of the voting stock of twenty-

one subsidiaries. It also owns nearly all the stock of the Western Electric Company, which manufactures over 90 per cent of Bell telephone supplies and equipment. A. T. and T. directly owns and controls about 98 per cent of all United States long-distance telephone lines.

A strike against this public-utility colossus takes courage, particularly as the N. F. T. W. in no way matches the Bell System in integration and cohesiveness. The N. F. T. W. is only a loosely federated organization of forty-nine member unions, which, according to its constitution, "shall remain forever autonomous and be free from interference in the conduct of their internal affairs." Though it has organized about 75 per cent of all workers in its jurisdiction, its resources are small.

The N. F. T. W. is convinced that in the many weeks of negotiations the Bell companies have not shown good faith in collective bargaining, but have been stalling. The union demands included, in addition to a general \$12 increase, a more rational system of area and town wage differentials, shortening of job-progression schedules from eight to five years, a better pension plan, improved vacations, and the union shop. The Bell System's answer to all of these demands was thumbs down. Indeed, the N. F. T. W. president, Joseph A. Beirne, charges that the Bell companies "are trying to move backward in contract matters and seek to return to conditions as they existed ten years ago." According to the union, the Bell System seeks to discard seniority provisions, leave promotions and transfers to the discretion of the company,

HEINZ EULAU, a writer on political and economic affairs, has contributed to *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, *Antioch Review*, and many other journals.

reduce the number of paid holidays, and weaken sickness provisions and the grievance procedure.

The Bell System has neither confirmed nor denied these charges. With regard to the \$12 demand, the Bell System contends that there "is no justification at this time for a general wage increase," and that as a public utility it should not "lead the parade" in a second round of wage raises. The union answers that it is not a matter of "leading" but of catching up with the higher wages paid in other industries. As of September, 1946, the \$44 weekly average gross wage paid in the telephone industry compared unfavorably with the \$49 paid in steel or the \$52 paid in electric light and power.

There are fourteen different wage schedules for long-distance telephone operators alone. New York's top minimum after eight years is \$44; in Memphis, Tennessee, it is only \$39. Town differentials of local operators are even greater. A local operator in Detroit, Michigan, can make \$45 after eight years, while in Iron River, Michigan, a small town, the top rate after seven years is only \$33. In small Southern towns, like LaFollette, Alabama, the starting wage is \$25, the maximum after six years \$31. The national average operator's wage is \$34. By contrast, most federal-government operators throughout the nation now start at about \$37 a week and after eight and a half years can reach about \$50.

Differentials among telephone craftsmen are equally great. While a New York long-distance technician can progress from \$29 to \$80 after eight years, in Denver, Colorado, the starting wage for skilled workers is \$27 and the top rate after eight years is only \$66. The Bell System defends area and town differentials on the theory of "prevailing rates" paid in the community.

A direct outcome of the low wages paid in the telephone industry is the enormous labor turnover among operators. A recent poll conducted by the N. F. T. W. revealed that of 73,000 operators queried, 40.7 per cent had been employed for less than one year, 15 per cent for one to two years, and so on. Only 24.1 per cent had been employed for more than five years. Last year alone the Bell System set out to hire a quarter of a million women as operators and clerks.

The Bell System seems to oversell the attractiveness of the jobs it advertises. "Featured in all types of publicity," a Bell publication states, "are those things which young women want in a job which the telephone company has to offer. Included, in addition to good pay, are convenient places of employment, interesting work, competent and friendly supervision, congenial associates . . . opportunities to get ahead, and job stability."

Once on the job, however, the young lady will learn otherwise. Instead of a convenient place of employment, she is perched on a small stool in a long line of stools, always in the same position; instead of interesting work, the job is routine and her's must be "a voice with a

smile"; instead of friendly supervision, she is under constant pressure of speed, for her function is timed, analyzed, and reported. When she falls below the desired average of performance, a speed-up campaign is put on. Work is exacting and nerve-racking. And pay is low. It is not surprising that so many girls readily leave the switchboard for greener pastures.

Older telephone workers are particularly concerned with the Bell System's pension policy. Present pensions depend on the worker's years of service with the company and his average annual pay for the last ten years of employment. The minimum pension is \$50 a month, and the company deducts one-half of the worker's social-security benefits. The union contends that this practice is outmoded and that the minimum should be shoved up to \$100.

Continuance of the pension scheme is at the discretion of the company. This discretionary power is part of the tradition of paternalism to which the Bell companies were committed and Bell employees were accustomed for many years, and which retarded collective bargaining in the telephone industry. Company unionism long prevented an effective national labor organization which could balance the power of the Bell System. It was not until June, 1939, that the N. F. T. W. was founded.

And only last year, for the first time in the industry's history, a general increase of 18.3 cents an hour was agreed on directly between A. T. and T. and the N. F. T. W., just twenty-five minutes before the strike deadline set for March 7. When other Bell companies soon made similar settlements, it was clear that all Bell labor policy was coordinated from A. T. and T. headquarters at 165 Broadway in New York. "This concentration of authority on the company side of the bargaining table," the union stated, "should be matched by an equal degree of concentration of authority at a central point on the union side of the table."

Half a year later, therefore, N. F. T. W. delegates meeting in Denver hammered out a constitution for a strong, centralized union, the "Communications Workers of America" (C. W. A.). The old autonomy clause was eliminated. The present N. F. T. W. affiliates will become integral divisions of the new union. Then the organization of forty to fifty smaller unions outside the N. F. T. W.—some really independent, some under a company's skirts—may become possible. A first convention of the C. W. A. will be held in June. But affiliation with either the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L. is not contemplated. The spirit of independence which has long kept telephone unions apart from each other is also responsible for their independence from the Big Two.

A strong telephone union is necessary, union leaders say, because the Bell System has consistently put the interests of its stockholders over those of its employees. During the depression A. T. and T. continued to pay its

\$9 dividend though net income per share fell as low as \$6.52 in 1934. The working force decreased by 185,000 between 1929 and 1935. Curtailed employment and reduced wages saved the Bell companies \$139,000,000 in wages in 1935 as compared with 1929. The depression shook the confidence of telephone workers in the beneficence of the Bell System.

But today telephone workers fear the future in another respect. Mechanization hangs over the telephone industry like the sword of Damocles. A. T. and T. recently issued \$343,000,000 of convertible debentures and plans to sell 2,800,000 shares of stock to its employees—on an instalment plan—for the purpose of financing a huge mechanization program. It is estimated that the program may eventually displace two-thirds of the present operators' force and severely curtail job opportunities for plant-maintenance men. Only a strong union can succeed in gaining a voice in the mechanization program. A shorter work day with construction spread over a period of fifteen years could avoid unnecessary hardship. It would also allow integration of the new investment

into the Bell System's indebtedness as well as continuance of the \$9 dividend, and it might prevent overexpansion in case of depression.

As this article goes to press, the N. F. T. W. has invited A. T. and T. to enter into company-wide negotiations. But the Bell mother company turned this offer down on the ground that the subsidiaries are the sole bargaining agents of the system. Yet about this same time Bell companies in various parts of the country made to N. F. T. W. affiliates almost identical offers to arbitrate wages alone. It was additional proof that while Bell decisions are made by A. T. and T., the system prefers to deal with the local unions, because their strength is dispersed.

In this critical situation any sign of weakness on the N. F. T. W.'s part would also be a sign of its relative immaturity. The union knows that it has much to lose in case of defeat, but even more to gain in case of victory. Strike is a chance which every union has to take when all other means of winning its demands are exhausted—even in the case of a privately owned public utility.

Mountbatten's Task in India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, March 17

BY THE end of this week Lord Mountbatten will have taken charge of the Indian administration. As though to remind him of the spacious setting of India's problem, the Asian-relations conference will begin its proceedings simultaneously with his assumption of the viceroyalty. From Egypt, Iran, and the Arab countries of the Middle East, from Burma, Malaya, and the Philippines, from China and Mongolia, from five Soviet republics—from all countries of Asia barring Japan—representatives will attend.

This conference, conceived by Nehru before he became the head of the Indian government and sponsored by the non-official Indian Council of World Affairs, is the biggest event in Asia since the end of the war. It will foster cultural and economic ties between the different countries of Asia and facilitate a common approach to many of their problems—scientific and agricultural research, health, nutrition, women's problems, labor, and so on. It will remind the Viceroy of Attlee's historic phrase used last year that politically India could be the Light of Asia.

Many internal problems will demand Mountbatten's immediate and anxious attention. Writing three weeks ago, I told *The Nation's* readers that the Punjab had escaped so far the horrors and large-scale riots which had disgraced the neighboring provinces, but that none could tell how long this immunity would last. Within a few days of the publication of this dispatch the Punjab was plunged into terrible civil strife. There have been mass murder, arson, and destruction of property on a colossal scale. The worst phase of the mob fury is probably over, but it will take a long time to restore normal conditions and mutual confidence.

What was the cause of this terrible outburst? Partly, it was the spirit of retaliation for tragic events elsewhere. In Behar, predominantly a Hindu province, the Moslems had suffered heavy casualties during the riots of last fall. The Punjab has a population that is 54 per cent Moslem, the rest being Hindus and Sikhs. It is a rich province with a prosperous peasantry, and until recently it enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the recruitment for the Indian army, which meant that large sums out of the central government's defense budget were spent there for roads, railways, pay and pensions for soldiers, and the like.

Demobilization hit the province hard, and the unemployment problem became acute. Private armies consisting of demobilized soldiers grew up under the guise

SHIVA RAO is the correspondent in India of The Nation and the Manchester Guardian. He is on the staff of the Madras Hindu.

of volunteer movements. Politically the Moslem League has been nursing a sense of grievance and frustration. With only 80 members in the provisional legislature out of a total of 175, it could not form a ministry last year. The Punjab is the region in Northwest India vital for Jinnah's conception of Pakistan, and tactically it was becoming increasingly necessary for the Moslem League to capture its administration. Since the lack of a majority prevented the overthrow of the ministry by parliamentary methods, the league's leader decided to attempt a coup d'état. A direct-action campaign demoralized the ministry, paralyzed the administration for thirty-three days, and forced the Congress Party out of office.

Then, on February 20, came the Labor Cabinet's dramatic declaration that Britain would withdraw from India by June, 1948. Vitally important for the Moslem League was the proviso that in the absence of a single central government at that stage Britain would consider whether the central power should be distributed among the provinces or areas not acknowledging New Delhi's present authority.

There has been some extremely rapid thinking on all sides as a consequence of the British declaration. The Moslem League considers it essential to maintain control over Bengal and Sind, where it is in power, and is consolidating its strength in the Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province—in the latter the same technique is now being employed to defeat the Congress ministry that proved successful last month in the Punjab. When the fateful hour of British withdrawal arrives, Pakistan, under this plan, would be ready to receive its share of the central authority. The Hindus and Sikhs argue differently. West Bengal, including Calcutta, is predominately Hindu. The East Punjab, with the Ravi River cutting the province as a dividing line, has a combined Hindu and Sikh majority. Congress leaders have urged, therefore, the partition of Bengal and the Punjab as an immediate solution. But the Moslem League fears partition as a first step in the detachment of West Bengal and East Punjab next year, leaving a truncated Pakistan.

Mountbatten's arrival will revive questions which have temporarily receded into the background as a consequence of Wavell's enforced retirement. First, will the Moslem League remain inside the interim government and continue to boycott the Constitutional Assembly? Second, will the interim government have all the powers and status of a dominion during the next fourteen months? Third, assuming that the Moslem League refuses to enter the Constitutional Assembly, need the Congress leaders strictly adhere to the British plan—especially the limited union center? Fourth, can the princes go ahead in supporting the Constitutional Assembly without the Moslem League?

These questions Mountbatten must tackle without delay. If he keeps steadily before him Attlee's vision of

India as the political light of Asia, he can hew a way for himself through the complexities and seeming contradictions of Indian politics. Anxious weeks lie ahead while he is evolving his line of action. The Moslem League and those princes who have not yet taken a final decision regarding the Constitutional Assembly will want to see whether he wholeheartedly accepts the policy of the Labor government. If he does, many British reactionaries now busy fighting rearguard actions will disappear rapidly from the Indian scene. That alone will greatly simplify the Indian problem.

The question of supreme importance is no longer whether Britain will quit India. The date having been set, it is for Mountbatten to decide whether India will assume control of its destiny after a smooth and cooperative transition, as Nehru hopes, or only after continued bloodshed and civil strife. India and all Asia also wait to see whether Mountbatten will encourage the establishment of social democracy by refusing to take cognizance of vested interests—be they princes or landlords or big business.

Land Without Conflict

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE Governor of the Virgin Islands is William H. Hastie, former federal judge, at one time civilian adviser to Secretary Forrester, educated at Amherst and Harvard, and colored. The acting governor, Morris F. de Castro, who has been connected with the administration of the islands for more than twenty-five years, is a member of a Sephardic Jewish family which has lived in St. Thomas for several hundred years. The official driver of the governor's car for thirty years has been Ludwig Heidmann, of German and Danish descent. There could be no better men for any of these jobs. Nobody on the islands would dream of making an issue of their racial or national background.

The great discovery of a trip to the Virgin Islands is that here is a part of America without racial strife—here is no anti-Semitism, no discrimination against the colored, or the white. To be sure, the son of a rich Pittsburgh family has organized his hotel as a sort of club in order to keep Negroes out, but this solecism is graciously ignored.

On the terrace of Bluebeard's Castle, a government-owned modern hotel built around an ancient pirate's stronghold, a steel executive from a Southern state confided to me: "If anybody had told me I would ever call a nigger Mister, I'd have said he was crazy." My companion was puzzled but obviously somewhat pleased by his unexpected tolerance. This is what the air of St. Thomas does to one. At dinner time, Americans of all breeds and colors and several prominent local people,

colored men of dignity and culture, come together, without any signs of social uneasiness, to enjoy the beautiful view of the azure Caribbean, the red and green roofs of the town, the multi-colored hills.

St. Thomas was once a shipping center for the Hamburg-American line—the entrance to the courthouse still bears the emblems of HAPAG. Indeed, German sympathies among the natives remained strong until World War II when the ship "Horst Wessel," manned by young Nazis, appeared in port and it was announced that any German sailor caught talking to a black man would go to jail. That was the end of Hitler in St. Thomas.

Of course, the islands have their problems. The public treasury has a deficit. Housing is inadequate. There is unemployment. But the atmosphere—to the visitor—seems radically different from Puerto Rico, only a few air minutes away. Hopelessness is in the air there. The Spanish and Anglo-Saxon elements are incompatible.

On the Virgin Islands everybody speaks English—though the street signs are still in Danish; everybody is friendly, relaxed, and serene. Walking, driving, working are done in slow motion without anybody's growing impatient. The visitor is soon affected by a sweet laziness. For this reason the Virgin Islands are an ideal place for rest. The landscape is one of the most beautiful ever seen; the climate is nearly perfect all the year round. Beaches are dreamlike—snow-white sand, crystal-clear water, a fringe of coconut palms and sea grapes.

The war-time rum boom is over. If the United States were to refund the import duties on rum—as was done in Puerto Rico—the local administration would have more than enough money to undertake the necessary program of rehabilitation and construction which has been planned for many years. The Virgin Islands are waiting for ten million dollars which Congress has appropriated but not yet sent.

Rumors of prejudice against the colored governor seem to be without foundation. Governor Hastie has just come back from Washington, where he was received by the Republican leaders in an encouraging manner.

It is obvious that the Virgin Islands have a future as one of the most enchanting resort places of this earth. Army and navy officers, including an admiral, have settled here since the war. A New York physician has bought an island. There is a real-estate boom, and prices for lots already are on a Westchester scale. Just now the limited facilities for travelers are frightfully overtaxed. But one hears about great undertakings, and much as one may regret an invasion of tourists, the development of St. Thomas into a Caribbean Capri seems inevitable.

A health resort must be healthful, and the health situation on the islands deserves first priority. When I left St. Thomas a few weeks ago, pipes for a new covered sewage system were piling up by the roadside. Its construction would give employment and at the same

time eliminate one of the greatest health hazards. St. Thomas has only a small hospital, more than a hundred years old and inadequate in almost every respect. X-ray therapy is not available, and much other essential equipment is lacking. The Commissioner of Health is an old gentleman of Danish descent, Dr. Knud Knud-Hansen, who arrived in the islands in 1908. He has the authority and wisdom of an experienced general practitioner, and his associates are well-trained, intelligent, able colored physicians. But they cannot work efficiently without tools. Recently the United States Children's Bureau has lent its aid in alleviating distress among the native children. This work is supported half by United States money and half by local assessments. The psychopathic ward in the St. Thomas hospital is a scandal; however, that can also be said of big cities in the United States. The tuberculosis wards are not much better.

A visit to St. Croix, the largest of the islands, is a real adventure. The plane lands on an airfield in the middle of the island, and the visitor suddenly finds himself in a quaint rococo setting. There are two small towns, Fredrikstad and Christianstad, where life has been completely at a standstill for 150 years. This island should be able to supply vegetables, grain, and cattle to all the Virgin Islands, but at present it is far from doing so. Private capital has completely retired, and the government has had to take over the extensive sugar plantations. St. Croix operates at a substantial loss and each year has to beg Congress to make up a deficit. There is a small hospital headed by an able American doctor.

One is not surprised to find the world's oldest scourge in this hideout—leprosy. Forty-five patients are interned in the leper colony, and an equal number live on probation with their families. About twenty cases are now being treated with promizol, a new sulfa compound. But \$3,000 annually is needed for the drug and funds are inadequate. All the patients are natives, quite a dangerously high number. According to the last reports from the National Leprosarium in Carville, Louisiana, leprosy can now be arrested, and the necessary measures should be taken in St. Croix without delay. A still worse situation is that some 17 per cent of the inhabitants of St. Croix suffer from filariasis. This serious endemic condition, most difficult to treat, requires an extensive war of prevention against the insects which transmit it.

The history of this Caribbean paradise is one of cruel suffering, bound up, quite innocently, with events in Europe. The gigantic slave trade had its center here, and the soil is drenched with the blood of slave rebellions. A pleasanter incident to recall is the visit of President Roosevelt in 1934. In the memory of the islanders this visit is as vivid as if it had taken place yesterday. Roosevelt did more than sightsee. He visited the sore spots; he talked to the leprosy patients. His presence marked the beginning of progress and social improvement.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

KEITH HUTCHISON

Undistributed Profits

SINCE corporations are the source of a great deal of taxable income, an efficient income-tax law must provide safeguards against evasion through corporation hoarding of profits. One means to that end was blocked when the undistributed-profits tax was repealed in 1938, but in the same year Section 102 of the Internal Revenue Code, which imposes a heavy surtax on "unreasonable accumulations" of surplus profits, was amended so as to shift the burden of proof from the Treasury to the corporation. During the war this section was not rigorously enforced: from the point of view of inflation control it was undesirable to encourage larger dividend payments. But in recent months the Internal Revenue Bureau has been reminding corporations that the law stands and instructing those that retain more than 30 per cent of their profits to explain why that is necessary.

The Treasury's interest in the disbursement of a goodly proportion of corporate earnings is obvious. Corporate profits, whether distributed or not, are subject to a 38 per cent income-tax rate. Whatever is paid out in dividends is assessed for personal income tax at whatever rate is appropriate to the receiver. In the case of stockholders in the higher brackets this means that 50 per cent and upward of their income from investments must be handed over to the government; so that they naturally prefer to have a considerable part of their share of corporation earnings "saved" for them by additions to surplus. Eventually, if tax rates are lowered, such a surplus could provide a welcome "melon"; alternatively, a corporation's mounting surplus may be reflected in its Stock Exchange quotation, making possible capital gains on which the tax, for those in the higher brackets, is much lower than on ordinary income.

In the bountiful twenties, when Andrew Mellon reigned over the Treasury, little was done to discourage tax-dodging by this device, and no one bothered very much about the legal restraints on "unreasonable accumulation." But now that Internal Revenue indicates that the law will be enforced, corporate interests are beginning to call indignantly for its repeal. The *Journal of Commerce*, for instance, has been carrying on a steady campaign against what it calls "an obsolete penalty tax." Section 102, it has charged, serves to discourage many corporations from the reinvestment of their earnings in the modernization and expansion of their plants. It forces them to pay out in dividends greater sums than are justified by business conditions, particularly in times like these when swollen inventories call for large cash reserves.

A favorite argument is that the penalty tax is a particular burden on small corporations, which cannot easily secure additional capital from investors and hence can only expand by plowing back profits. There is no reason to suppose, however, that Internal Revenue, or the Tax Court to which appeal

can be made, will interpret Section 102 in such a way as to mulct small concerns which can show good cause for the retention of profits. The tax collectors are after such quarries as the closely held corporation which, instead of paying dividends, makes "loans" to its stockholders or uses its earnings for investments quite extraneous to its proper business. They are also, I hope, after the really large corporations which grudgingly dole out dividends and use the greater part of their profits for "empire-building."

There is, in fact, good reason to suspect that much of this concern for the little fellows is camouflage for the big boys. In this particular battle the giants must try to hide behind the pigmies, since they cannot very well employ their usual tactics of pushing the small shareholder out in front. For in the matter of dividend disbursements the interest of the small shareholder differs from that of his big brother and parallels to some extent that of the Treasury.

Naturally, Mr. Doe who owns ten shares in National Gadgets does not enjoy paying a tax on the dividends he receives, but he probably enjoys still less the fact that the management of the company only lets him have \$2 per share to be taxed when it is earning \$10 a share and, with a strong liquid position, could easily disburse \$7. He has good reason, therefore, to cheer the Treasury's efforts to discourage unnecessary additions to the company's surplus. As a writer in *Barron's* of June 17, 1946, put it, "Forced payment of dividends may be a handicap to some companies which want to expand but haven't blueprinted that growth. The alternative is for them to market new securities to raise additional capital. In that case the stockholder has the opportunity to make the decision on whether or not to put in his share of the new capital, whereas retention of earnings deprives him of that decision."

A study of corporation reports for 1946 suggests that a great many large concerns have either ignored the Treasury's warnings or feel that they have convincing reasons for retaining more than 30 per cent of their earnings. The accounts of fourteen leading companies, selected more or less at random from my files, show an aggregate profit of \$519,910,000, of which 55.5 per cent was distributed to shareholders. But this proportion is swollen by the inclusion of two super-corporations, du Pont and United States Steel, which accounted for nearly two-fifths of the profits and paid out 75.8 and 67.6 per cent respectively. The other twelve collectively allowed stockholders only 45 per cent of net earnings, with the proportions ranging from 31.1 per cent in the case of Goodyear Tire and Rubber to 59 per cent for National Biscuit.

I should like to suggest that stockholders who attend company meetings—all too small a band—should exercise their rights and ask the chairman for an explanation if the company has retained more than 30 per cent of its 1946 earnings. They should inquire what reasons have been supplied to Internal Revenue and whether management has risked the imposition of a penalty surtax which will be paid, of course, out of their funds. And they should not permit themselves to be fobbed off by vague talk about the importance of expansion. Constant growth is not necessarily a sign of corporate health, and expansion is sometimes motivated not by sound economics but by managerial paranoia.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

World War III

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD.

By James Burnham. The John Day Company. \$3.

JAMES BURNHAM has written a vigorous pamphlet setting forth the inevitability of war against the Soviet Union. Hostilities, indeed, began in April, 1944, when the mutiny of the Greek sailors at Alexandria first disclosed the Soviet decision to wage covert war against the West; and total war "may begin at any moment, today, tomorrow; it may have begun before these sentences are published."

The inevitability of war, Burnham argues, is rooted in the oneness of one world. Western civilization has reached the point where conditions demand the establishment of a "universal empire." (The book is saturated with Toynbee.) Only two power centers are adequate to meet this challenge. Their simultaneous existence, by leaving little room for an old-style balance-of-power settlement, introduces an intolerable disequilibrium into world politics; and the discovery of atomic weapons makes the race for supremacy all the more urgent. Communism, with its Russian base, has begun its well-organized and ruthless drive to conquer world power, while the United States flounders, irresolute and confused, unwilling to grasp world leadership.

The Soviet challenge is unlimited and irrevocable. Accordingly, Burnham goes on, the United States must meet that challenge by every means at its disposal. It must outlaw the Communist Party wherever it can, oppose Communists wherever they appear, support all elements fighting communism, whether Attlee, Chiang Kai-shek, or Franco. It must deliberately undertake a policy of building up what Burnham calls variously an American Empire or a democratic world order by political and economic pressure always backed by a readiness to use force. For practical reasons Burnham excludes a preventive war, though he writes wistfully, "Smaller, shorter, and easier wars are, as a rule, better than

bigger, longer, and more difficult wars. And if by 'winning a war' we mean the outcome more favorable to what we believe in, it seems better to win a war than to lose it."

Even for a writer with Burnham's talent for the apocalyptic, "The Struggle for the World" is quite a mouthful. It is a superb job of pamphleteering—clear, fast, vivid, arrogant, making its points with the implacable certainty of a trip-hammer. The present copyright owners would no doubt reject a comparison with Tom Paine, but ground for the comparison is certainly there. Because it is a pamphlet, it contains little that is new in the way of fact or insight; because it is a pamphlet, one need not pause to quarrel with its exaggerations, its oversimplifications, its dogmatisms, and its inaccuracies. The fact remains that Burnham has presented in systematic and passionate form a perfectly serious case.

One can hardly deny, in the first place, that Burnham has given an accurate statement of the maximum Communist position. No serious Communist would deny communism's global aspirations, though he would describe the end-product in more optimistic language. The basic question is whether the maximum position is inevitable in Soviet policy, or whether there is also a minimum position to which the Soviet Union may be held down by proper United States policy. Burnham would answer no; but writers can afford an irresponsibility in these matters not available to statesmen. In the nature of democratic politics, in the light of his own sense of responsibility, Secretary Marshall cannot assume that the maximum position is inevitable until the evidence for this assumption is overwhelming—until, as Burnham would doubtless say, it is too late.

Marshall must thus undertake to surround Russia by a complex of pressures which will constrain it to a minimum position. The Washington theory of containment—despite the Communist claims to the contrary—

has tended toward what is known as the policy of supporting the non-Communist left, on the ground that the Chiang Kai-sheks are not only nasty people but also bad practical investments. In theory Burnham might agree. "The United States will not win the peoples [of the world] to her side," he writes, "... unless her leadership is anti-totalitarian, unless she can make herself the instrument of the hope, not the fear, of mankind." But in practice he feels so close to Armageddon that he solicits all allies: we must fight first and reconstruct afterward.

These are judgments of timing and history on which wide difference of opinion is possible. It is conceivable, for example, that commitments to groups whose only virtue is anti-communism may encourage such groups to precipitate a conflict while they see a chance to involve the United States on their side. It is conceivable that a positive pro-democratic, non-Communist left policy might by itself check Soviet expansionism long enough for the tempo to change and the missionary zeal to die down. So long as these things are conceivable—and doubtless long after given democratic inertia, liberal confusion, and bourgeois cowardice—we will reject Burnham's crusade.

This Burnham fully recognizes. He intelligently divides his analysis into what ought to be done—the renunciation of power; what could be done—the policy of the democratic world order; and what will be done—the policy of vacillation. "The usual American conception of foreign policy," as he admirably puts it, "is an uneasy combination of abstract moral sentiment with short-term selfish interests, both projected without any reference to world political facts." You may expect, Burnham prophesies, that Communists and isolationists alike will unite to block a positive American policy. Though events have disappointed Burnham's anticipation that war might come before his book was published, they have been kind to this last prediction. The debate over Greece has already revived the old 1940 alliance

be-ld of darkness ("Lenin on a bench
Am- le a lake disturbed/The swans. He
out- not the man for swans") which
app- Stevens of "Harmonium" would
no l- xcluded as unpoetic. His language
The r- and more mature. But struc-
and th- erences makes all that has been
clasp- precarious. Nothing like the
effort.

"Strugg- e-scale organization of his
presentat- his Peter Quince at the Cla-
Those w- emptied. The philosophy is
authors arc- and marshaled as in Lu-
should be sett- is seldom human and
the market-plac- Donne. When one first
say that this bo- hat juggles its termi-
been published. T- htness and subtlety,
accord with Profess- as one rereads, it
markable dictum the- addled, thin, and
and acts of politic- ngly one would
... will ultimately be- the concrete,
terms of this stark and "m."
do they contribute to Am- been making
Soviet unity?" In the cur- and they are
we are to reject all skep- ew poets of
Soviet infallibility or Com- sed off so
tue because it-strengthens th- ovisations.
the "war party." Arguments co- bscurity
beneath contempt when urged- s, their
servatives against the foes o- erisms,
totalitarianism are now trotte- there
complacently by liberals aga- poet that
foes of Soviet totalitarian- it is not
arguments do not improve-
and use.

Burnham is, of course, ransport to
given to intellectual free- s anyone is
a wide and handsome vari- s Toward a
fully omits, for example, gest poem in
rather crucial problem- three parts,
tract, It Must- ract, It Must
economic stability. Yet, on- ve Pleasure.
one must prefer his brand- consisting of
Machiavellianism, even- ones arranged in
cal strokes and opera- pite of a few beau-
confused and me- particularly Begin, eph-
appears. Sti- living; The first idea was
not Secreta- an; Not to be realized; It feels
s, it is; The great statue; and A
visage—and many fine moments,

The- hole seems to me to be unsucces-
THE- ts structure is sloppy, idiosyncratic,
Staff- petitious. It rambles and rambles
pany- gathering volume, and many
sections are padded to fill out
A- twenty-one lines. Much of the
r- oric is extremely mannered. Certain
E- tails, such as Canon Asperin, and
in- anzia Nunzio Confronting Ozyman-
E- las, seem written for Stevens's private
amusement. Of the shorter poems, I

think the best is No Possum, No Sop,
No Taters. It is objective and subtle in
its rhythms and perceptions, and is cer-
tainly one of Stevens's most magical and
perfect slighter pieces. Other small
poems in "Transport to Summer" ap-
proach it in excellence but are imper-
fect, or have much less to them. Dutch
Graves in Bucks County is much grander
and more ambitious. The past and the
present are opposed thematically:

Angry men and furious machines
Swarm from the little blue of the horizon
To the great blue of the middle height.
Men scatter throughout the clouds.

The wheels are too large for any noise...
And you, my semblables, in gaffer-green,
Know that the past is not part of the
present.

It is written with tremendous feeling,
pathos, and power. I think that no liv-
ing poet would be able to match the

CASE NO. 1,359

The boy who
saw his father
murdered

NAME: Vitek Bergverg. AGE: 11½ years.
BIRTHPLACE: Warsaw. FACTS OF CASE:
Was present when Nazi mob entered his
home, murdered his father before his eyes; beat the boy
severely. Mother taken away at same time, not heard from
since. PRESENT STATUS: In our orphans' home in Marseilles;
physical condition improving; suffers from nightmares.



this child
was "lucky!"

ONLY 1 IN 10 IS LEFT ALIVE!

Of a million and a half Jewish
children in Europe before the war,
only 150,000 remain alive today.
... one in ten! During the war
our organization saved thousands
of these, hid them from the Nazis,
brought them after liberation to

one of our 44 orphans' homes in
Europe. Many had never tasted
meat or sugar; a slice of bread was
a wonderful treat. New cases occur
every day. More help... more
homes... more care is needed for
these luckless, hurt, grieving chil-
dren!

HOW YOU CAN HELP - NOW

Underground workers died to keep
these remnants of Judaism alive
during the war. Now, only money
—more money—is needed. Your gift
will help substantially! And every
penny you send goes directly over-
seas for the care of these children.
Can you rest until you have
helped? Give... please... as
generously as you can afford...
today.

\$5	SUPPORTS	FIVE DAYS
\$10	an	TEN DAYS
\$30	orphan	ONE MONTH
\$300		A FULL YEAR

"Constitutes 'adoption' of a
child. Care-history, picture and ad-
dress are sent to the donor, who
may communicate with and per-
sonally help the child. For full
information, use the coupon be-
low.

FOSTER PARENTS

Division of the Labor Zionist Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation, Inc.
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y. Telephone: GAlerney 5-0701

Foster Parents Division, Labor Zionist Committee
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y.

- ☐ I enclose \$..... to be sent to the aid of the orphans in your institutions.
- ☐ Please send me fuller information regarding "adoption" of an orphan.

(Name)

(Address)

Contributions are deductible for income-tax purposes.

BOOKS and the ARTS

World War III

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD.

By James Burnham. The John Day Company. \$3.

JAMES BURNHAM has written a vigorous pamphlet setting forth the inevitability of war against the Soviet Union. Hostilities, indeed, began in April, 1944, when the mutiny of the Greek sailors at Alexandria first disclosed the Soviet decision to wage covert war against the West; and total war "may begin at any moment, today, tomorrow; it may have begun before these sentences are published."

The inevitability of war, Burnham argues, is rooted in the oneness of one world. Western civilization has reached the point where conditions demand the establishment of a "universal empire." (The book is saturated with Toynbee.) Only two power centers are adequate to meet this challenge. Their simultaneous existence, by leaving little room for an old-style balance-of-power settlement, introduces an intolerable disequilibrium into world politics; and the discovery of atomic weapons makes the race for supremacy all the more urgent. Communism, with its Russian base, has begun its well-organized and ruthless drive to conquer world power, while the United States flounders, irresolute and confused, unwilling to grasp world leadership.

The Soviet challenge is unlimited and irrevocable. Accordingly, Burnham goes on, the United States must meet that challenge by every means at its disposal. It must outlaw the Communist Party wherever it can, oppose Communists wherever they appear, support all elements fighting communism, whether Attlee, Chiang Kai-shek, or Franco. It must deliberately undertake a policy of building up what Burnham calls variously an American Empire or a democratic world order by political and economic pressure always backed by a readiness to use force. For practical reasons Burnham excludes a preventive war, though he writes wistfully, "Smaller, shorter, and easier wars are, as a rule, better than

bigger, longer, and more difficult wars. And if by 'winning a war' we mean the outcome more favorable to what we believe in, it seems better to win a war than to lose it."

Even for a writer with Burnham's talent for the apocalyptic, "The Struggle for the World" is quite a mouthful. It is a superb job of pamphleteering—clear, fast, vivid, arrogant, making its points with the implacable certainty of a trip-hammer. The present copyright owners would no doubt reject a comparison with Tom Paine, but ground for the comparison is certainly there. Because it is a pamphlet, it contains little that is new in the way of fact or insight; because it is a pamphlet, one need not pause to quarrel with its exaggerations, its oversimplifications, its dogmatisms, and its inaccuracies. The fact remains that Burnham has presented in systematic and passionate form a perfectly serious case.

One can hardly deny, in the first place, that Burnham has given an accurate statement of the maximum Communist position. No serious Communist would deny communism's global aspirations, though he would describe the end-product in more optimistic language. The basic question is whether the maximum position is inevitable in Soviet policy, or whether there is also a minimum position to which the Soviet Union may be held down by proper United States policy. Burnham would answer no; but writers can afford an irresponsibility in these matters not available to statesmen. In the nature of democratic politics, in the light of his own sense of responsibility, Secretary Marshall cannot assume that the maximum position is inevitable until the evidence for this assumption is overwhelming—until, as Burnham would doubtless say, it is too late.

Marshall must thus undertake to surround Russia by a complex of pressures which will constrain it to a minimum position. The Washington theory of containment—despite the Communist claims to the contrary—

has tended toward what is known as the policy of supporting the non-communist left, on the ground that even's Chiang Kai-sheks are not only as search people but also bad practicalists that will ments. In theory Burnham might have co-"The United States will not simplify peoples [of the world] to" he writes, "... unless ignorant man is anti-totalitarian, unless herself the instrument of gain with an the fear, of mankind."

he feels so close to the process: the strip-he solicits all allies. forms, the observa-and reconstruct after, and the construc-

These are judgments more adequate forms. history on which Stevens often uses an opinion is possible. minery of abstractions, but for example, saying has changed very groups whose world is an impartial, hedonismism may active world—he is closer to the chance to, to Socrates, and closer to the their side, na than to Plato. Directly or intuitive pre much of his thought is derived left politics, the dialectical idealism of Hegel. expansion detachment and flexibility of a tempo to o can say in one place that zeal to do is too nebulous, in another things are rigid, and in another that long after g Satan is a tragedy/for the liberal confusion are disarming. But perice—we will be too much the leisured

This Burnham As with Santayana, one intelligently dis tolerance and serenity are what ought to be landly appropriated, that a tion of power, be an imagination and the policy of able to be disinterested order; and what ecause it is supported policy of vacillation. ahaps if there are ican conception of foreign st always be he admirably puts it, "is an un little bination of abstract moral sec Socras with short-term selfish interests, on a projected without any reference his world political facts." You may exte his Burnham prophesies, that Communat is and isolationists alike will uness, and block a positive American f with Though events have disappointed Buham's anticipation that war migcome before his book was published in they have been kind to this last prediction. The debate over Greece has already revived the old 1940 alliance

world of darkness ("Lenin on a bench beside a lake disturbed/The swans. He was not the man for swans") which the Stevens of "Harmonium" would have excluded as unpoetic. His language is simpler and more mature. But structural differences makes all that has been gained precarious. Nothing like the dense, large-scale organization of his Sunday Morning, or even the small perfection of his Peter Quince at the Clavier, is attempted. The philosophy is not exhaustive and marshaled as in Lucretius; and it is seldom human and dramatic as in Donne. When one first reads this poetry that juggles its terminology with such lightness and subtlety, one is delighted; but as one rereads, it too often appears muddled, thin, and repetitious. How willingly one would exchange much of it for the concrete, gaudy wit of "Harmonium."

The points that I have been making are probably overstated, and they are necessarily simplified. But few poets of Stevens's stature have tossed off so many half-unfinished improvisations. Underneath their intellectual obscurity and whimsey, their loose structures, their rhetorical and imagistic mannerisms, and their tenuous subject matter, there seems to be something in the poet that protects itself by asserting that it is not making too great an effort.

The best poems in "Transport to Summer" are as good as anyone is writing in English. Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction, the longest poem in the book, is a sequence in three parts, entitled: It Must Be Abstract, It Must Change, and It Must Give Pleasure. Each part has ten sections consisting of twenty-one blank-verse lines arranged in groups of three. In spite of a few beautiful sections—particularly *Begin, ephebe, by perceiving; The first idea was not our own; Not to be realized; It feels good as it is; The great statue; and A lasting visage*—and many fine moments, the whole seems to me to be unsuccessful. Its structure is sloppy, idiosyncratic, and repetitious. It rambles and rambles without gathering volume, and many of the sections are padded to fill out their twenty-one lines. Much of the rhetoric is extremely mannered. Certain details, such as Canon Asperin, and Nanzia Nunzio Confronting Ozymandias, seem written for Stevens's private amusement. Of the shorter poems, I

think the best is No Possum, No Sop, No Taters. It is objective and subtle in its rhythms and perceptions, and is certainly one of Stevens's most magical and perfect slighter pieces. Other small poems in "Transport to Summer" approach it in excellence but are imperfect, or have much less to them. Dutch Graves in Bucks County is much grander and more ambitious. The past and the present are opposed thematically:

Angry men and furious machines
Swarm from the little blue of the horizon
To the great blue of the middle height.
Men scatter throughout the clouds.

The wheels are too large for any noise . . .
And you, my semblables, in gaffer-green,
Know that the past is not part of the present.

It is written with tremendous feeling, pathos, and power. I think that no living poet would be able to match the

CASE NO. 1359

The boy who
saw his father
murdered

NAME: Vitek Bergverg. AGE: 11½ years.

BIRTHPLACE: Warsaw. FACTS OF CASE:

Was present when Nazi mob entered his home, murdered his father before his eyes; beat the boy severely. Mother taken away at same time, not heard from since. PRESENT STATUS: In our orphans' home in Marseilles; physical condition improving; suffers from nightmares.



this child
was "lucky!"

ONLY 1-IN 10 IS LEFT ALIVE!

Of a million and a half Jewish children in Europe before the war, only 150,000 remain alive today . . . one in ten! During the war our organization saved thousands of these, hid them from the Nazis, brought them after liberation to

one of our 11 orphans' homes in Europe. Many had never tasted meat or sugar; a slice of bread was a wonderful treat. New cases occur every day. More help . . . more homes . . . more care is needed for these luckless, hurt, grieving children!

HOW YOU CAN HELP—NOW

Underground workers died to keep these remnants of Judaism alive during the war. Now, only money—more money—is needed. Your gift will help substantially! And every penny you send goes directly overseas for the care of these children. Can you rest until you have helped? Give . . . please . . . as generously as you can afford . . . today.

\$5	FIVE DAYS
\$10	TEN DAYS
\$30	ONE MONTH
\$300	A FULL YEAR

"Constitute" "adoption" of a child. Case-history, picture and address are sent to the donor, who may communicate with and personally help the child. For full information, use the coupon below.

FOSTER PARENTS

Division of the Labor Zionist Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation, Inc.
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y. Telephone: GRamercy 5-0795

Foster Parents Division, Labor Zionist Committee
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y.

- ☐ I enclose \$..... to be sent to the aid of the orphans in your institutions.
- ☐ Please send me fuller information regarding "adoption" of an orphan.

(Name)

(Address)

Contributions are deductible for income-tax purposes.

magnificence of its rhetoric and resonance. A few lines are slightly mannered, and there is something a little long, formless, and vague about its development. But it is a very large undertaking wonderfully executed.

Esthétique du Mal is a sequence in fifteen blank-verse sections. It is about as good and important a poem as T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* or *Ash Wednesday*. Its subject is: How shall the imagination act when confronted with pain and evil? The structure is not very tight, two or three sections are not particularly good, and several others have a great number of bad or over-written lines. The good parts can be detached, but they lose some of their momentum. But *Esthétique du Mal* is more in the grand manner than any poetry since Yeats'; and it reminds one of parts of "Cymbeline" and "The Winter's Tale"—slow and rapid, joining the gorgeous with the very simple, wise, elaborate, open, tolerant without apathy, understanding with the understanding of having lived long.

The death of Satan was a tragedy
For the imagination. A capital
Negation destroyed him in his tenement
And, with him, many blue phenomena.
It was not the end he had foreseen.

He knew

That his revenge created filial
Revenge. And negation was eccentric.
It had nothing of the Julian thunder-
cloud:

The assassin flash and rumble. . . . He
was denied.

Phantoms, what have you left? What
underground?

What place in which to be is not enough
To be? You go, poor phantoms, without
place

Like silver in the sheathing of the sight
When the eye closes. . . .

ROBERT LOWELL

INCLUDED IN THE CURRENT ISSUE

THOMAS MANN &
KARL KERÉNYI

Mythology and the Novel

MARIO PRAZ

Italian Literary Scene

INEZ THRIFT

Satire on Behaviorists

CHIMERA, A Literary Quarterly

111 West 11th Street New York 14, N. Y.
50¢ a copy — \$2 a year

The Innocents

THE ANGELIC AVENGERS. By
Pierre Andrezel. Random House. \$3.

OF Isak Dinesen's earlier work I have read only enough to have a great appetite for more, and to feel that a serious appraisal of it is in order, for it is surely a very long time since any foreigner writing in English has made so striking an asset of the fact; and it will probably be longer before aristocratic prejudice is turned again so beautifully to the uses of moral irony. Unfortunately I am unable to judge how far this novel, which is said to have appeared first in Denmark and to have been written under a second pseudonym for reasons of war-time security, departs from the author's previous standards. For skill she could hardly have done better; but the moral substance of the book gives an impression that the weight of events has pushed her this time into a sphere in which her best talents are not in play. The upper reaches of her irony are missing, and though the restraint and the delicate acid touch that are among her gifts are there, they cannot, of course, provide final conviction for so bold a tale of good and evil, or save it as a horror story from the literalness that James warned himself against in connection with "The Turn of the Screw." It is therefore something of a wonder, a wonder of pure narrative skill, that until near the end the story is as breath-taking as it is.

The angelic avengers in question are two innocent young English girls who in the year 1840, through a rather bizarre set of circumstances, find themselves taken in as wards by a literally diabolical English pastor and his wife. These two, it turns out, have for some years been using their French farmhouse as a base of operations in the white-slave traffic. But the real story is in the effects of the knowledge of evil on an innocent mind, and its turning-point comes not with the full revelation of horror, but with the girls' decision to fight it, helpless as they are, rather than escape; and the final drama concerns their triumph not over the outside evil but over their own sense of contamination from it. These are such depths as Hawthorne moved in—one thinks especially of Hilda in "The Marble Faun"—but here the tale is brought to a happy

ending of Jane Austen proportions that does little justice to what has preceded, and even less to the great political parallels that the reader is always conscious of, as the author too must have been. The trouble is that evil here is too literally theological, and therefore dates, as James's horror does not, and calls up questions that it ought to be protected against. What the story is designed to say is that good can triumph in the world, but this book will not convince the Jews of it. The blue-blood angle is also a little embarrassing in this context; which only drives one back with more impatience, if one has not finished them, and perhaps if one has, to the pure, if elaborate, delights of the "Seven Gothic Tales." ELEANOR CLARK

Africa

THE WORLD AND AFRICA. By W.
E. Burghardt DuBois. The Viking
Press. \$3.

THE trouble with the world," remarked old Artemus Ward, "ain't that people don't know, but that they know what ain't so." A sad experience like this must have prompted the Director of Special Research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to write what amounts to a comprehensive story of the Africans' contributions to world civilization, and of the white peoples' deliberate attempts to ignore or efface these achievements. The late German explorer, Frobenius, insisted that the idea of the "barbarous" Negro was a European invention. Actually, the various Negro and Negroid peoples in Africa, including Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Nubians, had had a decisive influence upon the development of culture among the Israelites, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations. West African Negroes knew the art of smelting iron long before the Europeans. Three early popes were of African birth. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cultural level of Africa was equal or superior to that of large parts of Europe.

The Negro's moral and intellectual deterioration coincided with the introduction of slavery by the white man. Dr. DuBois narrates bitterly the story of the shameful exploitation of the colored races by the various white powers: "The colonial system caused

ten times more deaths than actual war." A disgusting by-product of this system was the theory of racially superior and inferior peoples, intended to furnish the slaveholders with a moral justification of their crimes. There were countless, often gigantic revolts of slaves; when, finally, the slave trade was abolished, it was not so much for humanitarian as for economic reasons.

Dr. DuBois places before the reader numerous little-known facts concerning the population of a continent four times the size of the United States, and he emphasizes to what a large extent Europe and America were built on the sweat and blood of African laborers.

ALFRED WERNER

A Small Thing

POEMS, 1938-1945. By Robert Graves.
Creative Age Press. \$2.

HE WRITES exceedingly well on all the forty small pages. Every word is pulling its weight; there is lyrical and rhetorical power always within hail of a reasonable and balanced irony; it is all genuine and warm and dry; it is based on earth and conscious of history. One reads it with continual pleasure and liking and admiration. And yet, after all, what a slight volume it is; how little there is in the world, the feeling seems to be, worth writing about.

There is one story and one story only That will prove worth your telling Whether as learned bard or gifted child.

WILLIAM EMPSON

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

MISS TALLULAH BANKHEAD is one of the few American actresses whose devotees are as loyal—sometimes as uncritical—as a movie star's fans. Not all of them stuck with her through her misadventure in "Anthony and Cleopatra," but there were enough on hand during at least the early performances of "The Eagle Has Two Heads" to make the rafters of the Plymouth Theater ring with their enthusiasm. The supposedly omnipotent critics had already pronounced it the most pretentious piece of absurdity seen

here in years, but the fact that Miss Bankhead was playing it for all it was not worth was apparently enough.

Perhaps the author, Jean Cocteau, intended some kind of burlesque, though I do not see how it could be a very funny one. Perhaps "The Eagle Has Two Heads" is sur-dadaism or the first example of post-existentialist drama! But played straight, as Miss Bankhead and her company are playing it here, it is simply an incredible farago of all the romantic clichés anyone could possibly think of if he started off with the figure of a beautiful and be-reaved Hapsburg queen who is in love, first with the ghost of her dead husband, and then with a would-be assassin who miraculously turns out to be the spittin' image of the defunct king. At the end, this new lover, who has just taken poison, shoots the queen in the back—this being exactly what she has always wanted him to do, for reasons which are too complicated to explain and not very convincing at best. But that is not all. The moment he has chosen to do the deed is just before the moment when the queen is supposed to appear at a balcony window and, for the first time in many years, show her face to her loving people. As the fatal bullet finds its mark, the band outside strikes up the national anthem of Graustark; Miss Bankhead heroically thrusts aside the curtain which covers the window; and then, tearing away the drapery as she falls, tumbles with it head-first down the stairs. Personally I do not remember such a death scene since "Fra Diavolo," and while the faithful thundered approval the judicious looked at one another in a wild surmise as they asked themselves, "Can such things be?"

Now I would be the last to deny that there is something to be said for innocent hokum. I do not, however, know what excuse can be made for hokum combined, as here it is, with chichi; for simple theatrical nonsense which has been slowed down by the dead weight of interminable pseudo-poetic tirades, often delivered as though they were trying to reach blank verse but could not quite make it.

What is really painful about "The Eagle Has Two Heads" is not merely the theatrical claptrap but the leaden march of bad poetic prose, the thin whine of inflated *pensées* as they go flat, and the dull thud of epigrams falling dismally on their faces. What are we to think of a poet who offers us "you were fleeing like a hunted beast" as though it were a striking metaphor?

Of an epigrammatist who can make his royal heroine explain her lack of fear of lightning by declaring that "it sometimes strikes trees but not family trees," or can allow his Machiavellian statesman to rebuke a political poet with the pronouncement that "it is one thing to split an infinitive, but it is quite another to divide a state"? What are we to think of a philosopher whose *pensées* run to things like "Happiness is misery if it is only the absence of unhappiness," or "All love is a little death but a great love is suicide"? I assure my readers that these quotations were taken down



VERI-PAMPHLETS

Veri-Pamphlets give you the most complete and exhaustive coverage of all special questions involving the Roman Catholic Church.

Your VERI-PAMPHLET library will grow into your most important research source on the Catholic question. Start building it now with these VERI-PAMPHLETS now in print—

VERI-PAMPHLET No. 1	
Those Responsible for the Second World War	25¢
VERI-PAMPHLET No. 2	
The Catholic Church in a Democracy	25¢
VERI-PAMPHLET No. 3	
Centuries of Intolerance; The Roman Catholic Church and Anti-Semitism	25¢

All Veri-Pamphlets are 25¢ each. They are also available on subscription, at a substantial saving—\$2.00 for 12 issues, \$5.00 for 36 issues.

— DON'T DELAY —

Although we believe we have printed enough of the first three VERI-PAMPHLETS to supply the expected demand, we cannot guarantee this. It often happens that a certain pamphlet has a particular appeal which causes an unexpected rapid exhaustion of the supply. In such cases we will attempt to reprint as soon as possible, but, in view of shortages, delay may be encountered. Therefore, to make sure of getting the complete series of VERI-PAMPHLETS, enter your subscription now. Use the coupon below: In case of a shortage, it gives you PRIORITY.

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 451NP
120 Liberty Street
New York 6, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$..... for which
Enter my subscription for one year, \$2.
Enter my subscription for 3 years, \$5.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
36th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BU. HWICK
DYKER
GREENPORT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILGOT
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RIKO NOW

"GREAT PICTURE! ABSORBING ENTERTAINMENT!" —N. Y. Post

DARRYL F. ZANUCK presents

DANA ANDREWS 'BOOMERANG!'

JANE WYATT • LEE J. COBB

Directed by ELIA KAZAN

—AND—

'RENDEZVOUS WITH ANNIE'

EDDIE ALBERT • FAYE MARLOWE

"SALTY, CYNICAL HUMOR."—N. Y. World-Telegram

ROBERT YOUNG BARBARA HALE 'LADY LUCK'

FRANK MORGAN

—AND—

'SAN QUENTIN'

Lawrence Tierney

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEAT., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4258
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40.

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
"DEFINITELY A HIT."—Morchouse Sun
JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA
Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A DELIGHTFUL COMEDY."—*Illustrated Times*

HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed and Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—*Bosnia, Herald Tribune*

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Musical and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL THEAT., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

MOTION PICTURE

BOB HOPE • DOROTHY LAMOUR

'My Favorite Brunette'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA

PLUS

PAT HENNING • Lyn Shirley

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE

Doors Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax. Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NEW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

Planning to Advertise in The Nation?

HERE ARE SOME VITAL STATISTICS!

General Advertising — \$300 per page

Publishers & Local — 240 per page

Classified Display — \$7.39 per inch

Classified — 74¢ a line (six words)

minimum three lines

Call or write today
for additional data
on deadlines and discounts!

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

Twenty Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Barclay 7-1066

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any the book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received the with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESLEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

+ GIVE GLADLY!

verbatim on the margins of my program just as they fell dead from the lips of the speakers, and though I am well aware that one can always imagine the translation to be bad I cannot easily believe that any possible original of these sentiments would be very impressive. Perhaps M. Cocteau has succeeded in demonstrating, once and for all, that the only thing which lies beyond sense is non-sense and that the *sur* always turns out to be the *infra*. Thanks to the theory of relativity, it is now popularly believed that if you go far enough into the future you come to the past. Perhaps the most advanced of the advance guard are discovering that if you push on far enough ahead you will rediscover the *démôde*.

As for Miss Bankhead's performance, there are, as I have already indicated, two opinions. She is on the stage nearly all the time and she speaks most of the lines, sometimes talking for five or ten minutes at a stretch without so much as a monosyllabic interruption. Obviously she is having quite as good a time as her fans are, and there can be no doubt that her interpretation is unique—alternating as it does a hauteur that is as queenly as all get out with sudden, apparently involuntary lapses into that rowdy bonhomie which is her natural manner. Unlike Oscar Wilde I do not profess to know how a duke (or a queen) behaves when he is by himself, and so, for all I can prove to the contrary, Miss Bankhead's conception may be the right one. Its effect is, indeed, a good deal like the one achieved by her delightful interpretation of her role in "The Skin of Our Teeth," where she was supposed to be alternately Lilith and a servant girl on the make. But it did seem more appropriate in that play.

Perhaps I had better add the information that "The Eagle Has Two Heads" is said to be now enjoying a successful run in London. I do not know why.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

AS USUAL the water-color, gouache, drawing—and sculpture—installation of this year's Whitney Annual (through April 17) reaches a securer level of quality than the oils. The reason is still the same. Water color is a more intimate medium than oil, and art tends to be rather a private affair in this country; hence the American artist becomes more direct and less ill at ease and pre-

tentious when working in water color or gouache. At the same time he has behind him the Anglo-Saxon tradition of water color.

The greater success of American water color is particularly evident where one would least expect it—in the more or less abstract sections at the Whitney. Also evident is how increasingly irrelevant the other art is becoming—that which stopped short of cubism. Even so, advanced American art is still too unenterprising and narrow; our temperaments still seem to fit too easily into the canonical modes already laid down by the School of Paris, Kandinsky, and Klee. The successes are pleasing rather than moving or upsetting. This goes for the best water colors and gouaches at the present show: those by Byron Browne—who is improving rapidly—Perle Fine, Chet La More, Jacob Lawrence, Ezio Martinelli, Hans Moller, Ad Reinhardt, and Louis Schanker.

The sculpture section is quite a different matter. It shows a lot of the worst that American art is capable of, and yet at the same time three or four things in it demonstrate better than does oil or even water-color painting the very best we can do at the present moment. Theodore Roszak's steel "Raven" is, despite its bad tripod base, one of the strongest works of art I have ever seen turned out in this country; while Seymour Lipton's lead "Famine" and David Hare's sienaplaster "Red Knight" are almost in the same class. All three of these works are more pictorial than sculptural; the spectacular polychromatic-cement "Fallen Angel" by the always surprising Trajan seems a combination of both. Somewhat academic plaster and terra cotta pieces by Arline Wingate and Hannah Small deserve mention, if only for the success with which they accomplish what they most modestly set out to do. David Smith, whom I think already the greatest sculptor this country has produced, is represented by a weak piece in fabricated bronze; Smith is strictly a pictorial sculptor, and his ventures into monolithic usually result in a loss.

Here, as in France, according to all the evidence I have seen, the future seems to belong to sculpture much more than to painting. The amount of new and potent talent that has sprung up in sculpture and construction within the last ten years—talent of a positiveness relatively rare in painting today—would indicate that the possibilities of post-cubist sculpture have actually become richer than those of post-cubist painting.

Picasso's new lithographs at the

Museum of Modern Art (through April 6) confirm the fact that he has remained a great artist in black and white, whatever the vicissitudes of his painting in the last twenty years. During this time one frequently saw preliminary sketches whose effect was far superior to their final versions on canvas—and this was true even in the case of some of Picasso's most ambitious oils. The present lithographs, especially the series with the bull and that with the two nudes, and the cow in the miscellaneous group, have much greater unity, style, and invention than any of his post-1939 oils seen over here so far. Let the spectator who wants to see Picasso "explained" linger over the bull series and notice what changes the bull's anatomy goes through. Here the artist solves with astounding success, in four or five progressively more abstract versions of the same theme—all almost equally good—the problem that has obsessed him since cubism: how to compress the infinity or variety of visual detail offered by any given segment of nature in a set of linear abbreviations that, under the pressure of the unity and economy dictated

OVERSEA—GIFT—PARCEL

No. 62 — \$6.90

Incl. Postage, Packing, Insurance

- 1½ lb. bacon
- 1 lb. beef roast
- ½ lb. milk powder
- 1 lb. rice
- ¼ lb. tea
- 1 lb. coffee
- 1 lb. sugar
- ¾ lb. jam
- 1 pack cigarettes

Finest cigarettes 200 — \$1.80
of Imported and 600 — 3.70
Domestic Tobaccos 1000 — 6.15

Write for further information on our parcels especially made up for order.

J. KOHLB

PERSONAL PARCEL SERVICE

315 WEST 102nd ST. NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Academy 2-3844

BOOK BARGAINS

All new, original editions, published by Knopf, Putnam, Viking, etc. Minimum mail order (U. S.) \$1

- Democracy Reborn, \$3: Henry Wallace .50
- Lessons of My Life, \$3: Lord Vansittart .50
- Report From Red China, \$3: H. Forman .50
- Bevin & Co., \$2.50: Patricia Strauss .50
- Pattern of Soviet Power, \$2.75: .50
- Edgar Snow .50
- The New World Order, \$1.50: .75
- H. G. Wells .75
- Journey From the East, \$3.75: 1.00
- Mark Gayn .1.00
- Freedom's Battle (Spain), \$3: 1.25
- J. A. del Vayo .1.25
- George Bancroft, \$3.50: Russel Nye 1.50
- (Pulitzer Prize) .1.50
- The Curse of Bigness, \$3.75: L. Brandeis 2.00
- The Birds of America, \$6.95: J. Audubon 5.00

Bonus Book: With each \$3.00 order we will send free of charge a copy of a Roosevelt Album (200 photos, Knickerbocker Pub. \$1.25).

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR, 212 B'way, N. Y. C. 7

by the plane surface, would constitute a memorandum to the imagination. These lithographs should be published cheaply in book form to enlighten the public as to what modern art is about.

The unusual photographs of the French artist, Henri Cartier-Bresson, also at the Museum of Modern Art (through April 6), provide an object lesson too—in how photography can assimilate the discoveries of modern painting to itself without sacrificing its own essential virtues. One thing that painting since Manet has emphasized is that a picture has to have a "back." It cannot simply fade off in depth into nothingness; every square millimeter of picture space, even if it represents only the empty sky, must play a positive role. This, Cartier-Bresson, like his fellow-photographer Walker Evans, has learned preeminently. At the same time, unlike Edward Weston and the later Stieglitz, he has not forgotten that photography's great asset is its capacity to represent depth and volume, and that this capacity's primary function is to describe, convey, and make vivid the emotional "use-value" of beings and objects. It is to anecdotal content that Cartier-Bresson, rightly, subordinates design and technical finish. I am told that he does not trim his prints, and it is obvious that he takes his shots under circumstances that make it difficult to calculate focus and exposure with any great exactness. This procedure testifies, even if the results did not, to his overriding concern with subject matter rather than with the medium—which comes into its own only in so far as it becomes transparent.

Not all of Cartier-Bresson's photographs are of equal merit. Certain of them are tinged with that artiness which, whether plastic or anecdotal, has so far haunted almost all ambitious photography in the twentieth century. Perhaps

it is because photography still feels it has to fight for recognition as an art. For artiness arises usually—as we can see, I believe, in the example of American art in general—when the place of free or high art as opposed to applied, commercial, or past art is overlooked by society at large. Then the artist tends to retaliate both by overemphasizing the nature of art as art and by exaggerating the differences between it and everything else. This would seem to explain Pre-Raphaelitism and British aestheticism in the 1890's, as well as the artiness of Stefan George's and Rilke's milieu in Germany before 1914. Today it handicaps American art, and photography here and everywhere else.

Correction: A month ago I wrongly identified Gertrude Barrer, the painter, as the wife of Kenneth Laurence Beaudoin; she is the wife of the painter Oscar Collier, who collaborates with Mr. Beaudoin on *Iconograph*.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

A FEW weeks ago Victor announced that with the return of Lotte Lehmann to its list of artists it had resumed production of her previous recordings of songs and operas. And now it has announced resumption of domestic production of the Glyndebourne Festival recording of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro." I suspect this is the result of Columbia's announcement of its intention to record the Metropolitan Opera production of "Figaro"; and if I am right it would be one of the rare instances in which the competition of the two companies has benefited the minority public that is interested in Mozart rather than the mass public that is interested in things like the monstrosities played by Isaac Stern and Oscar Levant in the film "Humoresque" (Columbia Set 657; \$5).

The first thought that occurred to me when Columbia announced its contract for recordings of the Metropolitan's performances was that these performances were not all worthy of being given permanence on records. The second thought was that the Metropolitan "Figaro" was even finer than the Glyndebourne and therefore eminently worthy of recording; but that although Columbia had contracts with most of its principals—with Sayao, Stevens, Pinza, Baccaloni, and with Bruno Walter who conducted it so beautifully the first

years and might be brought back to conduct it for the recording—Victor had the contract with Steber, whose Countess has been one of the production's glories. Just whom Columbia could use in her place I don't know; but it would be someone who had not sung in the performances at the Metropolitan; and I can only hope Columbia will not solve this problem as it did a similar problem recently, when, recording the love music from Act 2 of "Tristan und Isolde" with Traubel and Ralf, it had the long, luscious phrases of Brangäne's Warning, which call for the utmost in vocal opulence, sung by Herta Glaz, whose voice is unpleasant in timbre and tremolo-ridden (one could question the suitability of Traubel's voice in its present condition for the sensuous music of the duet; but she is the Metropolitan's Isolde). This impossibility of recording the Metropolitan "Figaro" with Steber illustrates the way the commercially competitive set-up of recording interferes with its use for artistically desirable ends—just as the similar set-up of American radio prevented the broadcasting of the performance of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" by NBC's Toscanini and CBS's New York Philharmonic in 1942.

The newspaper reports on Miss Margaret Truman's radio appearance with the Detroit Symphony ought to be excellent material for one of A. J. Liebling's "Wayward Press" articles in the *New Yorker*. He could point out that it was, astonishingly, a reviewer in a Detroit paper, Harvey Taylor in the *Detroit Times*, who wrote: "She sings as any talented but fairly inexperienced pupil would sing at her first important public appearance"—which was an accurate characterization of those spiritless sequences of undifferentiated notes, some of them badly off pitch. And on the other hand that it was a New York critic, Noel Straus, sent all the way to Detroit by the *New York Times*, who managed to hear "a sensitive feeling for melodic outline in 'Ciel to Lindo' that also marked Miss Truman's singing in her other numbers," the "spirit, refinement, and sensitivity of feeling" in the songs, and in the aria *Charmant oiseau* "the flexibility of the voice . . . her prowess in high staccato notes, in rapid scales, and other technical feats." But for full appreciation of Straus's report one would have had to observe his hatchet-work on really distinguished musical performances by less exalted personages.

WILLIAM MORRIS presents
MIIHAL

KUSEVITSKY

CANTOR OF WARSAW
INTERNATIONAL TENOR

Awarded the Stalin Medal of Merit
Programme includes operatic, Hebrew,
Russian, Polish and Jewish Music.

SYMPHONY HALL
BOSTON MASS.

APRIL 20—SUN. 8:30 P.M.

Other performances immediately following Boston are:

LYRIC THEATRE — Baltimore, Md.

APRIL 22—TUESDAY

KLEINHAN'S MUSIC HALL — Buffalo, N. Y.

APRIL 27—SUNDAY

MUSIC HALL — Cleveland, Ohio

APRIL 30—WEDNESDAY

all concerts begin at 8:30 P.M.

Prices \$1.20 to \$3.40, tax included

Mail orders accepted. Reserved seats on sale.

Letters to the Editors

Niemöller—Not a Nazi

Dear Sirs: Your editorial note on Pastor Niemöller seems to me very ill advised and to be based upon misinformation. I make no defense for the curious kind of political ethic which Niemöller symbolizes, and which was one of the tragic aspects of the German situation. Niemöller, however, was never a Nazi, and certainly has not expressed himself in favor of totalitarianism since his release. On my recent visit to Germany I had the opportunity of speaking to him about religious and political affairs very fully, and I found him wise in his political judgments and undoubtedly matured by his experience.

I think it is difficult for American secular democrats to understand the rather odd political and almost purely religious motivation of a man like Niemöller, but I should think that one ought to have a certain degree of respect for the courage which brought on seven years of imprisonment. I respect no one in this country more than Mrs. Roosevelt, but I think her judgments are as misinformed as yours in regard to Niemöller.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, March 10

In Rhee's Defense

Dear Sirs: I read Will Hamlin's Korea: An American Tragedy in your issue of March 1 with extraordinary interest. It is a combination of fact and fancy that will both inform and misinform its readers. Mr. Hamlin's main point is that the Korean people are distinctly restive under the dictatorial rule of the American Military Government. They have been promised independence but instead have received division, censorship, economic strangulation, and after eighteen months they still are not allowed a government of their own. A strong current of rebellion against these conditions is rapidly rising in Korea. With this picture I must heartily agree. The only contrary voices are those of the rulers of Korea, who naturally defend their own rule.

The principal distortion in Mr. Hamlin's article is his violent and untruthful attack upon Dr. Syngman Rhee. I am proud to be a friend of Dr. Rhee's. My testimony in his behalf may be discounted for that reason, but at least I

know the facts about him, while Mr. Hamlin obviously does not.

Mr. Hamlin calls Dr. Rhee "wealthy" and says, "Rhee has \$300,000 in his pocket, and probably millions more available from business friends in the United States. . . ." Someone has been pulling Mr. Hamlin's leg. Dr. Rhee has almost no money at all. From his youth he was engaged in revolutionary activities—first against the corrupt Yi dynasty, then against the Japanese rulers of his country. He came to the United States and worked his way through college. For the past thirty-five years he has devoted all his time and energy to the fight for Korean independence. He has been in no position to acquire wealth. As a perpetual rebel against our State Department policies, he has made few wealthy friends, and those he has made have not given him money. His sole means of support has been the "voluntary taxes" voted to keep up his work for Korean independence, contributed by the Korean Americans in this country and Hawaii.

Mr. Hamlin's second charge against Dr. Rhee is that he is the leader of a wealthy, reactionary, and pro-Japanese Korean rightist clique that is trying to seize power at the expense of the Korean people. This is just as false as the first. Anyone who knows anything at all about Dr. Rhee knows that he fought the Japanese control of Korea by every means in his power.

There are many political leaders in Korea, just as there are in the United States. Most of the non-Communist leaders are loosely organized in the Korean Democratic Unity Federation, under Dr. Rhee's chairmanship, just as Republicans in Congress are loosely organized under the leadership of Senator Taft. But Dr. Rhee's political strength does not come from the support of these political leaders. It comes from the devotion of the great masses of the Korean people. I spent two and a half months in Korea last summer, not as an employee of the Military Government, but as a guest lecturer at the University of Korea. I traveled through South Korea and made every effort to learn what the people want. Dr. Rhee is their hero to an extent comparable to the feeling of Americans for President Roosevelt, back in 1933.

However, it is evident that Dr.

Rhee was suffering some loss of prestige among the people. The reason was that he had urged them to support the American Military Government and to give General John R. Hodge every opportunity to keep the promises of independence that had been made to Korea. Hot-heads among Korean youth naturally wanted to demonstrate against American delays. When Dr. Rhee told them this was unwise, it was inevitable that his popularity suffered.

Finally, in November, an election was held to choose forty-five members for an Interim Legislature. Eighty-five per cent of those elected were followers of Dr. Rhee. Then General John R. Hodge appointed forty-five more legislators, most of them from among Dr. Rhee's opponents. Since then he has removed six members and replaced them with six more of his appointees. Now General Hodge is blaming that hand-picked and controlled legislature for not giving him even closer cooperation.

When Dr. Rhee saw that every possible obstruction was to be placed in the way of an orderly expression by the Korean people of their own desires, he told General Hodge he could support him no longer. He came back to the United States to make his protest to the State Department and to the American people. The State Department refused to hear him. Lack of funds has seriously handicapped his efforts to inform the American public of what is going on. Korea is 8,000 miles away and has no bloc of votes in this country; so Congress has not been interested. Even Dr. Rhee's communications with his people back in Korea have been heavily censored. And a far-reaching "smear campaign" against him has been spread through some of the American press.

Now Dr. Rhee is returning to Korea. He returns to seek a free election based upon universal suffrage. He returns to fight by every means in his power for democracy and independence. He has no ambitions other than these. Dr. Rhee has repeatedly offered to withdraw wholly from politics if that would expedite the granting of freedom to his people. But the simple fact is that he is the chief unifying force in Korea, and that if he were to retire, his people would disintegrate into innumerable divergent groups.

ROBERT T. OLIVER

Syracuse, N. Y., March 20

Crossword Puzzle No. 206

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Tradesman with a penchant for covering up things?
 5 Seals perform thus
 10 There's a catch in it so you may not see the point (6-3)
 11 Accustom
 12 He must have two seconds—one in which to get ready, and the other to carry him out
 13 Has he no ideals at all?
 14 Sound of a business going broke
 16 Not the butchering of boobies for an illusory feast
 18 Parliamentary contestant who was not squared at the poll
 20 Very clever people?
 22 Mere outward decency is a rum code
 24 They combine domestic with ceremonial duties in the East
 26 She has no connection with Helen, but may be related to Alan
 27 Made out a phonograph record—er—and a donkey
 28 Witchcraft makes Rose cry
 29 Half of it is a tree, and it produces a spray

DOWN

- 2 Strip and rob
 3 Wanting to be made much of?
 4 Pale brute (anag.)

- 5 Such a sanctum is a holy of holies
 6 "The dog, to gain his ----- ends, Went mad, and bit the man" (which, as Lord Northcliffe would have said, is not news)
 7 Are you in an edition? It is a learned one
 8 She has two articles put in a case
 9 Made by old-fashioned actors
 15 Pertaining to an uncle
 17 A nudist restores his balance
 18 Senders show embarrassment
 19 Ran in Mussolini for imprisonment
 20 Well-bred male fish?
 21 Where Jonah travelled
 23 Blouse for a midshipman
 25 They are ice-capped all the year round

□-□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 205

ACROSS:—1 SALIC; 4 CURRY; 7 HORATIO; 10 AGREE; 11 SCION; 12 FANTASY; 13 KNOB; 16 SEAS; 18 SHRUG; 20 PRESTO; 21 EATING; 22 UPSHOT; 24 SNIPER; 25 PEWIT; 26 BEAD; 28 RUDE; 31 THRONES; 33 NEIGH; 34 APTER; 35 ENROLLS; 36 FROWN; 37 HEART.

DOWN:—1 SPARK; 2 LARGO; 3 CHEF; 4 COSY; 5 RAISE; 6 YANKS; 8 RANCHO; 9 TEAGUE; 14 NEPTUNE; 15 BLESSED; 16 SLIPPER; 17 ANGERED; 18 STOOP; 19 GAUNT; 23 TERROR; 24 SIGNAL; 26 BANFF; 27 AMIGO; 29 ULTRA; 30 EGRET; 31 THEN; 32 SASH.

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
 Economically

M. SCOTT—FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
 Longacre 5-4917

FOR SALE—STOCKINGS

LADIES ALL-NYLON stockings, first quality, 45 gauge. Sunlure—beautiful Spring shade, minimum 3 pairs, \$1.25 per pair postpaid. Sizes 8½ to 10½. Send check or money order to LAUER'S MAIL ORDER CO., 1528 49th St., Brooklyn 19, N. Y.

SITUATION WANTED

LATIN-AMERICAN-WISE North American, Engineering, writing, research background. Will work anywhere in the world at stimulating job with future. Box 1697, c/o The Nation.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., the author of "The Age of Jackson," is associate professor of history at Harvard University.

ROBERT FITZGERALD is the author of "Poems" and "A Wreath for the Sea."

ROBERT LOWELL has written two books of verse, "Land of Unlikeness" and "Lord Weary's Castle."

ELEANOR CLARK is the author of "The Bitter Box."

WILLIAM EMPSON is the author of "Seven Types of Ambiguity," "Some Versions of Pastoral," and two books of verse.

CORRECTION: Recently our contributors' column stated that Elizabeth Bishop had been given the Macmillan Poetry Award; actually, of course, her "North and South" was given the Houghton Mifflin Poetry Award.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 12, 1947

NUMBER 15

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

April 12, 1945

The work, my friends, is peace, more than an end of the war—an end to the beginning of all wars, yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Today as we move against the terrible scourge of war—as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world—the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight-edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

—From the speech written the night before he died.

Notes on Power Politics

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE cynical ease with which the Soviet Union and the United States by-pass the United Nations whenever its operations promise to interfere with immediate national interests must dishearten even the most trustful believer in collective security. In terms of vetoes and flat refusals to cooperate, the Soviet score is far ahead of ours. In terms of getting what we unilaterally want while preserving an outward show of loyalty to the U. N., this country is miles in the lead.

Why was it necessary for Russia to veto the mild and diluted resolution in the Security Council declaring that the mine-field off the Albanian coast could not have been laid "without the knowledge of the Albanian authorities"? Certainly the presumption of such knowledge was overwhelmingly strong; if Mr. Gromyko believed it had not been established by positive evidence, he could reasonably have abstained from voting and urged that the case be submitted to the International Court of Justice. His veto plainly indicated that the Russian position was taken on strict political grounds. He voted to support his "side," not to remedy a just grievance. By doing so, he reduced still further the capacity of the Council to act as an effective instrument for the settlement of international disputes.

Exactly the same must be said of the behavior of the United States in the matter of its claim for absolute trusteeship over the former Japanese mandated islands, and the waters between and around them. The fact that

Mr. Austin bullied a unanimous vote out of the Council makes no more than a formal difference; in fact, his elaborate "correctness" enveloped an essentially unilateral action in an aura of hypocritical piety that more than one nation must have found hard to take. With a great show of virtue, Mr. Austin said he would not use the veto to win his case; he would only withdraw the trusteeship offer altogether! In other words, the Council would either accept the American terms to the letter or we wouldn't play.

Two moderate changes proposed by Britain and Russia—the first forbidding the United States to give preferential treatment to American commercial interests in the islands; the second permitting the Security Council to alter or terminate the trusteeship agreement, a purely theoretical right in view of the veto—were peremptorily rejected by Mr. Austin. As a result, the United States has achieved total and permanent control under cover of trusteeship; and has done so by applying a concealed veto which will no doubt be studied with sympathetic interest by nations dominating other areas of strategic importance.

A COMPARABLE device to save the appearance of collective action while maintaining the reality of national power, has been thought up by Senator Vandenberg and attached as an amendment to the Administration's bill to provide "aid" to Greece and Turkey.

When President Truman announced that we must act

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

Notes on Power Politics <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	409
The Shape of Things	410
The Masks Are Off	412
America and the I. T. O.	412

ARTICLES

The Clash at Moscow <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	413
Britain Without Empire: II <i>by Harold J. Laski</i>	415
Monument to Hitler <i>by Kay Boyle</i>	417
The Farmer Pays His Debts <i>by James Hearst</i>	420
Notes on Jamaica <i>by Margaret Marshall</i>	422
A Democratic Assembly <i>by Charles G. Bolt</i>	424
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	425
In One Ear <i>by Lou Frankel</i>	426

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Some Reflections on the American Press <i>by A. J. Liebling</i>	427
Gorki as Artist <i>by James Baldwin</i>	427
God's Angry Men <i>by Albert Guérard</i>	428
A Partial Clarification <i>by George Soule</i>	430
Parable for Adults <i>by Virginia Mishnum</i>	430
Evans Carlson <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	431
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	433
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	433

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 435

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 207
by Jack Barrell 436

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor
J. King GordonLiterary Editor
Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 15, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

alone in those countries because the United Nations was not strong enough to take on the job, he too applied a veto, in fact if not in form, to possible United Nations action. Public and Congressional criticism of his plan has centered largely on this cool by-passing of the U. N., with all the implications of power politics and imperialist commitments the move entails. The publication of the remarkable F. A. O. report on Greek economic needs and the steps required to meet them under the U. N. left the Truman position even less defensible and the power aspect of the new doctrine embarrassingly exposed.

Obviously, Mr. Vandenberg's object was to drape the nakedness of American intentions with a few rags of United Nations authority. But the unreality of his amendment, even as further amended by the State Department, is likely to defeat its purpose, even though it is included in the measure which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously reported. Having usurped prerogatives rightfully belonging to the United Nations, we now magnanimously propose to permit the United Nations, after the fact, to put a stop to our actions in Greece and Turkey if it decides they are "unnecessary or undesirable"—and if it is prepared to carry them on itself.

How odd a procedure! If we are really so concerned with the opinion and authority of the U. N. that we give it the power to order us out of Greece and Turkey, why did we not at least consult it before deciding to go in? (Indeed, we might even consult it now before Congress votes on the bill.) Or, conversely, if unilateral action was dictated by the urgent necessities of the situation, how can we safely allow the U. N. to decide, by majority vote, when that necessity has come to an end? Mr. Reston, writing in the *New York Times*, has pointed out a number of legal difficulties in the amended amendment, which will no doubt be overcome by further editing before the bill is passed upon. But no rewriting will obliterate the falsity of a formula which rests on our certain knowledge that the Security Council will never muster a majority against a crucial policy supported by the United States and Great Britain. We are risking nothing by the Vandenberg amendment, and so we shall win nothing either—except further suspicion of our motives at home and abroad.

The Shape of Things

JOHN L. LEWIS HAS SCORED HEAVILY IN THE latest rounds of his fast and furious political battle with the Administration. He has shown that the blow struck him by the Supreme Court—a blow he considers definitely below the belt—did not knock him out but merely made him more angry and more dangerous. Ad-

ways the astute strategist, he seized on the Centralia disaster as a means of shutting down the industry in defiance of the injunction against a strike on April 1, and got away with it. Secretary of the Interior Krug countered by attempting to put more responsibility for safety on the United Mine Workers. He ordered 518 mines closed until the local unions declared them to be safe. Lewis came back with a demand that all mines be closed until certified as safe by federal inspectors. This demand has been rejected as unreasonable, but union committees throughout the country are likely to take it as a hint to appeal to their contract clause allowing them to withdraw from any pit where conditions appear to offer "imminent danger." We seem, therefore, to be in for a prolonged stoppage designed to prove that come hell, high water, or the Supreme Court, John L. Lewis is still the Big Boss. The price the miners will pay in the form of lost wages for this demonstration may be a large one and the cost to the country's economy will be heavy. We can only hope that some gain will be achieved in the form of better safety provisions. The present system, with responsibility divided between the federal government and the states, is most unsatisfactory. At Centralia, the federal men reported unsafe conditions months ago, but the Illinois Department of Mines was too busy shaking down operators for contributions to Republican funds to take any action.

✱

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON MARCH 26, THE President urged business men to note the handwriting on the wall and cut prices before it was too late. The fact that, by and large, industrial profit margins provide ample scope for such cuts will not be news to *Nation* readers who recall the articles by Simon Lesser and Keith Hutchison in our January 18 and March 15 issues. What is news is that the views of these writers are now being echoed in unexpected places. We have, for instance, so conservative a columnist as Mark Sullivan of the New York *Herald Tribune* pointing to the abnormal level of companies' earnings and asserting that "in the light of profits already made, and before more are made, the sound course for the country's economic health is to reduce prices." We have Edwin Feldman, a director of the National Association of House Dress Manufacturers, telling a gathering of business men that in his opinion the swollen profits of the textile industry indicated that recent price increases in textiles were wholly unwarranted. And a writer in the *Journal of Commerce* points out that in the first quarter of this year production has been running far ahead of national income. In order to take the whole current output off the market, he concludes, it would be necessary for prices to fall on the average by 21 per cent. There are many straws to indicate that the kind of wind that blew our economy inside-out in 1920 is again gathering force. Department-store sales are lag-

ging; inventories are mounting, and so is the volume of outstanding bank credit; business failures are tending upward; unemployment is increasing. But aggregate profits for the first quarter of this year will probably hang up an all-time record. That points to a dangerous unbalance which, if uncorrected by voluntary price reductions, may lead in short order to a business landslide.

✱

HERE ARE TWO PIECES OF GOOD NEWS, BOTH concerning justice. The twenty-two conscientious objectors Henry Geiger wrote about on March 22 in *The Nation* have received suspended sentences and paroles from Judge Charles J. Cavanaugh in Los Angeles. These men, readers will remember, were being tried for their post-war strike in the Glendora, California, civilian-public-service camp against conditions of forced labor without compensation. That they are men of worth and integrity is proved not only by Judge Cavanaugh's action but by the fact that the paroled strikers are now appealing to a higher court for a reversal of their suspended sentences, at much cost to themselves in both time and cash. . . . And from Washington comes the news that Lieutenant Colonel James A. Killian's name has been stricken by President Truman from the list of nominees for the rank of full colonel. Killian, of course, ought never to have been on the list submitted by the War Department, since his conduct in command of the disciplinary barracks at Lichfield, England, was not only unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, but unbecoming any balanced, decent human being. Under the law, his recommendation for promotion was automatic, due to seniority. Secretary of War Patterson has urged Congress to permit army promotion by merit rather than by seniority, and that too is good news.

✱

IN THE OLD DAYS, WHEN MURDER ON THE most modest scale was good for a front-page spread, no one but a raving maniac would have dreamed that in 1947 a man would stand in a court of law and hear himself convicted of four million killings. Still less could one have imagined that the defendant would plead guilty but insist that he had murdered "only two million"—or that the verdict would rate no more than a stick of type on page eleven of the New York *Times*. Yet this is a precise summary of the case of Rudolf Hoess, who has just been sentenced to hang for having wiped out a population greater than Chicago in the gas chambers of the Oswiecim horror camp. Orders are orders, said Hoess. "If I had been told to gas and burn my wife and children, I would have done it, of course." Let those who would let bygones be bygones, who would ease up on denazification for the sake of "efficiency," think occasionally of Herr Hoess and his four million murders, and of the insanely diseased state in whose name he acted.

The Masks Are Off

AFTER ten weeks of abuse, ranging from cloudy innuendo to character assassination in the first degree, it is reasonably certain that by the time this issue reaches our readers David E. Lilienthal will have been confirmed by the United States Senate. If so, the country can take comfort that a majority of the Senate has not seen fit to reject as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission an honest man, magnificently and peculiarly equipped for the post. But heartening as this may be, Lilienthal's appointment itself has for some time been a subordinate issue in the Lilienthal affair. What started out as Senator McKellar's private spite campaign against the man who denied him TVA patronage, became in time a free-for-all in which masks were ripped off and Senators stood revealed on the most burning issues of the day.

In the early stages of the Senate fight, there was at least a pretense that the issue was Lilienthal's alleged radicalism. No one took seriously the senile bleating of McKellar, but there is no doubt that Taft, Wherry, White, and lesser Republicans of the extreme right hoped, though they hardly expected, to make New Dealism a bar to high public office. To the lasting credit of such Republicans as Vandenberg, Knowland, and Hick-enlooper, who led the fight within the G. O. P., this dangerous doctrine was denied a birth.

It became apparent soon enough that to a sizeable group of Senators the heart of the battle was not Lilienthal's personal philosophy at all but the old clash between public power and private utilities. By discrediting Lilienthal—and TVA—men like Bridges of New Hampshire hoped at least to slip a foot in the doorway behind which lies the whole vast world of atomic power with untold millions in potential profit.

The third major issue that emerged in the heat of battle on the Senate floor was the question of military versus civilian control over atomic energy—an issue that the Senate itself had supposedly settled in the 79th Congress. Hints that the military clique had not yet surrendered were dropped even during the Senate committee hearings, when General Groves's name cropped up repeatedly and Bernard Baruch expressed open regret that the Senate had excluded the military from the commission. But it remained for Senator Taft to come out bluntly and repudiate his own earlier vote. Pressed by Senator McMahon, he admitted that he would favor returning control of atomic energy to a military commission. At this point in the discussion, Capehart of Indiana introduced the question of the Truman policy in Greece and asked in seeming innocence why, in view of the world situation, it would not be "a sensible program . . . to return atomic energy to the military forces, where it belongs."

Having pushed their anti-Lilienthal arguments to such unplanned lengths, it was inevitable that the Taft crowd

should go the rest of the way and repudiate the entire American position on atomic energy as put forth in the United Nations. It was all a terrible blunder, said Taft. On the international body that would control American atomic plants, "the great bulk of the personnel would be foreigners"—a bad feature of all those international arrangements. Sovereignty would be killed. Gromyko was right. Thus faded the bi-partisan foreign policy—and with it the neat but artificial division in the G. O. P., whereby Vandenberg was to guide it in the field of foreign affairs and Taft in matters domestic.

It is clear that the implications of the Lilienthal fight will only now begin to be felt. The commission itself will have to draw its every breath with care. But if its life is to be precariously lived, so is that of the Republican Party, which has recklessly exposed its deep divisions, its lack of program, and its general incompetence.

America and the I.T.O.

ON APRIL 8, representatives of eighteen leading trading nations gathered at Geneva, Switzerland, to participate in the second preparatory conference of the International Trade Organization and to begin negotiations for the reciprocal reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. These two tasks are intimately connected. The draft charter of the I. T. O., which is to be reviewed by the conference, provides for a code of international economic behavior which, if generally adopted, would tend to prevent economic warfare and to promote international cooperation in the achievement of an expanding world economy. The reciprocal negotiations will serve as a kind of advance test of the principles of the charter. If they succeed, the prospects of putting the I. T. O. on a firm foundation will be immeasurably increased; if they fail, the I. T. O. may prove an empty dream.

The heaviest responsibility for success or failure falls on the United States. It is in this country that the techniques of reciprocal trade agreements have been developed and the I. T. O. is basically an American conception. Moreover, we have preached for years to the world about the varied sins of restrictionism—sometimes forgetting that we indulge in most of them ourselves. And we have used economic pressure to obtain support for our program; for instance, by making acceptance of the I. T. O. in principle a precondition of the British and French loans. Yet, despite this record of leadership, other nations represented at Geneva are wondering whether they can trust us to stand by our own child.

Ever since the G. O. P. victory last November, the protectionist forces in this country have been working to undermine the international economic policies of the government. Thanks to Senators Vandenberg and Millikin, Congressional attempts to make a direct assault on the I. T. O. and to obtain an indefinite postponement of the

reciprocal-trade negotiations have been frustrated. Nevertheless, the Administration has been placed on the defensive and has been forced to promise the inclusion of "escape clauses" in all agreements. In addition, it has been driven to give the impression that no tariff changes that threaten serious injury to any industry will be made.

Literally interpreted, that undertaking would serve to vitiate the whole campaign for freer trade. The truth is—and the American people deserve to have this made clear to them—that most drastic downward revisions in the United States tariff are required if American foreign trade is to be placed on a sound basis. We are at present selling abroad some \$10 billion worth of goods annually. If we want to continue to do this—and the pressure to export will increase as wartime domestic deficiencies are made up—we shall have to buy foreign goods and services to the same amount and, if foreign loans are to be repaid, we shall have to import more than we export. That means at least doubling the present volume of imports, a feat which is not going to be accomplished by swapping minor concessions with other countries. It will require, rather, the wide opening of doors to goods that can be more cheaply produced abroad and, undoubtedly, the immediate result will be most unpleasant for those industries which for years have enjoyed a parasitic growth behind tariff walls. The least efficient units in such industries will be likely to fall by the wayside and there will be a forced shift of capital and labor to other fields.

Such economic readjustments are always extremely painful but let no one suppose they can be avoided by leaving the tariff unchanged. For in that case we could

continue to sell goods abroad on the present scale only so long as we were prepared to finance the excess of exports by foreign loans. When we got tired of this business of inviting defaults—the loans could only be repaid in goods—we would experience a tremendous slump in exports. That would mean the severe shrinkage of agricultural production, with the ruin of thousands of farmers, and curtailed output for our most efficient industries which are the ones most interested in export markets.

There is another point. Failure to achieve a better balance in world trade through the I. T. O. must lead to other countries depending more and more on bilateral exchanges of goods on the basis of deals between governments. Nations with planned and semi-socialized economies are much better equipped to use such methods than the United States, which relies on private enterprise to carry on its foreign commerce. If, at Geneva, plans to provide a sturdy framework for a system of multilateral trade are defeated, we are likely to find the United States government forced into the export-import business.

Is this what the G. O. P. wants? Obviously not and, dubious as we ourselves are about many of the "blessings" of private enterprise, we do not want to see socialism smuggled in by this back door. The price at which it would be secured would be much too high. It would include a loss of most of the advantages of the international division of labor, the reduction of international trade to a minimum, chronic economic warfare, and, in the not very long run, a new shooting war. We hope, therefore, that our representatives at Geneva will reassert American leadership boldly.

The Clash at Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, April 7

TODAY, at the beginning of the fifth week of the Foreign Ministers' conference, there is a disgruntled and even disgusted look on many faces—at the Moskva Hotel, at the Russian Foreign Office, at the British, American, and French embassies. But let us not say, as others are saying, "The conference has failed." There was no question of its "succeeding" in the sense that it could have produced a complete draft treaty "with" or "on" Germany. There was probably only one remark by Marshall throughout the conference with which Molotov cordially agreed: "It is more important to build solidly than to build fast." And Bevin, for his part, always took the view that treaty-making with Germany was a long process unlike any other treaty-making. He thought there would be a succession of Foreign Ministers' meetings, each of which would produce a new set of instructions for the Control Council and finally, after

perhaps two years, the peace treaty itself would in fact simply "register" a certain status quo.

This is indeed unlike any other peace treaty. In the German problem, everything, or very nearly everything, is closely interrelated and interdependent. Political structure, demilitarization, economic unity, reparations, industry level, are closely linked. No agreement can be reached on a single issue without at the same time coming to a clear decision on all the rest. One might think of these five fundamental questions (there are others, but they matter less) as five horses on a race track whose task it is to arrive simultaneously at the finish. But when horse "Political Structure" has run halfway to the finish, and three others are only a few yards from the start, while "Reparations" is limping miserably even further behind, the prospect of the simultaneous arrival of all five at the finishing post is still in the dim future. Or to use a less elaborate simile: the problems of the German peace

treaty are like ships in a convoy where the whole convoy's speed is determined by its slowest ship.

Industry level and reparations were the subject of a closed session of the Foreign Ministers' conference last Tuesday, and it was then that things went seriously wrong. After a three-and-a-half hours' meeting, the laconic announcement was made that "no decisions have been taken." And after that, for the rest of what had promised to be the most important week of the conference, the meeting with press officers Bohlen, Rudsale, and Offroy on today's developments resembled a chorus of loud yawns; nobody could get excited about whether Bevin's proposal concerning the representation of the *länder* in the Advisory Council had been accepted or Molotov's proposal on the right of zonal commanders to veto certain decisions of the central German agencies had been rejected.

As I wrote in my last article, some agreement on reparations was the key to progress. The main facts about this problem are well known. The Russians have been taking reparations from the Soviet zone, both in equipment and in current production. No figure has been given so far, though Molotov declared he would state in due course "up to the last kopek" what had been taken out. But the Russians deny that it amounts to very much. The Russians claim that they must have ten billion dollars of reparations—"only a small fraction of the damage caused to the Soviet Union by Germany" (which, of course, is perfectly true). They keep producing a secret Yalta agreement signed by Stalin and Roosevelt (though not by Churchill—and Bevin explained why Churchill didn't sign it, saying that the British government, including Bevin, kicked hard at the very suggestion). The British and Americans argue that Potsdam superseded this "tentative" Yalta agreement. Whereupon *Pravda* protests violently: "It was a soldiers' oath, not a tentative agreement." The British emphasize that no situation can be allowed in which Britain and America will be paying Russian reparations; Allied advances to Germany and the occupation costs must be paid first, and if the industry level is to be raised it is in order to put Germany on a sound economic basis and not primarily, as the Russians imagine, to pay reparations. The most the British will admit—though not yet officially—is that once the Anglo-American advances have been repaid by Germany and Germany is a going concern and there is an import-export surplus—then the Russians may get some reparations. Perhaps in five years, perhaps in ten years. Marshall, however, wouldn't accept even this principle of "deferred reparations" and has produced a tentative proposal about "compensating" Russia for the plants which they would not receive under the Potsdam agreement, owing to raising the industry level, by the equivalent in value of the deliveries from current

production. Now the Russians have been extremely persistent in saying that western Germany has about three-fourths of the German industrial potential. It is now proposed to step up the industry level very considerably. What does this mean in practice? The Marshall proposal is surrounded by such a mass of conditions and provisos that it may add up to nothing in terms of tangible reparations. At best it means this: since the industry level is to be increased and the 15 percent of dismantled plants in western Germany will represent something exceedingly small from the standpoint of Russian reparations, a little extra to make up for the difference, a few odds and ends from current production, may be given to the Russians to shut them up.

The whole idea is presented to the Russians in a rather lordly manner as a gift from Uncle Sam. The reaction in the British delegation is significant: "Gosh, even we could do better than that. The Americans really are childish sometimes. To the Russians, reparations are a material issue, but above all they are a great moral issue—you have only to see the devastation in their country. Our American friends do have this charming but sometimes irritating habit of producing some adolescent brainwave and dressing it up as an act of statesmanship. This Marshall proposal is either that or simply a gratuitous insult. Anyway, it's about time a serious proposal were made. But this sort of thing won't get us anywhere."

The French, who are not "adolescent," have certainly produced a much more reasonable proposal—to set up a committee of inquiry to estimate how many years it would take with a higher industry level for Germany to balance her payments and pay off the British and American advances (since they insist these must have priority) and how soon a surplus will be left for reparations. The French think it will take two to three years, the Americans five years, the British ten years; but nobody knows exactly. All the more reason, say the French, why such an inquiry commission is desirable. In this there is a possibility for compromise and agreement, but meantime the deadlock is almost complete. The Russians are reluctant to abandon what they think is a modest claim of ten billion dollars ("only a little more than twice the American loan to Britain—and look at our devastation!"). But they would certainly consider some long-term scheme if it were offered them, provided it solved their reparations problem.

What naturally complicates matters is that the Russians so far have not produced any facts or figures about what they have taken from the eastern zone. But since they are not sure they are wanted to share in the control of the western zones, they are in no hurry to reveal anything beyond saying: "The Allies took out much more from Germany than we"—a charge against which Marshall has already violently protested.

Meanwhile, the Russians, for their part, are obviously in no hurry to conclude a peace treaty with Austria, and the British are saying that General Mark Clark and Gusev, who are deputies on the committee for the Austrian treaty, have developed such a personal hatred for each other that work has become practically impossible.

Nor have the talks on the Anglo-Soviet alliance made much progress so far. There is a strong impression that neither the Americans nor the Russians are in a hurry with this conference and both think—though for different reasons—that time is on their side—the Americans because they think the Russians will get into worse and worse economic difficulties in the Soviet zone and six months hence will be in a more reasonable mood to eat out of Uncle Sam's hand; the Russians, on the contrary, because they are now at the lowest post-war economic

ebb, and six months hence, with a good harvest, will be in a less unfavorable position to be squeezed. Also they believe the anti-Red phobia in the United States may blow over by then.

As for the externals of the conference, as I already reported a month ago, there is nothing even remotely reminiscent of Congress of Vienna gaiety. These four men don't speak like wartime allies. The Americans especially speak to the Russians as they would speak to potential or probable enemies. Molotov is fairly calm; Bevin makes cracks tempered by touches of good-natured leg pulling; but Vishinsky goes off into public-prosecutor harangues on the German deputies' committee. The ordinary amenities of diplomatic decorum are hardly being observed by anybody—not even by the French who say, "Coal or nothing," which produces a growl from Bevin, "Are you trying to blackmail me?"

Britain Without Empire: II

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

[EDITOR'S NOTE: *The first part of Mr. Laski's article, dealing with Britain's retirement from the Middle East, appeared in the March 29 issue of The Nation.*]

London, March 28

INDIA AND BURMA

NO ONE can deny to Mr. Attlee and his colleagues both courage and imagination in their handling of India and Burma. They have acted as good Socialists in taking risks for freedom. They have given the Indian and Burmese peoples the power to share their own futures. This is a turning point in the history of Empire. If there is a more remarkable example of the renunciation of its authority by a great power, I do not know of it.

No doubt that decision creates profound difficulties in the case of India, which may be driven toward the tragedy of civil war by the aggressive refusal of the Moslem leaders to cooperate unless they are given their fantastic demand for the unreal and unworkable Pakistan. It is the Socialist view that the British government cannot be blackmailed by Mr. Jinnah and his followers into maintaining control over an India which resents its suzerainty to a point where it could only be maintained by force. If Mr. Churchill shows that he has learned nothing from the American Revolution, nothing even from that Irish Revolution he saw at first hand, a Socialist government cannot allow itself to lose its soul in fighting to maintain the authority of Great Britain as an alien power either in India or in Burma. These countries, having won their national freedom by consent, will be far more ready

for friendly relations with Britain than they would be if that freedom were obtained only after bloody conflict.

Generosity paid Great Britain in South Africa; the fulfilment of an honorable pledge has, as the war recently made clear, paid handsome dividends to the United States. I hope strongly that India and Burma will safeguard their new status as independent communities, when their emancipation is effected, by treaties of mutual support, defensive and economic, within the framework of the United Nations. From the angle of trade, in particular, I am confident that the new relationship offers far better commercial prospects to Great Britain than it would enjoy if what capitalist reaction likes to call "a partnership" were reduced to a sullen succession of boycotts, strikes, and rebellions. The decision to quit India and Burma safeguards good-will, preserves British manpower at a time when it is sorely needed for production at home, and economizes upon an expenditure which ever since the time of Clive has brought benefits to a small privileged class but not to the community as a whole.

I believe, therefore, that this step will strengthen, and not weaken, the power of Great Britain. It will lessen its military burden. As India becomes industrialized, a process likely to be rapid, I believe that it will become an important new market, not least for British heavy industries; and I believe that this wise act of renunciation will win good-will for our people all over the Far East. I do not accept the view that Oriental nations only understand government by the "strong hand." That may be largely true of their ruling classes, which, in their feudal

despotism, have only fear of freedom. But the ancient East is now in the midst of a vast revolution, itself part of a world revolution, in which those ruling classes will be increasingly compelled to justify and therefore to defend their right to power. They will be ever less able to do so as industrialization in the East moves on relentlessly; indeed, the fact that they are an anachronism will be ever more obvious. By the step the Labor government has taken in this area, it has joined the emerging future, instead of staying, as Mr. Churchill would have it stay, with the decaying past.

HONGKONG AND MALAYA

I regret that the Labor government decided to keep Hongkong and not to announce terms for its return to China. When the lease of Kowloon runs out, Hongkong will be indefensible, and a strong Chinese government is bound to seek for its possession. I should not be willing to see it handed over unconditionally to the present reactionary government of the Generalissimo and his cohorts of bandit generals and rapacious merchants; but its return to a unified China, seeking with all the patient persistence of the Chinese people to apply democratic principles to its own economic development, would be a different matter. Since the growth of Hongkong is almost wholly due to British effort, I think we are entitled to ask reasonable compensation for its return. Yet it is the part of wisdom to be generous and just. We cannot and we shall not want to go to war to keep Hongkong. It seems obvious, therefore, that statesmanship consists in leaving it under circumstances which strengthen every bond of Anglo-Chinese cooperation.

The loss of Singapore in 1942 was one of the most disastrous blows to British prestige that we suffered during the war; in a sense, it was a second, perhaps even more serious, Pearl Harbor. With our return to the Malay States and the building of their new federal relationship, our task there is a dual one. First and foremost, it is to civilize without exploitation; and, second, it is to make available for the world the vital resources of this rich area. There is small reason to suppose that the Malayan Federation will be ripe, at any early stage, for full self-government. But there is good reason for assuming that we could do in Malaya a great work patterned upon the remarkable achievements of Soviet Russia with its national minorities, notably with the Tartar Republic. I should like to see Great Britain buy out all private non-Malay owners in this area and seek to manage their mines and plantations under a system of public corporations directed by specialists engaged for that purpose, who would also have the task of developing increasing Malayan association in this enterprise. I do not doubt that this would be difficult, but, again, I think it would put Great Britain on the side of a future which, however long postponed, is nevertheless—if there be no Third World War—the inevitable shape of things to come.

AFRICA

The British problem in Africa is important, but it is not grave. No one seriously supposes that any one of our African colonies is ripe for self-government, or can be permitted to embark upon it. The real problem is how to get such a combination of imaginative insight and courage into the Colonial Office as will accomplish two things—one negative, and one positive. The negative thing is a stern and unbending refusal to give white settlers any final right to determine policy in our African colonies or to expropriate any more land or mineral rights, together with a prohibition of segregation and of compulsory labor for any but public purposes. The other, the positive thing, is rapid and audacious experimentation in the field of native education and in that of the cooperative marketing of native-produced crops under government supervision. The one issue upon which all our African policy turns is whether we are going to prepare for equality or to insist upon subordination.

I welcome the real but small effort the Colonial Office is making to increase the area of education in Africa; but it is not enough, not nearly enough. And we can too easily become so complacent about it—and about the new work of agricultural and labor advisers in this region—as to make our effort that homage of hypocrisy that vice, as La Rochefoucauld said, is wont to offer to virtue. There is little that can be defended in the parasitic record of white settlers in our African colonies; they live by a peonage at which I think even the citizens of Mississippi or Georgia would blush. Even less is to be said for the powerful absentee companies which own the great copper interests in Rhodesia; their fantastic dividends have been built upon indefensible African wage rates and have been made even more scandalous by the stolid refusal of their white employees to allow even a narrow gate of opportunity to be opened to African labor.

In short, the problem confronting Great Britain in Africa is the same in kind, if more complex and intense, as that so superbly described by Professor Myrdal in his "American Dilemma." And the answer is the same. We in Britain have everything to gain and nothing to lose by assisting the African to advance his standard of life, to get education, to develop the capacity to stand on his own feet, as he is drawn ever deeper into the consequences of industrialism. The greater his effective wants, the more advantageous are our mutual relations. The present situation merely benefits a small number of British settlers and British shareholders at the expense of the whole tax-paying community of this country. The fact that it provides employment for a few thousand civil servants, doctors, agricultural specialists, engineers, teachers, accountants, and so on is of quite minor importance when compared to the immense advantages we should gain from an educated Africa, using the latest agricultural methods, increasing the product per acre of its soil, de-

veloping its herds of cattle so that they become significant in the world market, mining its own ores, able, as it becomes the real master of its own resources, to become responsible proportionately for its own administration.

THE WEST INDIES

We are pledged to a great scheme of development for the West Indies. We have to change these "slums of Empire" into communities where economic adequacy makes self-government effective. Of the quality of the people there is no doubt. One of the ablest of my own colleagues is a West Indian Negro from Saint Lucia, who is not only one of the most promising of the younger economists in Great Britain but also, as he proved during the recent war in the Colonial Office, an administrator of exceptional talent. Responsible and representative government is already going through its inevitable growing pains in the West Indies; there will be no going back upon its implications. What the islands need, apart from political federation, is more education, more cheap capital, less economic dependence upon absentee ownership, and, above all, a plan to make them less tied to their staple industries, with more effective stabilization of prices, a better system of cooperative marketing, and a more determined attack on the evils of poor housing and bad health. There is real evidence that the report of the Royal Commission on the West Indies, completed as war broke out, awakened the Colonial Office to the need for action. But what is required is not very likely to be provided if, as during the war, when

the possibilities of economic planning need to be surveyed the Colonial Office intrusts the task to an economist who starts from the postulate that a planned society is bound to fail.

There is slow but steady improvement in the colonial empire. It is not dramatic. It is not even always imaginative. And it is, as in Kenya and Rhodesia especially, far too tender of the vested interests of white settlers and of absentee economic control. But it does move: and in Mr. A. Creech Jones there is at last a colonial secretary who wants it to move. His problem is partly the need for imagination and audacity among his permanent officials in London, and partly the shortage of competent advisors, especially economists, who can be sent abroad. If we can get there, a new epoch may open in the development of the colonial peoples. But there must be a willingness in London to experiment quickly and widely with the institutions of self-government. Paternalism, however well meaning, is no substitute for freedom. And planning for democratic freedom will not come from men half of whose official lives has been passed in devotion to laissez-faire. Given ten years of positive experiment on the grand scale, we might well see a colonial revolution. But the supreme condition of its achievement will depend on the realization that the presence of raw materials in any territory is a reason for keeping out the white investor and not offering him a new field for exploitation. We are beginning a new chapter in the record. We are not writing annotations upon an old and outmoded text.

Monument to Hitler

BY KAY BOYLE

Offenbach, Germany, March

FIVE days ago I was riding through German country in a jeep, and the highways were black with ice, and gusts of snow as fine and dry as sand blew sharply across them. The side roads were three inches deep with a fresh, untouched fall of snow. The driver of the jeep was a tall colored man from Georgia who wore a fur cap on his head, and he'd been three years in Europe. He said this cold was as bad as any he'd yet seen. Driving out from Frankfurt toward Hanau, there had been the scattered areas of destruction—halted, suspended destruction, it had seemed, with the houses and factories

ready to crumble and yet not crumbling, as if waiting still for the final bomb to fall. But out in the country the forests were thick and unbroken, and a transparent film of ice lay like a frozen veil across the summits of the trees. The hamlets we passed through were shockingly whole, as if they had refused their part in the annihilation of a continent. We were looking for a displaced persons' camp in the hills, but the name of the village where it lay did not appear on any map. It took us six hours to find it, and there I learned why the name had never been written down.

The D. P. camp had once been one of the largest S. S. training camps, and the fine, strong buildings which now housed fifteen thousand Poles had once been barracks for Hitler's élite troops. Here, inside the great gates, on the gradient of the hill, had been the officers' villas, their individual garages, their flower gardens, greenhouses, and strawberry beds. The enlisted men's

KAY BOYLE, the well-known novelist and short-story writer, lived in France for many years before the war. She is now revisiting Europe and writing stories for *The Nation* based on her current experiences.

blockhouses, kitchens, hospitals, canteens, and athletic fields stood higher, in the tall, meticulously pruned pines. The jeep driver from Georgia said, "Ma'am, I think you and I are going to end right up there in that cloud," as we climbed; and I thought maybe ten years ago, on a day as cold as this one, Hitler may have stood here, a foolish, skipping, well-larded little man in a military redingote, and said, with his finger on his lips, "Hush. Let the trees hide them a little longer. Let the name not be written. No one need speculate on the intention yet."

Little enough is left of the trees, or the intention, now, for since the end of the war seventy-five thousand D. P.'s have passed through the camp, and the stumps which thrust through the snow between the blockhouses testify that the winters were hard. One German nurse in the camp hospital may have spoken for the people of Germany when she said, "Hitler and the others wouldn't recognize their beautiful place now." Hitler and the others were still singularly alive in Germany five days ago. They were not nearly so close to death as the children who lay in the D. P. camp infirmary beds. In the village below the camp, the townspeople have declared that they will hang every German who has worked for the Americans just as soon as the American military forces pull out. Hitler and the others were legendary men who made great promises to the little people, and now in the cold and the privation, and in the bitterness of defeat, the promises and the legend are all that is left, and they shine in the darkness like a Holy Grail.

"When I first came here, nearly two years ago," said the head nurse, a handsome Belgian girl in American uniform, "I couldn't speak with civility to the nurses and doctors—German P. W.'s the army handed us. After six months, I knew it couldn't go on like that. We had to work with a German staff, probably a 100 per cent Nazi staff, but we wanted to save all the lives we could. It took me six months to convince myself that medicine, like art, is international. But now I'm absolutely convinced. You have to accept it like that, or else you can't go on."

We were on the threshold of the babies' ward. There had been an epidemic of measles, and an aftermath of middle-ear trouble, the head nurse said as she opened the door. There were eight cribs in the room, four on each side, with their heads against the wall. The wood of them, like the wood of the floor, and the coarse sheets, and the indelibly stained aprons the doctors and nurses wore, were scrubbed fiercely, savagely clean. The room was warm with the heat from the great tile stoves, which were fed with logs through the doors into the corridor. Only one child of eight was crying, making a small undemanding, fretful noise, as it lay tied with a strip of white linen in its bed. It turned its head from side to side on the lifted pillow, and its right ear was as scarlet as a flower. The others were silent, but they were not

sleeping; they were watching as young, wild, maimed birds and animals which can no longer flee will crouch in the underbrush and watch, fearful that a whisper will betray them. The one in the corner was no more than a slight rise in the neatly folded covers, and when you came close you saw that he lay on his side, his eyes open, fixed not on outer life but on some indescribable inner vista of terror and pain. He was two weeks old, the chart said, and his hands, like the claws of a cat, were tightly closed beneath his chin. The hairless skull was fragile as an eggshell, and the blue veins that threaded it jerked feebly with life. The shrunken yellow face under the bulging brow was that of an old man who had in his interminable lifetime experienced only disappointment, neglect, disease, disgrace, and who had come now, without an instant of compensation, to the consummate agony of the end.

"Abscesses," the head nurse said. "They brought him in three days ago. No response to penicillin."

There were two babies on the other side who lay facing each other from their separate cribs. Each had been born in the camp twenty-one days before, of Polish, unmarried mothers, and each was clinging hard to what flesh and blood and bone had been allowed him at the start. They drew the air in through their open mouths, as do the starving, as if the lungs themselves demanded in desperation that this be food and drink. Each had weighed nearly five kilos at birth, the charts showed, and after three weeks of life they weighed two kilos each.

"Starvation," the Belgian nurse said. "They had blood transfusions last night." There they lay, akin to nothing but those mummified, miniature beasts—bird, cat, or dog—which are found, dark-scaled and limbless, in Egyptian tombs. "The mother of this one was selling her milk on the black market," the nurse said. "But they've started gaining in the twenty-four hours we've had them. We'll bring them through."

In the crib near the door lay the beautiful, Slavice-faced boy, his dark hair cropped close as a prisoner's, his broad, flat-boned face placid with generations of pastoral content. He was a year or a year and a half old maybe, and at the sight of talking, animate people he dropped his black silky lashes on his smooth red cheeks and smiled. "His mother was trying to poison him," the head-nurse said, and there was no further explanation.

As we went out the door, we saw the little coffin coming toward us down the hall. It was made of fresh, unstained wood, with a peaked roof like that of a bird-house, and scarcely larger than one, and it was fitted with barrow-like handles at each end. The raw, ungloved hands of the mother and father carried it by these handles down the corridor, and on the bench outside the babies' ward they set it down. They raised their heads and looked at the head nurse as she passed, but they did



not speak, they did not put the question to her. They took their places beside the coffin on the bench, and they folded their hands and waited. The head nurse opened the second door and we went in.

Inside the second room there was warmth again, and a three-year-old girl was propped up against

the pillows, her thin, pale hair brushed out like winter sunlight, and two white pads laid on her eyes. She wore a tight little yellow sweater, shrunk short in the sleeves and tied with a red ribbon at the neck, and her small hands lay quiet on the thick, folded sheet. Her mouth was part scab, part running sore.

"I found her yesterday afternoon in one of the block-house attics," the head nurse said, her voice impatient, unsparing, grim. "They'd hidden her under a pile of rags. They don't trust what we do to sick children here. Tubercular infection. Her mother said her eyes were like that from a cold in the head, and didn't want me to take her off. That's another thing I've made up my mind about," the nurse said in her quick, hard French. "I don't care any more what adults do to adults; it's what they manage to do to children." There was nothing as weak as emotion in her voice. "Hitler said, 'Give me four years, just four years!' Well, he had his four years, he had them," she said.

The next day I went back to Offenbach in a Cadillac a German general had left behind—as he had left his great coat hanging on the door—and my driver was a Polish D. P. He was a young man, not more than thirty, and he had not seen Poland since the German invasion. He and his wife had been deported with the thousands of others to Berlin, and there he had worked five years, servicing German army vehicles. He had worked with the Nazis and for the Nazis, learned the language we now spoke together, read the German newspapers, heard their speeches, been bombed by day by the American Air Force, and when darkness fell by the Royal Air Force. He had been eighteen months in the D. P. camp, and had filed his papers with an American immigration organization. He wanted no more of Europe. He wanted to be an automobile mechanic in America. "*Kein mehr Politiik*," he said. "In America my wife and I can have a home, save money, begin life over again."

I told him he might find quite a lot of political talk in America. "There are even people who talk about

another war," I said. The D. P. slowed down the Cadillac at a turn, and he glanced at me in surprise. "But of course. That is understandable. When we are all strong enough, we'll have to stop what is going on over there," he said. He motioned with his head toward the east. "*Russland*," he said. We drove on through the cold, bleak country which war had seemingly wiped clean of every living thing. "There is only one bridge left across the river this side of Frankfurt," he said, "so I have to watch out for the turning. With all these ruins you never know where you are."

I looked out of the car at the rubble. In the marshaling yards, the blasted trains, brought to a violent halt two years ago and lying in rigor mortis still, were piled in an endless chaos of twisted iron and rusted wire. The shell craters were still unfilled.

"Do you believe that in defeating Germany we wiped out Nazism?" I said as we rocked across the broken railway tracks, and the young man looked at me gently, patiently, as if half-amused.

"You do not seem to understand the situation," he said. "For Americans it is not easy to understand the situation over here. Nazism has not been destroyed; it is as strong in the people's hearts now as it ever was, and there is a very good reason why. You see," he went on, speaking with kindness and patience to me, "Germany is a small country, and it is an over-populated country. It must have space—it has always needed space. Hitler saw this, and even if he did some foolish things, he united the people of Germany in that great idea. The stronger countries came along, and they killed a great many Germans and destroyed a great many German cities, but whatever they have done, the situation has not been changed. Germany is still a small country, too small to support its population."

Through Hanau to Offenbach there is much destruction. At one corner where a house stands wide open to the sky, long, tough sections of plaster and wiring swing in the upper story like hung men in the wind. And as the homeless, the penniless, the lost young D. P. drove the Cadillac down the cobbled street, he went on saying: "They must have space. You Americans who are so far away cannot understand that the Germans must have space and the freedom to expand. *Das ist Logik* now to expand toward the east, free Poland, and finish with the Russian question. *Das ist Logik*. It has to be."

The signs, in both English and German, said that vehicles should drive slowly across the bridge, and it trembled now beneath the weight of the car. It was the coldest day of all, and under the bridge great, static blocks of ice marked where the river lay, and seagulls, bleak and mute, with their wings folded close, had gathered on them. The bridge was old, and they had put new boards across as if to save it, but it could not last another war.

The Farmer Pays His Debts

BY JAMES HEARST

Cedar Falls, Iowa, April 4

THEY say that the farmer is getting rich. If he is, I think the public is entitled to know something about it, to know how rich he is and what he is doing with his money. The public has a right to know these things because in part it was the public's money which helped rehabilitate the farmer back in the 1930's. In those days the farmer was a poor but honest free enterpriser who was bankrupt and didn't know it. In struggling to pay off his obligations he was sliding deeper and deeper into debt because through no fault of his own the price level had sunk from under him. Even the cold eye of the United States Department of Agriculture viewed



his efforts with sympathy, and these words were spoken in his behalf: "Bankruptcy . . . is used relatively infrequently by farmers as a method for dealing with an untenable debt situation." Of course today, if the farmer is getting rich, he has no need of such character references, and all talk of bankruptcy should be forgotten. The trouble is that the farmer's memories are beginning to haunt him, and signs of his apprehension are as thick as falling leaves in a cold October rain.

The city consumer, the farmer's best customer, occasionally reads a statement about farm income released by the Department of Agriculture. He may have read that for the year 1945 farm income was twenty-one billion and some odd dollars. It probably seemed like a lot of money. It seemed that way to the farmer, too. It is enough to make anyone wonder what the farmer is worrying about.

One thing that worries him is that the twenty-one-bil-

lion-dollar income was not what it seemed. To the farmer, it is misrepresentation to give these reports in terms of gross income. Anyone who has been in business knows that it is possible to have a whale of a gross income and still end the fiscal year with a net loss.

Let us examine the books of the average farmer. Take a young fellow in Iowa operating a quarter-section, 160 acres, of fairly good land. Let's say that he has a wife and a couple of youngsters. As he is the average young farmer, he either rents the land or has borrowed the money with which to buy it. Now along comes a Department of Agriculture statistician and says that the average Iowa farmer's income in 1946 was \$7,000.

Let us draw up a financial statement for him as of January 1, first showing what his capitalization would be. Conservative estimates on a good farm of that size, not the best but a good farm with modern buildings, would price it at about \$200 an acre. So we have:

Land	\$24,000
Buildings	8,000
Livestock	
2 horses	\$ 150
20 cows	4,000
30 brood sows	1,800
300 chickens	450
	6,400
Machinery (including tractor).....	5,000
Feed	
corn	3,000
oats	1,500
hay	400
straw	100
ensilage	320
	5,320
	\$48,720

To amortize this capitalization at 4 per cent would add an interest charge of \$1,948.80 to his expenses. Now let us estimate the expense column of his operating statement and see what his net income really is:

Labor (three-fourths of the year)	\$1,000
Taxes (property)	240
Taxes (income)	74
Insurance (buildings)	120
Repairs (buildings, fences, and machinery).....	500
Gasoline and oil	320
Machine hire (threshing, baling, grinding).....	500
Interest	1,948
Depreciation	600

\$5,302

JAMES HEARST of Maplehears Farm, Cedar Falls, Iowa, has contributed articles to The Nation and other magazines presenting a reflective farmer's views on problems close to his work and life.

These are the obvious expenses. There would be some others for tools and such supplies as twine, sacks, seeds, and nursery stock. On the other hand, our average farmer would not pay out any actual money for depreciation. I think we might fairly settle on a net income, in round figures, of \$2,000. This is the money with which he feeds and clothes his family, pays his doctor and dentist, buys personal insurance, pays for his automobile. It doesn't seem a large sum to me, not when I consider the risk he takes.

But at least our average farmer is in the clear. The road ahead seems straight, level, and wide. Farm production is still rising. Prices are high, and Congress has promised, through the Steagall amendment, that they shall be maintained at 90 per cent of parity until the end of 1948. If they are, what has the farmer to fear? Why is he nervous?

The older farmers remember the storms of the 1920's and the ruin that followed in their wake. The younger men see the repeated warnings in the farm papers: "Post-war depressions likely to occur first in agriculture"; "The depression for agriculture may be more prolonged than the industrial depression." Moreover, the farmers, with native skepticism, put little faith in the Steagall amendment. There is no machinery designed to restore prices to the promised level. Congress often fails to bolster its good intentions with technical competence. Farm prices depend for their stability upon the nation's purchasing power, and according to the economists of a Midwest college, "Whether purchasing power will be strong enough in the latter half of 1947 is doubtful—1948 is very doubtful." Senator George D. Aiken, second in command on the Senate Agricultural Committee, frankly told the dairy-plant operators of Vermont, "In the years ahead the greatest single problem confronting American agriculture will be to find markets for all that our nation's farmers will produce."

Already bankers are being advised to tighten the credit lines extended to less efficient farmers and those on less productive land.

The well-known and respected farm economists Frank Pearson and William Meyers, of Cornell University, make this significant statement: "The post-war collapse in 1920-21 occurred despite the general belief that there . . . was a shortage of anything that could be named. Then as now everyone was worrying about inflation, but deflation was the real threat and may again be the real problem."

Words like these produce a ringing in the farmer's ears. The continued silence on the part of Secretary Anderson and the cloudy proposals of the G. O. P.-dominated Congress concerning food exports seem to make audible the sound of buck-passing. The savage attack on the reciprocal-trade treaties by nearsighted Senators destroys more of the farmer's confidence. He

feels that the old isolationist gang expect to break the farmer's back again with surpluses while the hungry world wails at the tariff wall. A shiver has passed through the price structure and he has felt it.

For the most part, the average farmer is a conservative person who moves rather slowly into social action. But this conservatism does not prevent him from doing what he can, now, to build up his defenses against economic perils. Here in Iowa, where we all really live off the farmer's labor, agriculture is beginning to rouse itself. Some years ago the farmers in this state became intensely interested in our tax structure. It had, like the tariff system, promised them much and gouged them plenty. After considerable study, we farmers in 1934 persuaded the state legislature to pass what was called the "three-point" tax system. One of these three points was a state income tax. This system gave the farmer a chance, for

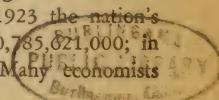


once in his life, to stand up under the burden of the property tax and take a deep breath.

But as time went on a balance began to appear in the various state tax treasuries, and, in spite of the scandalous conditions existing in our state institutions, the legislature passed a law "forgiving" half of the income tax. The law expires this year and people with large incomes, the ones best able to pay, are fighting tooth and nail to have it reenacted.

The Iowa Farm Bureau Federation has made a study of the situation and come to these conclusions: Property taxes are quietly rising again; for school purposes alone property taxes have increased nine million dollars in the last two years. Instead of being equalized, taxes are being shifted from the rich to the poor; the state is losing revenue which is badly needed for education, for mental hospitals, for institutions of corrective training. The Iowa Farm Bureau explains that every county farm bureau in the state has asked for full collection of the income tax. Pointing its finger straight at the target, it says, "It's the Iowa Taxpayers' Association, the Republican Central Committee, and the Iowa Manufacturers' Association that don't wish to pay income taxes." Against the pressures these groups bring to bear in the state legislature, the farmers have gathered their forces.

One thing the average farmer is doing with his \$2,000 income is paying off his debts. In 1923 the nation's farm-mortgage debt amounted to \$10,785,621,000; in 1946 it was only \$5,080,717,000. Many economists



think that the reduction may be the means of saving agriculture from a depression.

This sounds like a good thing for farmers, but other readers of *The Nation* may ask, what about the rest of us. I assure you that it is good news for you too. Just as surely as the farmer is dependent upon labor and capital for the support of his price level, so capital and labor rely directly on farm purchasing power for their own production and wages. It is a sad paradox that when

food prices are lowest, bread lines are longest. The phenomenon arises, I believe, from the economic fact that industry cannot adjust itself easily to a falling price level. When farm prices begin to fall and farmers cease to buy, industry must close up shop and put its workers out on the street until there is a return of purchasing power or until the price level becomes more stable. The farm-machinery manufacturers learned long ago that ten-cent corn will not buy an \$800 tractor.

Notes on Jamaica

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

Ocho Rios, Jamaica

I AM returning from my leave of absence by way of Jamaica, having taken a detour around what seems to have been the winter to end winters, at home and abroad. It wasn't possible to by-pass Miami which looks more than ever like a fake country town with a fake country fair in progress. Flying away from it was a pleasure, even to a scared amateur flyer, and the trip to Kingston was so smooth and quiet that I wasn't even bothered when the pilot came in and sat with the passengers during most of the journey. We stopped only once, in Camaguey, Cuba. In the little station there a sign was posted advising passengers to buy liquor at the bar and not from unauthorized solicitors. The proprietor of the bar, said the Spanish, was "co-operating with the employees of this company." The English translation gave a quite different impression. It said that the proprietor was "helping against the employees of this company." This little study in Hispano-American relations, con and contra, was somehow capped when an American business man, reading the English, which was good enough for him, murmured knowingly to his wife, "Hm, seem to be havin' labor trouble here."

The first thing I discovered in Kingston was that world prices had preceded me by several flights, and that my countrymen on vacation, determined as they always are to pretend that nothing can feaze them, had made the island practically uninhabitable for people in the modest brackets. American tourists and the peoples they visit seem to bring out the worst in each other—overspending on the one side and gouging on the other. It is an exchange which corrupts the atmosphere, and the process has gone pretty far in this island paradise. I crossed the island by rail—tourists usually go by car—and I think I was the only white person on the train. Most of the time I was the sole occupant of the first-class compartment—a rather battered wooden observation car at the

end of a battered train. It was a long slow trip, but the landscape, the altitude, the vegetation, the weather, and our speed changed so frequently that it was far from monotonous. Plains, hills, mountains. Plantations of cane, cocoanuts, bananas. Ranch lands with Indian cattle grazing. Cactus and poinsettias, hibiscus, bougainvillea. Glimpses of blue sea now and then. Sultry blue skies and massed clouds, black or white, and always a breeze—it's called "the doctor."

Toward the end of the day the hardworking engine pulled us slowly up into the Cockpit Mountains—wonderfully named. We careened down, around curves, through tunnels, through alternate rain and shine, playing crack the whip over the high broken landscape.

Occasionally a few Jamaicans joined me in my first-class loneliness—among them a family of Chinese, mother, father, and two small boys, who looked as if they had just stepped out of a handbox instead of a remote mountain village. At intervals a very pleasant young colored man came in for a chat—a government employee who travels about the island. He was well-informed and patient with questions. We discussed politics and economics, exports and imports, education and the native language. He told me at one point that 75 per cent of Jamaicans have an inferiority complex, and the old phrase reverberated curiously as I looked out at coconut palms and women carrying baskets on their heads.

The pirates are back in Jamaica running hotels in Montego Bay. Not so bold as those in Miami or Palm Beach, but bold enough. Food prices have gone up, though forty cents a pound is the top price for beef and the prices of pork, goat's flesh, and mutton stand at twenty, twenty-five, and thirty cents respectively. But labor is still cheap, and considering that most hotel employees get no more than ten or twelve shillings a week (the shilling is worth about twenty cents) and must feed themselves, the proprietor of a third-rate hotel who gets fourteen dollars a day, per person, for a

small double room isn't doing so badly. Jamaicans who are not hotel-keepers are uneasy about it and predict the death of the goose that lays the golden egg. They have reason. In a year or so it will probably cost no more to visit Europe.

If you have a cottage of your own, it is still possible to live rather grandly for relatively little. Consider this advertisement for help—most of the ads are those of Domestic Workers Wanting Positions:

HELP: An Experienced Woman as general domestic. Only hard worker need apply. Wages twenty-eight shillings monthly with meals.

Twenty-eight shillings are approximately \$5.60. But you would probably have to pay as much as fifteen shillings a week for a cook or a houseboy. Old settlers pay ten or less. A very good laundress or cleaner can be had for two and a half shillings a day. Even cooks, however, are in most cases supposed to feed themselves.

The ads of Domestic Workers Wanting Positions are rather intriguing. "A Decent Young Girl from the country seeks position. . . ." That is the usual wording. The other day, for a change, I noted that "A Big Woman seeks position cooking, washing, or cleaning."

It isn't polite to wonder out loud how the natives live on ten shillings—or less—a week. (The stock remark is that they can pick breadfruit off the trees and that they like raw fish.) I go on wondering, nevertheless. And apparently the natives think about it a good deal, for Jamaica has been having a strike wave for some time now. The most belligerent and picturesque leader of labor is W. A. Bustamante, head of the Bustamante Industrial Workers' Union—that's its name. He also heads the Labor Party, which is the majority party. Mr. Bustamante is Minister for Communications—and de facto Prime Minister—in the present government; and he communicates steadily in extremely violent language which is all duly reported in the *Daily Gleaner*. He has been calling strikes on the sugar plantations, and the port workers in Kingston were out not long ago. The workers in Montego Bay, according to Bustamante, are a backward lot, and he recently delivered a blistering attack on them for scabbing. But he reserves most of his attacks for employers. Everyone admits that he has done a good deal for labor—and there is plenty to do. Everyone deplores his methods. Where have we heard that before? He talks openly, for instance, about the color question. He's always "stirring these people up," and that of course is considered most unfortunate. It's difficult to say whether or not Bustamante is a "good" labor leader but he certainly has a wide streak of the demagogue in his makeup. "My" and "I" loom large in his vocabulary, and he likes the sound of his own voice. He speaks often of his close relations with God and of the sacrifices he has made to help "my people." At the same time, he boasts of being rich. A man who knew him even before he began

his career as a labor leader says that he has a genuine interest in labor's problems, but that he also is ambitious and conceited. Bustamante is a Jamaican, a colored man. His real name is Clarke. He spent some time in Spain, where he picked up his present name. When he came back to Jamaica he set himself up as a usurer but had no success. Soon afterward he emerged as a labor leader. To show Bustamante's sympathy for labor, my informant recalled an incident in which Bustamante refused to eat with an employer, who happened also to be a relative, because he had just heard that one of this relative's employees who got seven shillings a week had been fined four of these shillings for some offense or other and had three shillings left with which to feed his family.

Many people predict Bustamante's early eclipse, but he has an unlimited supply of underpaid workers for whom to make demands. Moreover, his histrionic ways are designed to appeal to the illiterate poor and under the present universal suffrage law no literacy test is required. Reading his speeches—they are often quite amusing—one is reminded of both John L. Lewis and Huey Long, and given the human, economic, and political

situation here, that combination, on a small scale, is just about what one might expect in a labor leader in Jamaica in 1947.



Caricature by Seligson
W. A. Bustamante

The situation is not pretty. In New York, Jamaican colored people are looked upon, even by American Negroes, as superior in status and in education. Just before I came away I spoke to a colored maid who, I had heard, was a Jamaican. "No," she said laughing, "I'm not from Jamaica. I'm just one of the uneducated ones." Many colored people here are educated, but the "uneducated ones" are much in evidence. They seem

a kindly, carefree lot and have nice voices. They are also poor, backward, and superstitious. The population is increasing rapidly, and even now there are not enough jobs to go around. I have no less an authority than the Bishop of the Windward Isles—what a lovely title—for the statement that 50 per cent of the children here don't go to school. He also quoted Lloyd George's description of the West Indies as the slums of the empire. Setting them to rights will not be an easy task—and, after all, Jamaica is only one of the minor messes which the Labor government has inherited.

(To be continued)

A Democratic Assembly

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE Americans for Democratic Action got themselves organized in a businesslike session in Washington on the weekend of March 29-30. About 300 citizens convened at 10 a.m. Saturday on the top floor of the Hotel Washington and dispersed to their homes at 3 p.m. Sunday, having got through an agenda which the most hopeful would have judged hopelessly crowded before Wilson Wyatt's opening gavel fell.

A sense of urgency seemed to underline the debate on foreign policy, domestic policy, and organizing plans; so that views were stated and votes taken which combined the efforts of Mr. Wyatt, Leon Henderson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., David Dubinsky, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Lillian Smith, Marquis Childs, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Thomas K. Finletter, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Alfred Baker Lewis, and many others including a Student Federalist from Yale, a Farmer-Laborite from Wisconsin, a budding politico from Kansas City, an American Veterans Committee chairman from Baltimore, a Cleveland lawyer, an American Farm-Labor Union organizer from Memphis, and a professor from the New School in New York.

From such disparateness came unity: the sort of unity which allows for diversity as to details. A.D.A.'s unity seemed genuine, not verbal, because there was agreement on objectives ("a society in which each individual enjoys the highest degree of personal liberty compatible with liberty, justice, and economic security for his fellows"); and on tactics ("a faith in human reason and the power of free inquiry," a devotion to the town meeting rather than to the mass meeting).

One question had better be faced at once. "Isn't A.D.A. obsessively anti-Communist?" Answer: No. Explicitly non-Communist would be more accurate. Near the end of its statement on general objectives, A.D.A. says that the democratic spirit is direly threatened by "the wealth and power of the organized forces of reaction . . . [i.e.] fascism." Then: "In our time the democratic idea is also threatened by the Communist forces that reject democratic values of truth, justice, and freedom, in the interests of a police state." The Communist issue cropped up only two or three times in the two days' discussion. The group seemed politically mature; its members accepted one another as lower-case democrats and set about the serious task of devising a program of action which might enlist the support of many other lower-case democrats.

The program, to be sure, will not have a high Hooper rating this spring while most of America talks about cutting taxes, balancing budgets, policing the world, and pursuing private lives, all at the same time. The machines

—of all makes—will not like it. The meeting was thin on Republicans, thin on farmers, and terribly thin on those in governmental, economic, and political power. It was top-heavy with old New Dealers. The program adopted is an extension of the New Deal program.

Yet there was a special spark struck: Hubert Humphrey twice enkindled the assembly with talk of practical political action. The young mayor of Minneapolis, who combines the best features of a native American radical, a Billy Sunday revival meeting, and a perpetual-motion machine, gave the delegates some home truths about American politics. After speakers, including Mrs. Roosevelt, had described in large terms the dream of A.D.A., he said, "Okay, you can relax now. I'm the tap-dancer who entertains between the acts." Then, belying his words, he told how to live-the dream in the practice of party caucuses, wards, precincts, getting out the vote, telling the story in their own language to the farmers and workers of his country.

Paul Porter spoke on Saturday morning about the Truman Doctrine; a majority of the delegates attended the open hearing of the foreign policy commission from 8 p.m. until midnight; the commission redrafted its resolutions until 4 in the morning; the plenary session hammered out the final draft from noon until 3 on Sunday. In large, the result was a hopeful progressive document, which called unequivocally for strengthening the United Nations into a limited world government, and which on many specific points of world conflict declared that the only way to eventual solution was through granting the U.N. adequate material, legal, and economic powers. In the face of this, a majority of the delegates supported military as well as economic aid to Greece and Turkey.

Was this a by-product of the A. D. A.'s "anti-communism"? After serious consideration (and after opposing and voting against the policy), I am sure it was not. Rather, I believe it was a vestigial remnant of old-fashioned "practical" thinking on the part of the majority. The argument—chiefly and ably articulated by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Marquis Childs—ran like this: the United Nations is the only hope; we must strengthen it; cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union is the only basis for that strengthening; such cooperation cannot flow from weakness; therefore we must stem Soviet expansion; therefore we must hold our noses and aid Greece and Turkey. The argument overlooks the fact that by pursuing a unilateral policy you inevitably undercut any multilateral policy; yet I believe it was advanced in good faith (which may be the death of us yet). At any rate, there is opposition to it within A.D.A.; and since its members make up their minds on the basis of facts and arguments, not of orders from above, there is a fighting chance for the present minority to convert the majority.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

KEITH HUTCHISON

America's World Bank

THIRTEEN months after its formal inauguration at Savannah, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has yet to make its first loan. This is not due to any lack of demand for its services. Eight member countries have made bids for a total of \$2,310 millions and, while some of their applications are in too tentative a form for action, others have been submitted with detailed plans which have been carefully examined by the bank's economic experts.

One reason for delay has been the difficulty in finding and keeping a president for the institution. In theory, this officer is selected by the twelve-man board of executive directors elected by member countries; in practise, there is an unwritten agreement to allow the United States, as the largest investor in the bank, the right of nomination. The president is paid \$30,000 tax-free, but despite this attractive remuneration and the dignity and prestige supposedly attached to the position, it proved hard from the first to persuade any qualified person to accept it. At length, after a three-month canvass, Eugene Meyer, eminent publisher of the *Washington Post* and former chairman of the Federal Reserve System, agreed to undertake the task, amid general applause.

Six months later, Mr. Meyer resigned, giving explanations that satisfied nobody, and the frantic hunt was resumed. For another three months, business was held up while financial circles gossiped about internal difficulties which led one candidate after another to refuse the prize. Finally, John J. McCloy, a corporation lawyer with banking connections and former Assistant Secretary for War, agreed to accept the nomination. He did so on his own terms, one of which was the resignation of the American executive director, Emilio G. Collado, and his replacement by Eugene R. Black, vice-chairman of the Chase National Bank. Simultaneously, Mr. McCloy appointed Robert L. Garner, a director of General Foods and formerly connected with the Guaranty Trust Company, as vice-president.

As a result of these changes, the New York financial community is now strongly represented at International Bank headquarters and its former coldness to the institution has been replaced by a more cooperative attitude. This is important because the bank's dollar resources, which will reach something over \$700 million by the end of May, are totally inadequate to meet the demand on it for dollar loans. Consequently, unless its activities are to be severely restricted, it must market its own securities in the United States—an operation that can only be carried out with the blessing of the big financial institutions. That this will probably now be forthcoming is indicated by a bill, authorizing New York savings banks to invest their funds in International Bank debentures, which now awaits Governor Dewey's signature.

For months, this measure had been kicked around at Albany but as soon as McCloy's appointment was confirmed it passed both houses of the state legislature without difficulty.

Prospects for obtaining additional resources in the New York market have, therefore, brightened perceptibly, and a small experimental issue of bank debentures will probably be made in the next few months. But undoubtedly the heads of the dozen or so investment houses and insurance companies which dominate the securities market will keep a sharp eye on the kind of loans the bank makes. They are not likely to look with approval on borrowing by countries that have failed to make what Wall Street considers a satisfactory settlement of private debts, or on those which nationalize industries in which American capital is invested. And if the directors and officers of the International Bank should ignore their frowns, the market for bank debentures will probably become very sticky. That means that Wall Street can pull the new institution up short whenever it sees fit.

The advent of Mr. McCloy did not create this braking power which is implicit in the dependence of the bank on American capital; it merely put into the chauffeur's place a man the private bankers could trust, and so reduced the need for back-seat driving. And the appointment of Mr. Black should also make for smoother riding, since, in this rather complicated financial vehicle, he will operate dual controls on behalf of the American government.

The United States holds 37½ per cent of the voting power in the bank and, in addition, the articles of agreement provide that the bank can only borrow funds with the approval of the member in whose market those funds are raised. So long, therefore, as this is the one large country with surplus capital, it will exercise a practical veto on the bank's operations.

The Bretton Woods Agreements Act, which provided for American participation in both the International Bank and the International Fund, set up a National Advisory Council on International and Monetary Policy. This body, known as the N.A.C., is composed of the Secretaries of the Treasury, State, and War, the chairman of the Federal Reserve System, and the chairman of the Export-Import Bank. Its function is to issue policy directives to the American executive directors of both the International Bank and International Fund, and this means, I am reliably informed, that it debates at length every loan request made to the former. But while the bank and its officers are prohibited from reaching decisions on political grounds, the N.A.C. does not appear to limit itself in the same way.

I am told, for instance, that a request by Poland for a very large loan, part of it earmarked for rehabilitation and expansion of the Polish coal fields, has been held up in the N.A.C. because one member insisted that the Poles were "without integrity." This sweeping indictment of a people, it is to be feared, may bar Europe from supplies of fuel which it desperately needs. I am sure that is bad economics and, in view of the fact that poverty is communism's best ally, short-sighted politics as well. In an even more curious case, objection was raised to the proposed use by Chile of part of an International Bank loan to develop oil lands which, under Chilean constitutional law, cannot be alienated from the state. The encouragement of a socialized oil industry, it was

suggested, might have unfortunate repercussions on American oil interests in Latin America. This particular difficulty was overcome, but it is indicative of thinking in Washington which is thoroughly in harmony with Wall Street ideas. Critics who object that it hardly harmonizes with the spirit of internationalism will doubtless be reminded that those who pay the piper call the tune.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

TO COMMERCIAL broadcasters, of which there are now more than 1,100 in the United States, educational programs on both the juvenile and adult level have always been an unadulterated pain in the pocketbook. They required a lot of work, considerable acumen, and more money than most stations were willing to spend on sustaining programs; they rarely produced any appreciable listener reaction; and they were never bait for sponsors.



There were and are exceptions, of course, but commercial radio has always given educational shows a failing grade. Although it has classed educational stations as freaks, however, it never actively fought the educational and non-commercial operators. It had very little reason to fear them. Too many of the educational institutions which had licenses to operate radio stations in the early days let them go by default. Today the only commercially operated stations that come to mind are WWL, New Orleans, owned and operated by Loyola University, and WHCU, Ithaca, the property of Cornell, and Georgia Tech's WGST. Altogether, the educational and municipally owned and operated stations number only thirty.

Recently, though, a bill was introduced in the California legislature calling for \$1,700,000 for a non-commercial network of FM stations to be run by the state Department of Education. Back of this is the University of California's desire to carry its extension courses beyond the physical border of its campus.

In itself this is nothing new. The Federal Communications Commission has set aside twenty channels for non-commercial, educational FM stations. The states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan have educational FM networks either in operation or under construction. There are and have been non-commercial FM stations ever since frequency modulation was started, although they are even fewer than the thirty AM educational stations. Yet suddenly, and for no apparent reason except greed, the commercial broadcasters of California took a stand in opposition to the California educators.

Charles McCarthy, head of the Northern California Broadcasters Association, hurried home from Washington, D. C., to confer with Robert Reynolds, his counterpart in the Southern California Broadcasters Association, and other industry chieftains. Between them, they set out to organize a united front of commercial operators against the plan.

Since McCarthy is general manager of KQW, a network affiliate in San Francisco, and Reynolds is general manager of KMPC in Los Angeles, and their organizations include most, if not all, the commercial operators in California, there was no doubt they could lead a vicious fight. But still the issue was not clear. After all, these were the big commercial-station men, the dollars-and-cents operators in AM, not FM; in what way did they and their interests conflict with the educators' plans for FM? It just didn't make sense.

Then the story broke in the trade press. *Variety* reported: "Commercial . . . broadcasters want no part of what they feel will be definite competition for audience." And *Broadcasting* referred significantly to "this threat to freedom of expression" (*sic*).

That let the cat out of the bag. The self-same broadcasters who have been shouting for freedom of speech and free competition from every and any luncheon lecturer they could get—these same people wanted to bar the educators.

It wasn't because the radio business was doing badly; last year radio sold \$325,000,000 worth of time to reach an all-time record and a 7 per cent increase over the previous year. It wasn't because the commercial broadcasters were doing a good educational job. Nor was it because the educators were proposing something illegal.

Federal Communications Commissioner Paul A. Walker said, when queried, "State educational networks offer an effective means of carrying educational programs to schools and communities throughout the states. It has never occurred to us that educational stations could be, in any way, a threat to commercial broadcasting. In fact, it is my personal opinion that such stations would be a tremendous impetus to broadcasting generally and would encourage and assist commercial stations through developing listening habits and greater audiences. To my way of thinking, the opposition to the California Educational Network is exceedingly . . . short-sighted."

It was short-sighted for a number of reasons. First, it pointed up the fact that commercial radio was doing so bad a job as to be afraid of losing some listeners to the educators.

Second, it suggested the possibility that the commercial radio interests were hoping to get hold of the twenty FM channels now set aside for educational use by keeping the educators from using them.

Third, and most important, it spotlighted, once again, the fight between public service and dollar service in radio.

The educators, via their National Association of Educational Broadcasters and the Association for Education by Radio, are fighting back. The Los Angeles Board of Education has allocated funds for an engineering study of its requirements preparatory to filing for an FM frequency to be used by the city and the city educators. This, in effect, puts Los Angeles solidly on the side of the angels.

But a few letters addressed to the Federal Communications Commission and the National Association of Broadcasters, both in Washington, D. C., will do no harm.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Some Reflections on the American Press

A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS.
University of Chicago Press. \$2.

A GROUP of gentlemen operating under the official-sounding title of the Commission on Freedom of the Press has published a slender book called "A Free and Responsible Press" that may be a mild shock to Henry R. Luce, who in 1942 plunked down \$200,000 to finance the group's work. The membership of the commission, selected by Robert Maynard Hutchins, includes no types remotely resembling George Seldes or Upton Sinclair, and yet the book, subtitled "A General Report on Mass Communication: Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books," has little good to say about the American press of which Mr. Luce's publications form so imposing a segment. Certain of the strictures even seem to have been set down with *Time-Life* operating procedure particularly in mind.

"Of equal importance with reportorial accuracy are the identification of fact as fact and opinion as opinion, and their separation, so far as possible," the commission says, high on its list of requirements for a free and responsible press. "This is necessary all the way from the reporter's file, up through the copy and makeup desks and the editorial offices, to the final, published product." And again "Sales talk should be plainly labeled as such whether for toothpastes or tariffs, cosmetics or cosmic reforms, devices for reducing waists or raising prices."

Mr. Hutchins as chairman of the commission contributes a foreword in which he tells how the commission came to be, as a result of a brief conversation between Mr. Luce and him at a meeting of the board of William Benton's Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.—Old Yales are always up to big things—and how the commission worked, banging out every line of the report after argument, so that it is a collective expression. He says the commission carried out no elaborate "research"—the quotation

marks are his, as if he considered the word a neologism—and I was inclined to wonder uncharitably as I read the book what they had spent the \$200,000 on: it contains some sound, unoriginal reflections, but nothing worth over one grand even at *Ladies Home Journal* rates. It does not shed as much light on our journalistic dilemma as Morris Ernst's 1946 book, "The First Freedom," or the even more exciting seventy-two-page pamphlet printed for the Senate Small Businesses Committee—"Survival of a Free, Competitive Press," which you have to write to the committee to get, if there are any copies left.

Nevertheless, the book has importance in the long struggle for a truly free press that is beginning all over again because of technical advances which have wiped out the old freedom of any effective journalist who could hire a handpress to start an effective newspaper. It is important because a group that includes John Dickinson, Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania and general counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, as well as Archibald MacLeish and Arthur M. Schlesinger and William E. Hocking (there are thirteen members of the commission altogether, all with impressive signatures) has publicly recognized that the American press is more or less of a mess. The collective authors refuse to accept the propaganda put out by the officers of press associations and schools of journalism that the press is our national glory, distinguishing us from lesser breeds. They don't even think much of schools of journalism.

Their statement of the technical changes which have threatened a conception of press freedom that was fairly adequate in colonial times is concise and convincing. Their view of the performance of the press in our time is marked by considerable asperity—and a lot of sharp insights which break through at unpredictable places, as if some one member of the commission, with more feeling for newspapering than the others,

was talking on a more craftsmanlike level all the time but only occasionally getting his remarks into the record. I liked particularly the commission's recognition of the death of mutual criticism among newspapers, and its almost certainly futile recommendation that it be revived.

"Whatever its shortcomings, the American press is less venal and less subservient to political and economic pressure than that of many other countries," the commission states. It doesn't say that the American press isn't venal or isn't subservient, or even that it is less venal or subservient than that of any other country. "The leading organs of the American press have achieved a standard of excellence unsurpassed anywhere in the world." It doesn't say unequaled, and it doesn't say which the leading organs are or how much of the national circulation they reach.

The book ends with thirteen recommendations for action by government, the press itself, and the public. Mr. Hutchins confesses, "The commission's recommendations are not startling. The most surprising thing about them is that nothing more surprising could be proposed." (An editor I know, reading Mr. Hutchins's copy, would have penciled there, "Who told him?") A sample is, "We recommend that the agencies of mass communication accept the responsibilities of common carriers of information and discussion."

A chief service of the volume is that it makes criticism of the press respectable. Surely no one will accuse the general counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad of following the Party Line.

A. J. LIEBLING

Maxim Gorki as Artist

BEST SHORT STORIES. By Maxim Gorki. Grayson Press. \$2.75.

IN GORKI'S masterwork, "The Lower Depths," his greatest gifts shine most clearly: his immense—but not quite profound—perception, his concern for the wretchedness of people, his

almost romantic preoccupation with nature. And here, above all, is a carefully controlled rage at the lot of men and an insistence on their noble destiny.

In so far as one can tell from this translation, however—which, by the way, seems most uneven—he is far from a careful writer and by no means a great one. He is almost always painfully verbose and frequently threatens to degenerate into simple propaganda.

But though this wordiness persists in every story in the book, in such pieces as *Creatures That Once Were Men*, in *Cain* and *Artyom*, and in such shorter pieces as *Red*, *Twenty-Six Men* and a *Girl*, and *Chums*, the power of Gorki's sympathy almost succeeds in reducing his flaws to unimportance. There is ironic penetration and great tenderness here which none of the contemporary realists whom Gorki helped to father have yet managed to match. But having said that he is tender, ironic, and observant, and that most of his descendants are not, it must also be admitted that he is also quite frequently sentimental—as are his offspring—and that, regardless of how well they succeed as outraged citizens, they are incomplete as artists.

Gorki's range is narrow and in intention and effect alike he can scarcely be called subtle. He reiterates: men can be gods and they live like beasts; this he relates, quite legitimately, indeed necessarily, to a particular and oppressive society. ("And the men, too, the first source of all that uproar, were ludicrous and pitiable: their little figures dusty, tattered, nimble, bent under the weight of goods that lay on their backs, under the weight of cares that drove them hither and thither . . . were so trivial and small in comparison with the colossal iron monsters . . . and all that they had created. Their own creation had enslaved them and taken away their individuality.") This is a disquieting and honest report. Its only limitation, and it is a profound one, is that it remains a report. Gorki does not seem capable of the definitive insight, the shock of identification. Again and again we recognize a *type* with his human attributes sensitively felt and well reported but never realized. For this reason Gorki's sympathy is often mawkish, his denouements a brutal and self-consciously sardonic trick. He is concerned, not with the human as such, but with

the human being as a symbol; and this attitude is basically sentimental, pitying, rather than clear, and therefore—in spite of the boast of realism—quite thoroughly unreal. There can be no catharsis in Gorki, in spite of the wealth of action and his considerable powers of observation; his people inspire pity and sometimes rage but never love or terror. Finally we are divorced from them; we see them in relation to oppression but not in relation to ourselves. In the short story, *The Hermit*, the lack of psychological acuteness he brings to a story intended to show the power of virtue (*Love*) and the roads taken to attain it make for a devastating and characteristic failure.

And yet Gorki was possessed by a rare sympathy for people. Such work as *Cain* and *Artyom* and even the rather superficial *Red* and the delightful *Going Home* would be impossible if this were not so. But his sympathy did not lead him to that peculiar position of being at once identified with and detached from the humans that he studied. He is never criminal, judge, and hangman simultaneously—and yet indubitably Gorki. His failure was that he did not speak as a criminal but spoke for them; and operated, consciously or not, not as an artist and a prophet but as a reporter and a judge.

It seems to me that in Gorki's failure can be found the key to the even more dismal failure of present-day realistic novelists. For as a school they do not even have that sympathy which activated Gorki. They do not ever indicate what Gorki sometimes succeeded in projecting—the unpredictability and the occasional and amazing splendor of the human being. It is a concept which today, and this is understandable, if alarming, is dismissed as mystic or *unreal*. Without the insight into the main springs of human needs, desperations, and desires, the concern with squalor remains merely squalid and acts to brutalize the reader rather than to purge him. If literature is not to drop completely to the intellectual and moral level of the daily papers we must recognize the need for further and honest exploration of those provinces, the human heart and mind, which have operated, historically and now, as the no man's land between us and our salvation.

JAMES BALDWIN

God's Angry Men

CRITICS AND CRUSADERS. By Charles A. Madison. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.50.

"THE DEEPEST AMERICAN reality is the American dream. America's business is to transcend business." This thought was admirably expressed by Alfonso Reyes in his "Ultima Thule." It is implicit in Charles A. Madison's volume. "Men of substance and standing," "the well-born, the wealthy, and the wise," may attempt to stem the flood, but this country was born in radicalism, our keynoters were Jefferson and Thomas Paine. The protest recorded by Charles Madison is but the eternal vigilance of the prophets, the watch dogs of the Lord, to keep this country true to its earliest tradition.

Every one of the eighteen portraits is a brief but well-rounded study. But the book is no mere collection; it is particularly well-integrated. The critics and crusaders are divided into six groups, and each section is prefaced by a very valuable study of the common background. The table of contents will give an idea of the richness of thought contained in these pages: The Abolitionists—William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Wendell Phillips; the Utopians—Margaret Fuller, Albert Brisbane, Edward Bellamy; the Anarchists—Henry David Thoreau, Benjamin R. Tucker, Emma Goldman; the Dissident Economists—Henry George, Brooks Adams, Thorstein Veblen; the Militant Liberals—John Peter Altgeld, Lincoln Steffens, Randolph Bourne; the Socialists—Daniel de Leon, Eugene Victor Debs, John Reed. Some had become a little nebulous—Brisbane, Tucker, Brooks Adams, de Leon, and, until Howard Fast's recent best seller, Altgeld. The classification might be different: Bellamy is a practical Socialist rather than a Utopian; Margaret Fuller and Thoreau might come under the Transcendental movement. But on the whole the scheme is clear, and the work, warm and vivid in its details, is impressive in its total effect.

A comforting book? Hardly. Most of these men ended in failure. On the other hand, many, and some of the boldest, found generous support among the common people. My quarrel with Madison is that in his generosity he sympathizes too heartily with all his heroes. I am a

WHO are the real TERRORISTS?

With rage in their breasts—having failed to provoke Palestine Jewry into a civil war—the British have sent 100,000 troops, armed in full war regalia, to roam the country-side, the cities and villages of the Holy Land. Innocent men, women and children are being beaten up and homes ransacked under the pretext of suppressing violence.

With the help of rigid military censorship in Palestine, American public opinion is being hoodwinked. Acts of desperation by Jewish men and women—provoked by illegal military measures and deportation of Jewish refugees to concentration camps—are magnified. Acts of brutal terrorism by British military are glamorized.

A veritable barrage of photographs is being directed to this country, which depict the "poor British" in Palestine as martyrs. Why are not photographs permitted to reach these shores showing the clubbing of survivors of Nazi massacres, the shooting of a four-year-old Jewish girl and the wounding of her older sister who came to her rescue? Neither have we seen photographs of a cyclist shot to death while riding on a peaceful errand, or of the wanton destruction of Jewish homesteads by military patrols in peaceful settlements.

\$400,000,000 has to date been spent on the maintenance of 100,000 troops in Palestine "for the sake"—in the words of Winston Churchill—"of a senseless, squalid war against the Jews."

This money could profitably be used to provide the necessities of life to the British people at home!

The Zionist Organization of America has pledged its continued help to the stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine. It fights on all fronts to secure justice for the Jewish people and safeguard its rights to a Jewish Palestine before the United Nations.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Regions of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Westchester and Long Island



THERE IS ROOM FOR 100,000 TROOPS IN PALESTINE, BUT NO ROOM FOR 100,000 JEWISH REFUGEES!

The American public and the United Nations must be informed of the true facts. We intend to do so, but we need your help

The Zionist Organization of America is the acknowledged major instrumentality of American Jewry for the upbuilding of Jewish Palestine. It asks you to join its forces fighting for Jewish survival.

Enroll today as a member.

Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

I wish to enroll as a member of the Z. O. A. and thereby join actively in the fight for Jewish survival by adding my voice in support of the Zionist case before the United Nations.

Enclosed is \$5.00 as my annual membership dues.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

Please make checks or money orders payable to Zionist Organization of America.

son of Voltaire. Liberty could say, with the Patriarch: "O Lord! Deliver me from my friends. As for my enemies, I can take care of them." And with Voltaire I believe that we should crush "l'Infâme." "L'Infâme" is fanaticism, a diseased hardening of the will linked with a disease of the mind, dogmatism. "God's Angry Man," whatever he may be angry about, is a scourge to his cause. Hitler too was a "critic and crusader." The racial problem would be nearer a solution today if John Brown had never lived; and Daniel de Leon hampered the growth of Social Democracy, which is true economic freedom.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

A Partial Clarification

THE TRADE OF NATIONS. By Michael A. Heilperin. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

THIS is an expert and on the whole simple exposition of those mysteries which have such forbidding names as international trade, exchange, investment, balances of payments. The author writes in the light of post-war developments, taking into account the plans for exchange stabilization, the international bank, and the proposed international trade organization.

The bias of the book is strongly toward freedom of trade, based as far as possible on competitive free enterprise within the nations. Few will quarrel with the arguments against protective tariffs, dumping, uneconomic subsidies, and monopoly price control. Yet so wedded is the author to classical theory that he scarcely understands the argument for trade controls which are advocated on more social grounds. The import quotas and exchange restrictions originating in the 1930's, for instance, were not due to plain ignorance and original economic sin but were in part measures adopted in dire necessity, as a defense against the results of the depression in the United States—a depression which was felt by the rest of the world through a sudden cessation of American investments and loans, accompanied by a drastic falling off of American orders for goods.

Regardless of how this depression originated—and Mr. Heilperin dodges that issue by calling it international—its

effect was so serious on other nations that many of them have become skittish about tying themselves irrevocably to free enterprise of the American sort. They are afraid such a slump will happen again, and want to safeguard themselves if possible. The author might be on solid ground if he set out to prove that insulation from the United States is impossible in the long run, but he will not find much sympathy abroad for the idea that everybody should abandon planning for full employment and rest secure in the benevolent operation of a "free economy." Indeed, he almost goes so far as to imply that the British would be better off if they should give up their present heroic effort to stimulate their export surplus through import restriction and internal regulations. He seems oblivious to the fact that even in traditional theory the automatic adjustments of trade and currency would work only if populations could freely move about. Britain just does not want to lose half its population—nor do we want to receive it. GEORGE SOULE

Parable for Adults

THE COW-TAIL SWITCH, and Other West African Stories. By Harold Courlander and George Herzog. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.50.

THE West Africans whose folk tales are retold in this book by Courlander and Herzog may have a limited vocabulary for generalized thinking, but the process itself is vigorous and its expression vivid. Ideas are expressed in direct images, in powerful parables. Image and concept coincide so neatly that the meaning of incident is inherent in the incident itself. The "Cow-Tail Switch" stories are noteworthy examples of wisdom, irony, and craftsmanship.

They demonstrate, also, that often the most striking aspect of a "primitive" culture is not its specific difference but its universality, and its parallelisms with attitudes and beliefs we tend to cherish as the sole property of Western civilization. Many of the tenets and taboos of Christian democracy, for example, obtain also in pagan democracy. Moreover, ideas of truth, justice, immortality, of men's obligations to their fellow-men, as these West African tales show, are

not exclusively the white man's burden.

The "Cow-Tail Switch," the title story of the collection, is a parable about immortality in which the word itself never occurs. It tells of the hunter Ogaloussa, who died in the forest. His children went to look for him, and when they found him one of his sons gathered his bones together and put each in its place; another covered the skeleton with sinews and flesh; a third son put breath into the body; a fourth gave him back the power of speech. At the feast to celebrate his return, Ogaloussa rewarded the son who had done most to bring him home—the infant born while he was in the forest whose first words were, "Where is my father?" The people knew Ogaloussa was right. "For a man is not really dead until he is forgotten."

Again, although the word itself is never used, justice is the theme of an ironic little episode between Guinea Fowl and Rabbit. Here justice literally turns on a hair in a sophisticated story that could only result from prolonged thought about the subject. Throughout the book the conversation of men and other animals, frequently so embarrassing, is enlightening or diverting, or both. The song of the little tortoise—"It is man who imposes himself upon things, Not things which impose themselves upon man"—is particularly rewarding, especially for those of us aware of the Stone Age attitudes with which twentieth-century man is approaching those things called atoms.

The "Cow-Tail Switch" stories give us valuable insights into the psychology of West Africans by permitting them to speak for themselves, a courtesy rarely extended to "backward" groups, currently being explained almost to extinction by some of their best friends. And West Africans speak eloquently, with a mastery of fable and fiction whose further study might enrich our own.

Since there are so few stories for adults—and I mean adults—on the market, it is unfortunate that "The Cow-Tail Switch" is listed as a children's book. The absence of sex and polysyllables may account for this decision. But humor, metaphysics, and a good tale well told appeal not only to children but to a number of perceptive adults. This is a book for them. Like

"Gulliver's Travels" and "Alice in Wonderland," "The Cow-Tail Switch" should be a pleasure to turn and return to from six to sixty.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Evans Carlson

THE BIG YANKEE. The Life of Carlson of the Raiders. By Michael Blankfort. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.

ONE of the extraordinary aspects of American culture is the way in which, for all its latter-day standardization, crassness, and vulgarity, it still manages to produce, from time to time, a man who seems cut from the original pattern, who has about him something of the greatness of a Thoreau, a Lincoln, an Emerson. Such a man is Evans Carlson. And the more one thinks about Carlson, his background and experience, the more difficult it becomes, even with the aid of this excellent biography, to account for his greatness.

His grandfather was a Norwegian forty-niner. His father, Thomas Carlson—really "Thorstein" Carlson—was the "first white child" born in Alpine County, California, then a small mining town in the high Sierras. Growing up on the West Coast, the father studied for the ministry, later graduated from a small theological seminary in New York, and until his retirement in 1944 was a small-town New England minister. About all one learns of the mother, Joetta Evans, is that her lineage may be traced back to one Captain Jack Evans who served on Washington's staff. While Carlson was unquestionably influenced by his father—the only man he ever knew, so he says, who attempted to practice Christianity—the family influence was obviously not decisive. For Carlson, a big gawky youngster none too happy about being a minister's son, ran away from home when he was sixteen and enlisted in the army, giving his age as twenty-two.

With minor interruptions the rest of his career was spent in the armed forces, about the most unlikely background one can think of for the training of a great democrat. After seven years in the army, which he left with the rank of captain, he walked into a Marine Corps recruiting office in 1922 and enlisted as a private. There followed years of routine service at Quantico, in Nicaragua, and

in China. On his first assignment in China, Carlson was thirty-one years old, a seasoned officer who believed in the righteousness of his mission and the slogans of dollar diplomacy. After a brief period in the States he was back in China in 1933, and this time his education in things Chinese really began under the tutelage of his new friend, Edgar Snow. After another brief period of service in the States, in command of the Marine guard at Warm Springs, he returned to China, arriving in Shanghai the day the Japanese launched their attack on the city. On this trip he marched

2,000 miles with a detachment of the Chinese Red Army, the first outside military observer to visit the Communist-occupied areas. He was so impressed with what he had seen and with the urgent necessity of terminating the shipments of American materials to Japan that on returning to Hankow he took a long chance and permitted the correspondents to quote him directly in stories which they promptly filed based upon his remarkable experiences. The reaction in Washington was instantaneous: a warning immediately came through that he was not to speak out

HERE ARE THE LATEST AND BEST BOOKS ON SEXOLOGY

Here is the greatest library of Sex Books ever written. False modesty is forgotten and the most important facts of life are made plain. Learn the laws of sex and life by reading these books, which are written for young men and women, fathers and mothers—not for children.

Go through the list now, pick out the ones you want, and rush us your order. Just send us the amount stated below and you'll get your books, carriage charges prepaid.

SEX

Sex and Smell. A study of sexual onychology, or the part played by odors in sexual attraction and stimulation. A. F. Niemoeller. 35c.
Husbands and Wives Can Be Satisfactory Lovers. A guide to the esthetics of intimacy, with hints on how to be most beautiful. Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
What Should Be Taught About Sex? Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Panorama of Sex. Dr. Goldberg. 75c.
Woman and the Creative Urge. McCabe. 35c.
What Is "Mystery" of Woman? McCabe. 35c.
Key to Love and Sex. A veritable encyclopaedia on complex questions of the sexual life. Eight volumes. 240,000 words. Jos. McCabe. \$2.85.
Three Books in One. Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes. 55c.
This important book by Dr. Barnes contains:
Lures of Sex. (2) The Beginnings of Modern Civilization.
(3) How the Power of Catholicism Was Undermined.
Semen for Sale. All about artificial insemination—how it's done. Test-tube babies—latest facts. Husbands for hire. Fathers by proxy. Dr. O. Cauldwell, M.D. 35c.
Modern Sex Book. Contains seven long sections by various authors. 50,000 words. Full of fascinating, sensational information. Here is an unusual book. It discusses all phases of the sexual life that will interest all modern men and women. 75c.

SEX, ABNORMAL ASPECTS OF

The Truth About Homosexuality in Man and Woman. Facts clearly presented to help improve individual and sociological conditions. Cauldwell. 35c.
Perverted. Masters of Sex. There are persons who hate sex walking around us every day—A candid study of a strange perversion. Dr. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Sex Crimes Among Juveniles. A study of various delinquencies. D. O. Cauldwell. 25c.
Why Males Wear Female Attire. Strange stories, weird confessions, historical data, and scientific explanations of transvestism. Dr. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Bestiality in Ancient and Modern Times. A study of the sexual relations of man and animals in all times and countries. A. F. Niemoeller. 35c.
Bestiality and Bestiality. A study of the low and puny instincts. Bestiality with typical cases from 15th century to the present. Niemoeller. 35c.
Essays of an Erotologist. Some observations on little discussed aspects of sex. Niemoeller. 35c.
De Sade on Virtue and Vice. Selections from the writings of the Marquis de Sade (after whom the practice of Sadism was named). Illustrating his views on morality and sex. Translated by A. F. Niemoeller. 35c.
Antiquities Between the Sexes. McCabe. 35c.
Women Who Soothe Men. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Abnormal Aspects of Sex. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
What a Hermaphrodite? A study of persons of either sex whose genital organs, mental integration and chemical (hormonal) characteristics embrace the characters or characteristics of both sexes. Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Love's Coming of Age. The greatest book ever written on the problems of homosexuality. Edward Carpenter. 75c.
Artificial Impregnation. A study of the history, methods and ethics of conception without cohabitation. A. F. Niemoeller. 35c.

SEXUAL HEALTH

The Latest So-Called Miracle Cures for Syphilis. The facts about penicillin. History and facts about syphilis, its conditions and treatment. Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
The Latest So-Called Miracle Cures for Gonorrhea. Are the Sulfas and Penicillin Miracle Drugs? Is Prophylaxis Effective? Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Is Sexual Sterilization Easy? A study of various facts about sterilization, including its legal status. Dr. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Effects of Castration on Men and Women. Accidental, voluntary and involuntary castration. Eunuchism and his-

tory—medical treatment and aspects. Dr. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Feminine Hygiene in Marriage. 155 pages, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2 inches in size. Illustrated. Informative. A. F. Niemoeller. \$1.50.
Sex and Psycho-Somatology. A study of the various aspects of the relations of Psycho-Somatic medicine to sexuality and sexual disorders, including important endocrine data. Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Homosexuality—Is Anyone Oversexed? Viewpoints of physiologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists and promiscuous sexuality and nymphomania. Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
The Secret Laws of Sex. El Kitab, or the Khodja Omar Haleby—An Arabic scholar's interpretation of Koranic law as it pertains to sexual relations. Trans. and condensed by A. F. Niemoeller. 25c.
Quest for Sexual Happiness. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Sexual Life of Man, Woman and Child. Isaac Goldberg. 55c.
Pure's Encyclical on Birth Control. With comments by E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.
Rhythm Method of Birth Control. McCabe. 25c.
Sex Problems in Modern Society. Dr. R. S. Yarrow. 65c.
Androdisia and Anti-Androdisia. What science has learned about the problem of increasing the average man's capacity for a fuller sex life. 55c.
The Price We Pay Because of Venereal Diseases. 35c.
The Red Plague. A complete discussion of every phase of syphilis. 35c.
Facts About Venereal Diseases. T. Swann Harding. 35c.

SEXUAL MORALS

Marriage and Courtship Customs among Primitives. John H. Burns. Ph.D. 25c.
The Funny Side of Divorce. Various ridiculous reasons and complaints that have been presented as grounds. A. F. Niemoeller. 25c.
Strange Customs of Human Race. Survey of sexual and other forms of behavior. Barrett. 25c.
Morals of the Savages. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Morals of Ancient World. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Morals Among the Greeks and Romans. McCabe. 35c.
Morals in Medieval Europe. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Morals in Arab-Persian Civilization. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Moral Life of China and India. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Morals in Europe in Later Middle Ages. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Human Morality. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Morals in the Renaissance. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Morality in 19th Century. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
A Modern Analysis of Biblical Sex Scandals. Cauldwell. 25c.
Beginnings Which Wreck Marriage before the Honeymoon Begins. The groom's dilemma—Is his bride a virgin? The bride's perplexity—will he know? A book about the hymen and virginity in both sexes. Dr. D. O. Cauldwell. 35c.
Caudwell—Its Origin, Progress and Decline in America. Henry Reed Stiles. A study in sexual morals. Introduction by Niemoeller. 75c.
What the Reformation on Morals. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Changing Morals of Today. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
What Sex Really Is. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
Woman and Marriage. Jos. McCabe. 35c.
A History of Sexual Morals. 12 volumes of 64 pages each. A complete study of the moral ideas and practices of man, ancient, medieval and modern. 300,000 words. Jos. McCabe. \$3.80.
Phallic Ancient Civilization and Cult of Love. Jos. McCabe. 35c.

SPECIAL PRICE FOR ENTIRE SET

If you were to order all titles listed on this page in small quantities they would cost you \$30.00, but if you order the complete list we will allow you the special, bargain price of \$25.00, prepaid.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS • BOX 1915 • GIRARD • KANS.

again. Although a promotion to the rank of major had just arrived, he promptly resigned from the service and returned to the States to warn the American people of the imminence of war with Japan, predicting, in an interview on January 30, 1941, that war would come in ninety days.

Out of this curious experience, mostly acquired outside the United States, Carlson emerged a passionate democrat. When he reentered the Marine Corps in April, 1941, he was determined to develop a military unit based upon what he called "ethical indoctrination," a largely self-disciplined unit which would minimize the differences between officers and enlisted personnel. Somehow managing to get permission to put his ideas into practice, he proceeded to organize the famous Second Raider Battalion of Gung Ho fame, which executed the brilliant and strategically important raid on Makin Island. As might have been expected, the unit was entirely too successful, and in 1943 Carlson was re-

placed as commander and never again, during the rest of the war, was placed in direct command of men. Called together on April 1, 1943, the men of the battalion, many of whom were crying with rage, heard Lieutenant Colonel Alan Shapley, Carlson's successor, bluntly announce that he didn't think much of this Gung Ho business and that he didn't intend to command "a Boy Scout outfit." Thus ended the experiment with "ethical indoctrination" and "democracy" in the Marine Corps.

Back in the States before he took part in the Tarawa engagement and prepared the brilliant plans for the assault on Saipan and Kwajalein, Carlson was tendered a luncheon by Edward C. Carter of the Institute of Pacific Relations at the Downtown Association. Around the room were executives of such companies as the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, Standard Oil, the Texas Company—many of the same men that Carlson had personally interviewed prior to Pearl Harbor in an effort to stop the shipment of war materials to Japan. But let Mike Blankfort tell the rest of the story:

Carlson looked around him, and he felt an enormous anger. He thought of those whom he had left behind at Makin and Guadalcanal. He thought of rotting bodies, the drowned men of Makin, the dengue fever, the jungle sores, the vomitous meat.

He moved his hand across the table in front of him and pushed away a dessert dish as if it were poison.

When he looked up again his face was angry.

"I don't know precisely why I am here," he said, "because I stopped

talking December 7 largely out of a feeling of frustration occasioned by the fact that I had talked to many of you gentlemen in 1939 and 1940.

"Then I told you of what I was convinced—that the Japanese intended to war on us. And I pleaded with you to stop the stupid practice of arming Japan. You did nothing about it."

He stared back at those staring at him.

"But my friend, Ned Carter, asked me to speak, and I'm glad to accommodate him."

Someone coughed; someone accidentally hit his spoon against a demitasse cup; someone sighed.

"Let me tell you about the return on investments at Makin and Guadalcanal."

And he told them.

Today Carlson is a sick man, living in retirement in a little town on the Oregon coast. On the eve of entering the race for the United States Senate in California, he was stricken with a serious heart ailment and forced to retire. "I've fallen apart like the one-horse shay," he told his friends.

It seems to me that, in telling Carlson's story, Michael Blankfort has written the perfect biography. The story is told with the skill of a brilliant scenarist, as scenes, episodes, and happenings in Carlson's life, beautifully interwoven and put together, are permitted to unfold naturally, as the man might speak. The author, one of Carlson's close personal friends, is surely one of the most inconspicuous of biographers. Throughout the book, one has the feeling that it is Carlson and the Raiders who are telling the story, notably in the remarkable narrative devoted to the raid on Makin Island. However badly Carlson has fared at the hands of the Marine Corps historians—the official history deliberately omits his name from the list of winners of the Legion of Merit—he certainly cannot complain of his present biographer. Carlson, as Rewi Alley has said of him, belongs "to the next age of creative man—man who will master his environment and tear a new furrow into the unknown." The one truly great democrat I have ever known, he is a man in whose presence, in these ragged times, one can still feel some confidence that greatness in human nature is not a myth.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

WILLIAM MORRIS presents

MIHAL

KUSEVITSKY

CANTOR OF WARSAW
INTERNATIONAL TENOR

Awarded the Stalin Medal of Merit

Programme includes operatic, Hebrew, Russian, Polish and Jewish Music.

Symphony Hall—Boston, Mass.

APRIL 20—SUN. 8:30 P.M.

Other performances immediately following Boston are:

LYRIC THEATRE—Baltimore, Md.

APRIL 22—THURSDAY

KLEINMAN'S MUSIC HALL—Buffalo, N. Y.

APRIL 23—SUNDAY

MUSIC HALL—Cleveland, Ohio

APRIL 30—WEDNESDAY

All concerts begin at 8:30 P. M.

Prices \$1.20 to \$3.00, tax included

Mail orders accepted. Reserved seats on sale.

Baldwin Piano

REAL UNITED STATES MONEY



THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
MEMORIAL HALF DOLLAR

"A SYMBOL OF DEMOCRACY"

This coin should be in every American home. The life story of Booker T. Washington inscribed on the reverse side. Philadelphia and San Francisco Coins, \$1.00 each. Denver Coins, \$1.50 each. Add 10c Postage for each coin up to 3 coins; 1c to each coin thereafter.

Proceeds to be used in establishing an INDUSTRIAL TRAINING PROGRAM FOR NEGRO YOUTH.

SEND YOUR ORDER TODAY!

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

BIRTHPLACE MEMORIAL

ROCKY MOUNT, VA.

Send reply to Dept. N.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

A FEW more splinters off the back-log.

"Children of Paradise," which Jacques Prévert wrote and Marcel Carné produced and directed in France during the war, is close to perfection of its kind and I very much like its kind—the highest kind of slum-glamor romanticism about theater people and criminals, done with strong poetic feeling, with rich theatricality, with a great delight and proficiency in style, and with a kind of sophistication which merely cleans and curbs, rather than killing or smirking behind the back of its more powerful and vulgar elements. All the characters are a little larger and a good deal more wonderful than life—a mime of genius, a fine florid actor, an ego-maniacal criminal, a cold great-gentleman, and the hypnotic gutter-beauty whom they all pursue and, after their varying fashions, possess. The story has a similar slightly over-ripe grandiloquence—a many-triangled study of love and love's numerous poor-relations, it works the world-as-stage-and-vice-versa cliché for all-it is worth and does so always with as much elegance and irony as intensity and commitment. The Chaplinesque mime (Jean-Pierre Barrault) is the only depiction of an artist, on the screen, which has fully convinced me of the genius he was supposed to have. Arletty, who plays the female beanbag, is almost as good at making that symbol definitive. The great actor is a little short of size; he is the criminal; so perhaps is the sporting nobleman although he outdid anyone else I have ever seen try it; but on their slightly smaller scale they too are perfect, as is the woman who wrecks the mime's life through her "selfless" love for him—and I suspect that this scaling-down was calculated exactly as it turns out. The miming itself is breath-taking, and there is some flirtatious repartee which delighted me more in its way than anything since the fruitier exchanges in Dumas when I read them at the age of eleven; indeed the whole sexuality of the picture, which assumes that the audience knows all about where babies come from and a good deal about how uniquely dangerous the preliminary activities can be, makes one want to forage through Hollywood and various censors' offices as a sort of improved, not to say dedicated, Jack the Ripper. I do suspect that unless you have a con-

siderable weakness for romanticism, which I assume includes a weakness for the best of its ham, this will seem just a very fancy, skilful movie. But if you have that lucky weakness, I think the picture can be guaranteed to make you very happily drunk.

"The Fabulous Dorseys"—meaning Jimmy and Tommy—is one more musical biography. It has very little to recommend it except that the musicians look and act a little more than usual like musicians.

"The Farmer's Daughter" is a very stale story—the country girl who comes to the metropolis, plants her housemaid's-knee firmly in the sweet-breads of high society, and makes the most of her advantage. This time, however, the bluebloods are also the people who run politics in their state. The story seems surprisingly fresh because everyone involved in making the movie appears to know and care for the sort of people the story is about. Patricians, politicians, even peasants, are portrayed with unusual perception and wit, and Ethel Barrymore, as the head of the house and of her political party, suggests very excitingly what she could do with a similar role written to her size.

"It Happened in Brooklyn" features Frank Sinatra, whom I like, Jimmy Durante, in comparison with whom I would, I am sure, find the millennium a rather chilly formal dance, and a great many affectionate japes about Brooklyn, which I could be much happier without. Aside from Sinatra and Durante the show amounts to practically nothing, but there is a general kindness about it which I also enjoyed.

I will try briefly to discuss Eisenstein's "Ivan the Terrible" in the next installment.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

BY THE time I began to suspect that Victor's March records had gone astray the April records had arrived. They include one of Bach's greatest choral works, the Cantata "Christ lag in Todesbanden," which the Orféo Catalá of Barcelona sang in a recording that has long been out of print, and which now is sung—in German, as it should be—by Robert Shaw's chorus with a small orchestra (Set 1096; \$3.75). The performance is good, and seems to have been well-recorded, but

comes off the records with disturbing noises and distortions which even a new stylus produces from the poor surfaces, and which even a slightly worn "permanent" stylus aggravates. The German texts are given with English translations.

Another set (1094; \$3.85) offers a group of oratorio arias—*Why Do the Nations from Handel's "Messiah," Now Heaven in Fullest Glory Shone from Haydn's "Creation," Gibt mir meinen Jesum wieder from Bach's St. Matthew Passion, O God, Have Mercy from Mendelssohn's "St. Paul," and Lord God of Abraham and It Is Enough from his "Elijah"*—all sung in English by Norman Cordon, bass, with an orchestra under Sylvan Levin. Mendelssohn's religious music is something I don't care for; and these particular arias of Bach, Handel and Haydn might be more impressive heard in their contexts. The performances are good (except that Cordon finds some of the florid passages a little difficult) and well-reproduced; surfaces are not as quiet as they should be; and there is some wavering pitch. Only the text of the Handel aria is given.

Then Prokofiev's fine Symphony No. 5, performed by Koussevitzky and the

RUSSELL CHENEY

1881—1945

A Record of His Work

Prepared by

F. O. Matthiessen

This book of reproductions of the work of a distinguished New England painter and the artist's own commentaries on his art gives a remarkably complete record of his career from 1916 to 1945. It has been prepared by the friend most-closely in touch with Cheney's work.

With 65 half-tone plates, a frontispiece, and several text illustrations.

\$3.00 at all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue
New York 11



MOTION PICTURES

CHARLES CHAPLIN

"Monsieur Verdoux"

Featuring MARTHA RAYE

and ISOBEL ELSOM • MARILYN NASH • ROBERT LEWIS

Written and Directed by CHARLES CHAPLIN

Associate Directors Robert Florey and Wheeler Dryden
Released Through United ArtistsContinuous Perf. • Popular Prices • Doors Open 9:30 a.m.
250 mezzanine seats will be reserved for the matinee and evening performances
daily (Matinees \$1.00, Evenings \$2.40) • Seats on Sale at the Box Office

Mail Orders Accepted

BROADWAY THEATER at 53rd Street

BOB HOPE • DOROTHY LAMOUR

'My Favorite Brunette'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—
JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA
PLUS

PAT HENNING • Lyn Shirley

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE

Doors Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax. Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
InclusiveNOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny
play, brilliantly
written, acted
and staged."—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40."A completely
satisfying and
enjoyable com-
edy."—Chapman,
News

MAX GORDON Presents

FREDRIC FLORENCE
MARCH ELDRIDGE "YEARS AGO"

The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON

Directed by Garson Kanin

MANFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9058
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
"DEFINITELY A HIT."—*Morehouse Sun*
JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 • Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40"A DELIGHT."—*Walter Winchell*HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—*Barnes, Herald Tribune*

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 SharpSAY
YOU SAW IT
ADVERTISED
IN
THE NATION

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
61st ST.
86th ST.
60th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"INTENSELY MOVING."—N. Y. Post

JIMMY STEWART

DONA REED

In FRANK CAPRA'S

'It's A Wonderful Life'

—AND—

'STEP BY STEP'

LAWRENCE TIERNEY • ANNE JEFFREYS

BROOKLYN

BUSWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
KITH'S
FLUSHING
KITH'S
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"GREAT PICTURE! ABSORBING ENTERTAINMENT!"

—N. Y. Post

DARRYL F. ZANUCK presents

DANA ANDREWS

'BOOMERANG!'

JANE WYATT • LEE J. COBB

Directed by ELIA KAZAN

—AND—

'RENDEZVOUS WITH ANNIE'

EDDIE ALBERT • FAYE MARLOWE

STAGE PLAYS

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

'CALL ME MISTER'

THE NATIONS TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York: NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Cleveland: HANNA Thea.—with Betty KEAN"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—*Life Magazine*

"SETS BROADWAY ON ITS EAR."—ATKINSON, Times

ALL MY SONS

By ARTHUR MILLER • Staged by ELIA KAZAN

Beth MERRILL, Arnold KENNEDY, Ed BEGLEY

CORONET THEATER, 49th Street West of Broadway, CI 6-8870
Evenings 8:40. Matinee Thursday & Saturday 2:40

Boston Symphony (Set 1095; \$5.85). The performance is excellent, even with Toussevitzky's characteristically slower tempos in the slow portions which cause me to prefer Rodzinski's performance. The sound of the Boston Symphony is reproduced with warmth and luster that is lacking in the recorded sound of the New York Philharmonic, which however has clarity and distinctness that are lacking in the recorded sound of the Boston Symphony. And the Boston Symphony performance comes off the records with the disturbing noises of very poor surfaces.

And then some of the engaging bits of Handel's music that Beecham has assembled for a projected ballet called "The Great Elopement"—beautifully performed by the London Philharmonic under his direction, but reproduced with insufficient brightness (Set 1093; \$3.85).

Rimsky-Korsakov's engaging "Russian Easter" Overture, which most of us know as sensationalized and falsified by Stokowski's performances, has been recorded by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra for Columbia (Set 6-276; \$3). The performance is good; the recorded sound only fair: soft passages and those for solo instruments, including the solo violin, are remarkably distinct in space; but the massed violins are barely heard in big sonorities that are spacious but lack the warmth and luster they had in the Academy of Music.

The same orchestra, playing as the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra, is conducted by Mitropoulos from the piano in Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 3 (Set 667; \$4). Hearing the work after a number of years I like it even more than I did; and the performance seems excellent. The orchestra and piano sound good individually—though the one lacks the warmth and luster, and the other the rich resonance it should have; but in concerted passages the orchestra sounds too far back of the piano.

Hearing Sibelius's Fourth Symphony after a number of years recalls to mind the incredible nonsense that was written about those pretentious snorts of the brass, those ominous drum-rolls, those wild cries of the woodwinds, which I find as unconvincing now as I did then. Rodzinski's performance with the New York Philharmonic seems good, and is well recorded—though again without the warmth and luster that it had in Carnegie Hall (Set 665; \$5).

I have just had an instructive ex-

perience with some second-hand records that I bought from an English dealer who announces his willingness to purchase unwanted records "in fiber-played condition," who lists a "slightly steeled" copy of a recording at half the price of a presumably "fiber-played" copy, who stocks several brands of thorn needles but none of steel, and who in all this illustrates the prevailing English idea that playing records with thorn needles prevents the wear that is caused by use of steel needles. That idea is a delusion which the English—and many Americans—continue to enjoy because

the thorn not only destroys the recording but conceals its destruction: its inability to reproduce sounds of high frequencies prevents the frightful noises of filed-down grooves that came from the records when I played them with a wide-range jewel-point Brush pickup or even with a Zenith that cuts off at 4,000 or 5,000 cycles.

And finally I have just received Victor's announcement that it will release next year a recording of Handel's "Messiah" recently made in England by Beecham, which is "the only uncut version . . . ever recorded."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Edits Du Bois Papers

Dear Sirs: The undersigned is engaged in editing the letters and papers of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Will those having such manuscripts please communicate with me at 1015 Washington Avenue?

HERBERT APTHEKER

Brooklyn, March 26

Help for Anti-fascists

Dear Sirs: Thousands of devoted democrats and sincere anti-fascists who have survived concentration camps are in need of our help and encouragement.

Here is what your readers can do:

1. "Adopt" an anti-fascist and send food directly. The International Solidarity Committee, Room 516, 303 Fourth Avenue, will send you a name and address and shipping instructions.

2. Contribute for food and medicine. (The excellent CARE package is now only \$10.)

These brave men and women are our allies in the fight for a better world. It is our opportunity and privilege to help them.

ROY L. REUTHER

New York, March 27

"Write Makes Might"

Dear Sirs: As the Eightieth Congress proceeds, with the reins of leadership in the hands of reactionaries, many liberals are left with a feeling of complete helplessness and confusion.

The Committees of Correspondence offer one easy solution. Named for the committees which, in 1772, proved an effective organ of early American patriots for demanding freedom rather than tyranny, this organization endeavors to

bring mass action to the cause of democracy.

Each month the committees send a memo to their 13,000 members, outlining pressing issues which are before Congress and asking that letters and petitions be dispatched. A sample letter is inclosed as an aid to the correspondent, but members are urged to use their own wording in order to insure greater effectiveness.

Use your rights and your voice, and remember the slogan of the Committees of Correspondence—"Write Makes Might."

MARGARET E. WEINSTOCK

Brooklyn, April 5

UNRRA Was Careful

Dear Sirs: In your March 1 issue Leigh White, reviewing George Moorad's "Behind the Iron Curtain," says, "Those who still doubt that American relief has been systematically misappropriated for

- Who governs England?
- Where's England Heading?

READ

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT BRITISH LABOR?

By

David Shub and Robert Alexander

Introduction by Norman Angell

A 65-page pamphlet packed with facts about the new governing power in Great Britain.

A "must" for the well informed

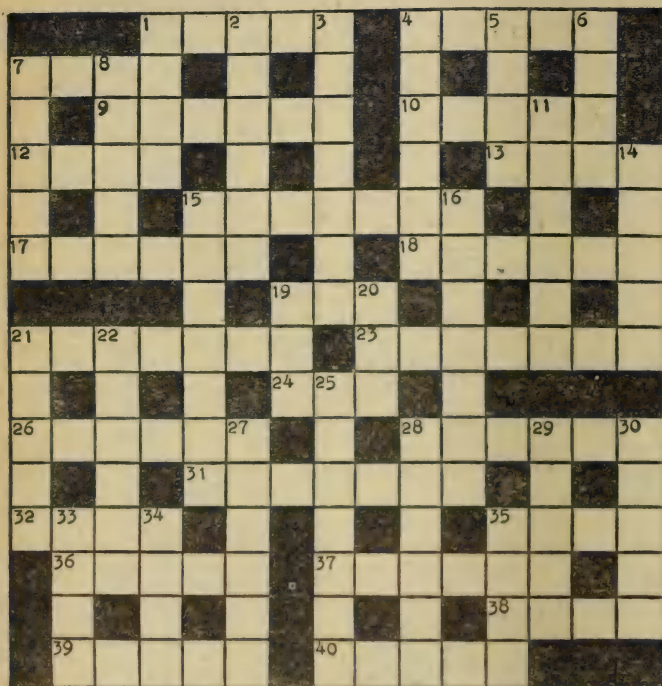
a copy 35¢ postpaid
Special Rates for Quantities
Remit any way convenient

RAND BOOKSTORE

7 EAST 15th ST. NEW YORK 3

Crossword Puzzle No. 207

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 She is not quite normal
- 4 On some we depend for power, others we sweep away
- 7 Where it is pleasant to be
- 9 You see me about twice in this representation
- 10 French preparatory school
- 12 Stir
- 13 American pirate of some repute
- 15 Keeping nothing tied up
- 17 She is a sort of sewing-bee
- 18 A lemon's perhaps the answer, but it's no joke
- 19 A high tone
- 21 Many of its occupants get cured
- 23 Chanter
- 24 Lamb's father
- 26 A sad eel is let out
- 28 Oliver Cromwell's son-in-law
- 31 N. C. O.'s
- 32 Turns to account
- 35 Thin skin
- 36 Luke finds it a little more than this
- 37 London's broadest thoroughfare
- 38 Collection of hunters
- 39 Money comes to him
- 40 May be had for a song from a merchant

DOWN

- 1 A nobody
- 2 Re-leases
- 3 Voltaire thought it as well to kill one from time to time to encourage the others
- 4 Watery fruit
- 5 The devil of a time
- 6 Doll

- 7 Celebrated—but not the man who runs the magazine
- 8 Raced for the tree
- 11 Irish form of Helen
- 14 Might be a Harvard fellow or—the Granta
- 15 Not an owl, but another wise bird (4-3)
- 16 You get them in the neck
- 19 The very atmosphere of Scotland
- 20 He is big enough to tell the time
- 21 Caroline archipelago island group
- 22 Chin whiskers
- 25 Not one from whom you would expect much indulgence
- 27 Draw idly
- 28 African animal
- 29 Something for Oliver's pipe rather than Roland's horn
- 30 A wandering friend of Pythias turns up
- 33 Watch your ----, son
- 34 Scottish river
- 35 Gab or slug

□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 206

ACROSS:—1 DRAPER; 5 IMPRESS; 10 SAFETY-PIN; 11 INURE; 12 DUELIST; 13 REALIST; 14 SMASH; 16 BARMECIDE; 18 ROUNDHEAD; 20 GENII; 22 DECORUM; 24 BUNUCHS; 26 ELLEN; 27 DISCERNED; 28 SORCERY; 29 SPLASH.

DOWN:—1 RIFLE; 3 PETTISH; 4 REP-UTABLE; 5 INNER; 6 PRIVATE; 7 ERUDITION; 8 SHEATHE; 9 ASIDES; 15 AVUNCULAR; 17 REDRESSES; 18 REDNESS; 19 DURANCE; 20 GENTEL; 21 INSIDE; 23 MIDDY; 25 CONES.

political purposes by the Soviet Union and its satellites may be less skeptic if they read Moorad's report of what happened to the Red Cross supplies shipped to Poland during the war."

I cannot comment from experience in other countries, nor do I know detail about Red Cross work, but I can comment upon UNRRA's shipment approximately \$250,000,000 of relief and rehabilitation supplies to the Ukraine and Byelorussia, almost three quarters of which was American origin. UNRRA has had missions both the Ukraine and Byelorussia for over a year, totaling nearly thirty persons, chiefly American. The members of these missions have traveled up and down western Russia discharging the duties as official observers of the distribution of such relief and have obtained no evidence of any misappropriation. In fact, the distribution was considered to be carefully regulated, swift, and efficient.

Mr. White indicated in his review that his experience was confined to Moscow. In 1946 for several months he had offices in Kiev and Odessa. I also made inspection trips to Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhe, Zhitomir, Poltava, Kremenchug, Lwow, and Min. and I made several trips to Moscow. Other members of UNRRA have gone to other parts of western Russia. Furthermore, American correspondents have made two trips through these areas to report on UNRRA activities. I have never seen or heard any claim that there was any misappropriation of any of the thousands of tons of UNRRA goods, chiefly food, which was so desperately needed in that area.

MARSHALL MACDUFFIE,
Formerly Chief of UNRRA
Mission to the Ukraine
New York, March 27

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
Longacre 5-4917

FOR SALE—STOCKING

LADIES ALL-NYLON stockings, first quality, 45 gauge. Sunlure—beautiful Spide shade, minimum 3 pairs, \$1.25 per pair paid. Sizes 8½ to 10½. Send check or money order to LAUER'S MAIL ORDER CO., 1528 49th St., Brooklyn 19, N. Y.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postage. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 19, 1947

NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

WITHOUT LOOKING FOR THE SINISTER, WE find painfully suggestive the apparent attempt of the House Administration Committee to keep from the public a booklet on "Fascism in Action," prepared by the Library of Congress. The printing of nearly half a million copies of a companion volume, "Communism in Action," has been authorized by Congress, but Representative Patman's bill to print the document on fascism was quietly interred in a committee pigeonhole, from which Patman has been vainly trying to extricate it since February 5. The subcommittee charged with consideration of the bill is headed by Representative Corbett, a Pennsylvania Republican who airily dismisses the study as "pretty old stuff." He may be right, but we see no reason why the country should accept, as the last word on the subject, the decision of a single Congressman, particularly one with an ultra-conservative voting record. The four editors of the *New York Post's* "Washington Memo" have smoked out Patman's introduction to the booklet, and judging from the excerpts printed in that column, we would guess that the study might be something of a bombshell. Certainly it is not "old stuff" for a Texas Democrat to write that "there are dangerous tendencies toward fascism in the U. S." Or that "some of our top political men make statements in thinly veiled terms which would do credit to Rosenberg, Hitler, or Goebbels." We suspect that there is something more in the suppression of this study than Mr. Corbett's casual and high-handed judgment on its freshness, and we mean to keep raising the issue until we find out what that something is.

✱

A POSSIBLE CLUE IN THE MYSTERY OF THE suppressed booklet is the following sentence in Representative Patman's introduction: "One of the great deterrents to fascism is a strong, well-organized labor movement." This is not the sort of sentiment a Republican Congress might care to release, under the sober imprint of its own Library, at the very moment it brings forth a bill to draw and quarter the aforesaid labor movement. Certainly that is the plain intent of the omnibus bill which will in all probability have cleared the House by the time these observations appear. As drawn up by the Labor Committee, the bill would free the courts to hand down anti-labor injunctions, good for seventy-five

days, abolish the National Labor Relations Board, and put an end to industry-wide bargaining. It would not only illegalize the closed shop but limit the union shop to plants where the employer, as well as a majority of the employees, consented; and strikes called for the purpose of winning such consent would be prohibited. Strikes in major industries and services would be stopped by government injunction where not only the public health and safety were deemed to be threatened but even the "public welfare," a notoriously elastic phrase. No strike could be called without a thirty-day cooling-off period, unions would be made legally liable for damages, and, finally, no union would be certified as a representative of employees if a single member of its hierarchy might "reasonably be regarded" as a Communist or even a fellow-traveler. We doubt that a single member of the House expects this monstrosity to become law. The Senate may be driven to exert a modifying influence—and if it isn't modifying enough, the President will almost certainly veto the whole measure. That, in fact, appears to be precisely the idea: to give the President a choice of mayhem or nothing.

✱

FACED WITH THESE ALTERNATIVES, FEW doubt that Harry Truman will choose the veto, and accept the political consequences. These should not be anything like as damaging as the consequences of abetting the Congressional assault on labor, but they can hardly be altogether favorable. There are abuses in labor, as there are in business and government—and the public does expect action. The strike of telephone workers has raised once more the acute problem of how far the strike weapon can be used in such vital fields as communications and transportation without paralyzing a whole society in the interests of a single group. It raises, too, the equally acute problem of how workers in key industries and services can be compensated for any modification of the right to strike, and their interests fully safeguarded. If the Republican majority in Congress had an eye for anything but the crassest political advantage, it would have shunned the pathological approach it has taken and considered the sober and genuine proposals that thoughtful men have been evolving. Congress, the Administration, and indeed labor leaders themselves would do well to start with the report just released by the Labor Committee of the

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	437
Mr. Churchill's War by <i>Freda Kirchwey</i>	439
Balancing Act by <i>Ezekiel Schloss</i>	440
Challenge to Business	441

ARTICLES

Will Business Bring Down Prices? by <i>Simon O. Lesser</i>	442
Iraq: Black Gold and Poverty by <i>Andrew Roth</i>	444
Labor Coalition in Holland by <i>Reinhold Niebuhr</i>	447
Dixie in Black and White. III. Big Jim of Alabama by <i>A. G. Mezerik</i>	448
Inquest on the British Press by <i>Aylmer Vallance</i>	451
Everybody's Business by <i>Keith Hutchison</i>	453
In One Ear by <i>Lou Frankel</i>	454

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Shorter Toynbee by <i>E. D. Myers</i>	455
Two French Novels by <i>Gertrude Buckman</i>	456
An Old Quarrel by <i>Maxwell S. Stewart</i>	456
An Unconvincing Genius by <i>Anthony Bower</i>	457
The Court and the People by <i>Charles E. Noyes</i>	458
Wanted: Politics to Match by <i>Ben B. Seligman</i>	458
Drama by <i>Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	459
Art by <i>Clement Greenberg</i>	459
Records by <i>B. H. Haggin</i>	461

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 463

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 208 by Jack Barrett 463

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 313 Kelllogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Twentieth Century Fund on "Strikes and Democratic Government." They would find here at least the outlines of an intelligent pattern: retention of collective bargaining and the unimpaired right to strike in private industries that do not vitally affect the public health or safety; relinquishment of the strike in other industries in return for carefully specified guaranties and advantages. The committee, headed by William H. Davis, proposes some sensible rules for government seizure when necessary—with limited compensation to the owners rather than continued profits—but its emphasis is on plans for conciliation, arbitration, and other democratic forms of settlement. If President Truman has to veto a bad bill, his action need not be purely negative. An accompanying message along the lines of this report would be good politics—and good statesmanship.

★

GENERAL DE GAULLE HAS FINALLY MADE his choice—from now on he will be, not above the battle, but in the midst of it. Since the day when the hermit of Colombey emerged from retirement and installed himself in Paris, a feeling of uneasiness has pervaded French political circles. Whatever his intention, the self-styled *homme de la tempête* cannot possibly return to the political arena without creating a storm. No doubt he would like to exercise the opposite influence, as a kind of sage who alone knows the remedy for France's *malheur*. But in the present situation there is no place for sideline philosophers; the tension between left and right has already reached such explosive pitch that his veiled attacks on Republican institutions may easily shake the foundations of the state. For precisely this reason, many of De Gaulle's advisers are urging him to exchange the cloth of a French Savonarola for the warrior's armor. In his recent speeches at Bruneval and Strasbourg, the General disclaimed any intention of leading those elements which are ready to unleash a new wave of reaction in France. He was careful, in his references to the Soviet Union, to make no mention of Churchill's proposal for an anti-Russian bloc; the French are much more interested in finding a common policy with Russia on the German issue. And in Paris the other day, he warned that internal political reforms must be effected "within the legal framework." Obviously, De Gaulle is treading warily with an eye to the latest opinion polls, which show that only 28 per cent of the French people would like to see him back in power. But despite his careful language the General evidently failed to reassure Premier Ramadier who, after a long conversation with him, inspired the vigorous attack of the Socialist Party against De Gaulle's policy. For the first time, Léon Blum has openly denounced his attempt "to provoke new divisions under the guise of total unity of the nation" and appealed to the progressive forces "to stand guard over republican institutions and democratic liberties."

Mr. Churchill's War

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

NO ONE would dare say that Winston Churchill is without honor in his own country, but as a prophet his British rating has certainly declined. Not so, apparently, in the United States. His pronunciamiento, *If I Were an American*, a sequel to the Fulton speech of March 5, 1946, was printed in two issues of the *New York Times* and in *Life* magazine. Its total circulation must have come to twenty-odd million.

Such an audience, such an unprecedented build-up, tend to magnify the importance of published words—and even to make them sound true. In this case the illusion is heightened by the magnificent force and style of their presentation. But Americans, reading his self-confident assertions, should not be taken in. Winston Churchill has been repudiated as a leader by the British people. His foreign policy is being abandoned, step by step, by the Labor government. His reconstruction of his record in Greece is bristling with untruths.

It would be impossible to controvert in one short article the misstatements made by Mr. Churchill. But a few of them can be quickly answered.

1. *The Greek election.* Mr. Churchill refers somewhat complacently to "the custom and method of the English-speaking world" that "the ordinary, humble, common people should put their crosses on the ballot paper in secrecy and without obstruction or intimidation" and asserts that this method was applied last March in Greece. It is a fact that an international supervisory commission reported the Greek election to be "valid and fair." Undoubtedly the actual balloting was peaceful and obvious fraud was absent. But the respected Liberal statesman, Sophoulis, who was Prime Minister at the time, had urged that the elections be postponed because political conditions made a fair vote impossible. And a British Parliamentary committee, visiting Greece in August, quoted Liberal deputies as complaining that owing to "right-wing banditry" they had been unable to reach their constituencies during the campaign. A Liberal Cabinet member testified that he had been afraid to leave Athens before the plebiscite. The British committee reported that extremists on both sides were terrorizing the peaceful "85 per cent of the population"; it retold in circumstantial detail the old story of people arrested without charge and jailed or deported without trial, and of the thousands who had fled to the mountains to escape the terror. Since these conditions prevailed throughout the period of the elections, no balloting, however "fair" in itself, could possibly reflect the will of the "ordinary humble common people" of Greece.

2. *"The only free election."* According to Mr. Church-

ill, last spring's vote held "under the shield of Britain" was "probably the only free election that has ever taken place since ancient times in the Balkans." This claim is false and insulting to the Greeks. Has Mr. Churchill forgotten the election of 1920 when Venizelos lost power? The fact is, free elections were the rule throughout the inter-war period until the King came back in 1935 and presently installed the dictatorship of Metaxas with the full support of the British Conservative government.

3. *The Monarchy.* Said Mr. Churchill: "A Greek government . . . had been brought back to Athens by a few British troops and aircraft and their own scanty Greek forces as the Germans fled. . . . The King of the Hellenes and his brother . . . naturally wished to return at the head of this small expedition. British policy, long declared, had however been to seek a plebiscite on the Monarchist issue; and the King deferred to our wishes and awaited in London the decision of the Greek nation." A beautiful reconstruction! The Churchill policy was exactly the contrary. It was to *prevent* a plebiscite and bring back the king as quickly as possible. In August, 1943, more than a year before the British landing, a delegation representing every element in the resistance, joined by a representative of all the Greek parties, escaped to Cairo and requested the government in exile, then headed by Tsouderos, to transmit to the King a letter begging him to announce that he would not return to Greece until the people had decided upon the form of government. A special Cabinet meeting unanimously indorsed the demand; so the letter which reached the King had the backing of the Greek parties, the resistance movement and also the conservative government in exile. When he received the demand, King George, ill and indecisive, asked Mr. Churchill what he should do. The Prime Minister told him he should refuse.

It was only after the army mutiny in Cairo in April, 1944, that the King was forced to issue a half-hearted declaration saying that he would not go back if the government thought he should not. No one who looks at the record can possibly doubt that the King would have been put on his throne by the British, without benefit of plebiscite, had it not been for the uprising in Athens later that year.

4. *The Rebellion.* Mr. Churchill charges that when the British landed in Greece, in October, 1944, "the Communist guerrilla bands, most of whom had done little or nothing against the German invaders . . . descended from the mountains, claiming to be the saviors of Greece, and also its rulers with totalitarian power. They infiltrated and forced their way into Athens . . . and began a violent murderous attack upon the police stations and other establishments of the newly arrived, feeble, distracted, all-party government." And much more. What really happened? *Nation* reporters on the

spot, particularly Constantine Poulos, told the story in these pages. But a couple of facts are worth recalling. First, Mr. Churchill's attempt to write off the services of the guerrillas is beneath contempt. These forces, largely non-Communist, fought the Germans with incredible bravery and great losses, as was attested by American OSS parachutists behind the lines and by many British officers. Second, they made no claim to rule the country. Third, no attacks by any left forces began until after offers of peaceful compromise had been rejected on orders of the British. The guerrillas (E. L. A. S.) had agreed to lay down their arms provided rightist bands, including the royalist Mountain Brigade, trained by the British, and the Security Battalions, trained by the Germans, did the same. This was refused. The E. A. M. called for a mass demonstration in Athens. Permission for the demonstration was granted and then revoked, but the second order came too late. Thousands of unarmed Greeks gathered in Constitution Square and the police fired on them. "That was the spark," Poulos reported from Athens. "The E. A. M. forces in Athens and Piraeus set out to clean up the police, national guard, and other armed fascists." But even then the war could have been averted if the British had allowed their puppet premier, Papandreou,

to resign, as he wished to do. The Liberal leader, Souphoulis, was actually forming a coalition Cabinet with the approval of the left when General Scobie ordered Papandreou to remain in office. Then the fighting began in earnest; it was at 2 a.m. the next morning that Mr. Churchill, as he says, "drafted a telegram to our General Scobie . . . that he must no longer [*sic*!] consider himself neutral between the Greek parties, but on the contrary should sustain Premier Papandreou, and not hesitate to fire on the Communist assailants."

The civil war we have inherited in Greece is definitely Mr. Churchill's war, and his warm indorsement of the Truman policy as nothing more than a continuation of his own is the most damaging attack the Administration has yet suffered. Cheerfully and without scruple, Mr. Churchill has knocked into a cocked hat the story built up in Washington over the past five weeks that our intervention in Greece is largely an altruistic enterprise, designed to accomplish what three years of British control have failed to do. In Britain and on the Continent, Henry Wallace is telling large audiences that our government, out of panic fear of communism, has embarked on a global course of military and dollar diplomacy. But none of his charges, no matter how



BALANCING ACT

vigorously expressed, can have quite the deadly effect of Winston Churchill's bland and approving restatement of the same point. Mr. Churchill says, in effect, "Henry Wallace is right; this is imperialism." Does the Administration accept the mantle the British war leader has laid on its shoulders? If not, it had better shake it off fast. Until it does, no repudiation of Henry Wallace will sound convincing to liberals, either here or in Europe.

Challenge to Business

IF THE OPA is permanently discontinued, the production of goods will mount rapidly, and through free competition prices will quickly adjust themselves to levels that consumers are willing to pay." So said the National Association of Manufacturers in full-page advertisements on July 3, 1946. Since then, the OPA has been discontinued and output has expanded rapidly. But the cost of living has jumped about 20 per cent in the same period, and as Simon Lesser shows in his article on page 442, resistance to price reduction and a steadily mounting volume of profits remain the dominant features of the business landscape.

When is the performance of industry going to match its promises? That, briefly, was the question posed by the President last week, and it is a question that demands a quick and satisfactory answer if this country is to avoid serious economic grief. Pointing out that the course of prices has been as he predicted when vetoing the first OPA Extension Act last June 29, Mr. Truman said that responsibility for preventing a crash now rests squarely on business. The government has been stripped of powers to deal with the price situation; it can only use "moral suasion" and it begins to look as if that will not be enough.

Yet it ought to be as clear to our great industrial leaders that their present course of action is not going to prevent a reduction of prices in the very near future. Consumers' resistance to prices is growing, not because of a conscious buyers' strike, but because their income is insufficient to take off the market the ever-greater flow of goods from the production lines. J. Roger Wallace, writing in the *Journal of Commerce* on March 29, demonstrated statistically that present national income is insufficient to support the prices asked for all the goods that are being produced. "A national income of approximately \$224 billion rather than the present rate of around \$185 billion would be necessary," he asserted, "to move the present industrial production into consumption at the present price level." In the face of this situation we are told by the same newspaper on April 11 that many cotton mills and converters "go so far as to sit on goods in preference to bringing prices down." In other

words, unsold production in the textile industry, and in others as well, is being piled up in inventories. This state of affairs cannot long continue: either we will have an orderly reduction in prices to a level which enables current production to be absorbed in consumption, or our economy will be overtaken by a disorderly retreat of values accompanied by forced liquidation of inventories, slashed production schedules, unemployment, and widespread bankruptcies.

The longer business men wait to make the necessary adjustments, the harder they are likely to fall. A few have recognized this fact and given a commendable lead, but all too many, refusing to face the fact that they have to sacrifice some part of their present lush profits or risk going without profits at all, are unwilling to take the step that common sense dictates. For instance, the chiefs of the steel industry, which is believed to have enjoyed a record first quarter, profitwise, have said in the last few days that they cannot consider price changes so long as wage issues remain unsettled. Yet it is clear from the steel union's tactics that it is anxious to avoid a strike; almost certainly it would moderate its demands if the companies showed that they were willing to use part of their profits to cut prices and so insure the maintenance of capacity operations. On the other hand, if prices do not come down, wage increases, as President Truman has pointed out, will be fully justified.

Another example of stalling is the complaint of some business groups that they are inhibited from getting together to reduce prices by fear of the anti-trust laws. We are sorry to note that Mr. Truman dignified this red herring by referring it to the Department of Justice. As Attorney General Tom C. Clark observed, "The anti-trust laws do not interfere with voluntary price reductions." An agreement to reduce prices would not seem to offer a case for prosecution unless it represented a deliberate attempt to squeeze out competitors or unless it included an undertaking to freeze prices at the new level.

In any case, we cannot afford to wait for industry-wide agreements on NRA lines. They would take months to negotiate and are quite unnecessary. Prices in our largest and most typical industries are determined neither by outright agreements between competitors nor by the free play of market forces. They are the result, rather, of what is known as "price leadership." The pattern is set by the strongest units in the industry; when they alter their course, their fellows are usually quick to respond. Under these circumstances, responsibility for lowering prices rests particularly heavily on United States Steel, General Motors, General Electric, American Viscose, du Pont, Alcoa, and similar giants. By timely action they could do much to ward off the danger that our present boom will turn to bust, and if they fail to seize the opportunity, the country should hold them strictly to account.

Will Business Bring Down Prices?

BY SIMON O. LESSER

Washington, April 14

IN RECENT weeks the President of the United States has felt compelled to warn business again and again of economic difficulties ahead if prices are not reduced. Despite the charge that this is a timid Administration, three government departments—Treasury, Commerce, and Agriculture—have spoken out to the same effect, as has Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Economic Council.

As summarized in the New York *Times*, the report of that council—the basis of last week's "seminar"—was a remarkably outspoken document. Calling attention to the growing probability of a recession, it noted the expansion of consumer credit, the shrinkage of war-time savings, which are being used to supplement current income, and the decline in the rate of current savings. Such "danger signals" warn that purchasing power and consumption are sagging in the face of rising production. To reestablish a balance, the council pointed out, either wages must be raised or prices must be reduced. It prefers the second alternative, since the benefits would be spread more widely. Profit figures cited in the report show that most industries have an ample margin for price reductions. The question is whether these reductions are to be made voluntarily, as the council hopes, or are to be precipitated by a collapsing market.

No real basis existed for expecting the natural play of economic forces to bring about price reductions as soon as this. It may be remembered that the Box Score I compiled for *The Nation* of January 18 predicted that price cuts on some items would do little more than counter-balance increases on others until about the middle of the year. Keith Hutchison has explained why casual readers of newspapers may have got a different impression: the significance of every favorable development on the price front has been exaggerated. Reduced prices for some luxury goods and clearances of such things as sport shirts have been heralded as the harbingers of general price slashing. This was careless and irresponsible journalism, or worse. The conservative press wanted the country—especially the workers—to believe that an early tumble of prices was due.

On the other hand, much of the comment addressed

to business has been basically hortatory. The first message of the President under the Employment Act of 1946 was less a report than an appeal to business to reduce prices in order to stave off a recession and achieve industrial peace. So far the course of events has borne out the contention of Robert R. Nathan and others that it is unrealistic to expect business to display this amount of foresight and restraint. There is still time for business to act. But it cannot wait much longer. A lower level of prices is imperative if we are to consume the tremendous volume of goods now being produced. Each day's delay in reaching that lower level makes it less likely that the adjustments can be achieved without a business setback. That is the real menace of the continued firmness of prices.

Business men have been increasingly concerned about high prices, but unfortunately not sufficiently concerned to act. Everyone has wanted prices to come down—but preferably the other fellow's. Of the business men interviewed in *Fortune's* February management poll 44 per cent expected prices to fall, but only 15 per cent intended to reduce those of their own products. What business men hoped in particular was that farm prices would lead the downward adjustment. This would mean cheaper food and clothing and thus help to pacify labor. At the same time it would reduce business's raw-material costs and take some of the pressure off the demand for lower prices all along the line.

The argument for lower farm prices is based on the plausible hypothesis that since they have risen faster and farther than prices in general they should now decline until the former balance is restored. The need for cheaper wheat, cotton, and pork is undeniable. But there is nothing sacred about the balance between farm and non-farm prices which prevailed before the war. Throughout the twenties and thirties our farm population was impoverished. The low level of farm buying power was one of the basic causes of the depression of 1929 and of the slowness of the subsequent recovery. Farm prices must come down, but this necessity must not be permitted to obscure the need for cheaper manufactured goods also.

One reason why business men have maintained their own prices, even though they recognized the need for lower prices generally, is that they have tended to be more hopeful about prospects in their particular field than about the over-all business outlook. While this optimism is encouraging and makes their policy less inconsistent than might at first appear, it points up the fact that most business men see only one reason for reducing prices—to prevent a decline in their company's sales.

SIMON O. LESSER is a Washington economist formerly with the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The *Nation* of January 18 carried an article by him called *What Will Your Dollar Buy in 1947?*

Their unwillingness to act in the national interest at a time when they are fully cognizant of what should be done and well able to trim profit margins is the most discouraging feature of the present economic scene.

Were it not for the irresponsibility of certain influential business leaders, the chances of avoiding a recession this year could still be regarded as bright. It is still as certain as anything can be that farm prices will be lower, probably sharply lower, during the last half of this year. Though the world food situation is worse than was realized some months ago, many of the factors which accounted for the recent flurry in hogs and grains—severe weather, the box-car shortage, worry about domestic crop prospects—were transitory. There have been offsetting declines in other farm products, and even for those commodities which have soared, "futures" market quotations forecast lower prices later on.

With respect to manufactured goods the situation is better than it appears on the surface. The cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has declined slightly for two consecutive months. Wholesale prices of a wide variety of items—handbags, jewelry, handkerchiefs, toilet goods, cosmetics, and radios—have reached their peak and begun to come down. The W. T. Grant Company reports that since December lower prices have been quoted to its buyers on one-fourth of the 7,500 lines it carries. These reductions have not yet been fully reflected in retail prices.

The President's statements have increased the number and strengthened the hand of the business men who see the need for lower prices, and a civil war is flaring in the business community. It would be an oversimplification to say that the war is between manufacturers and retailers, but by and large the manufacturers are the ones who are resisting price adjustments. While the National Association of Manufacturers has again put itself on record as favoring lower prices, its recent statement, like the one of last December, seems less an appeal to its members than a warning against wage demands and an attempt to shift responsibility for the rises already witnessed. Most manufacturers can make a plausible case for postponing price reductions: raw-material costs are high and further wage demands are in the offing. But present profit margins permit reductions that would help keep wage demands within reason.

Retailers are already feeling the impact of consumer buying resistance and are well aware of the urgency of the situation. Long before Mr. Truman's latest warnings, such representative retailers as A. W. Hughes, president of the J. C. Penney Company, and Adam Gimbel, president of Saks Fifth Avenue, had stressed the importance of lower prices. Lew Hahn, president of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, was quick to indorse Mr. Truman's views. Jack I. Straus, president of the world's

largest department store, R. H. Macy and Company, has urged in a press interview and a signed advertisement that manufacturers and retailers cooperate in an effort to bring prices down. Many other retailers and retail organizations are working vigorously to effect reductions.

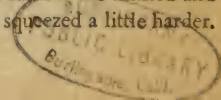
The nation's lumber dealers and home builders, hardly noted as champions of the consumer, have begun to complain about high prices. They are afraid that the present huge demand for homes will fade away unless costs are reduced. And to the harassed builders and dealers the inflexibility of building-material prices represents not simply an economic threat but an ideological blow. They had convinced themselves that while prices might rise temporarily after the death of the OPA, they would promptly settle down again after their little fling.

In the manufacturing field the most conspicuous champion of lower prices has been the Ford Motor Company. Ford not only talked about the need but, as a "down payment" toward a continued high level of production and employment, actually lowered prices. Granted that the reductions were small and motivated in part by public-relations considerations, they were an important step in the right direction. The Ford price cuts are all the more commendable because Ford was less well situated to absorb them than manufacturers already producing at capacity and had less reason to fear a lessened demand.

Following the Ford lead, International Harvester announced substantial price reductions on a wide variety of its products. Like Ford, Harvester is untroubled at the moment by buyer resistance; its sales are running 50 per cent ahead of last year. It reduced prices in the belief that such a policy would benefit the nation and, in the long run, the company.

Other prominent manufacturers have announced modest price cuts. Many members of the business community, however, have let neither Presidential appeals nor competitors' actions disturb their serenity. General Motors thumbed its nose at young Henry Ford by promptly raising the prices of some of its models. It could get away with this because, as a low-cost producer, its prices were competitive even after the increases. The necessity of the adjustments, forcefully argued in a company statement, may be judged from the fact that General Motors shortly afterward raised its dividend. The company's earnings are estimated to be running at more than twice the new rate, and it is widely predicted in brokerage circles that the dividend will be increased again, or supplemented by an extra, before the year ends.

Lumber manufacturers reacted to the demand for lower prices in similar fashion. In February mill quotations on Northern hardwoods in all grades were advanced from 10 to 15 per cent. There is general agreement in the trade that lumber prices must and will fall by late spring, but meanwhile supplies of processed lumber are limited and demand is urgent. Buyers can be squeezed a little harder.



The New York *Times* story which reported the price rise declared, "Manufacturers expressed amusement at yard threats to concentrate on substitute materials." How much longer, one wonders, will these boys be amused?

Unfortunately it is all too easy to point to businesses which in spite of lush profit margins ignore the need for lower prices. Several weeks ago the *Wall Street Journal* carried a front-page story which began, "The high cost of building threatens to make the 'great housing boom of 1947' just a might-have-been." In the same issue was the 1946 annual report of Sewell Avery's United States Gypsum Company: on a sales gain of less than one-third, profits had about tripled, rising from \$3.18 to \$9.91 per share of common stock.

As in the past each individual firm seems to feel compelled to act in its own interest rather than adopt policies serving the general good. Last year many companies doubled and tripled their 1945 earnings. Thus far this year profits are larger still. Many large corporations have

been able to establish reserves against every possible contingency. Some merchandisers have reserves against inventory losses equal to more than one-fourth the value of present inventories. Such sums should certainly be ample to protect the individual firms against disaster—but if some of today's excessive profits were applied to price reductions, the disaster would be less likely to occur.

Time is running out. For several months now prices have been too high to permit us to buy all the goods pouring from our factories. Fortunately, the overflow has been needed to replenish inventories. But inventories have become approximately large enough. From now on, if we are going to keep factory wheels turning and employment up, the prices of goods will have to be brought into balance with purchasing power. If they are not voluntarily reduced, they will be forced down by a decline in demand. That kind of price correction will mean losses for business, unemployment for workers, and trouble for everyone.

Iraq: Black Gold and Poverty

BY ANDREW ROTH

Bagdad-Kirkuk, March 12

RICH as Iraq is in "black gold," having one of the largest and most easily exploitable oil fields in the world, the visitor is immediately struck by the people's bleak poverty. After broad-avenued Damascus, Bagdad is a shabby slum. Its dirty main street, lined with whining beggars, is somewhat mockingly named after Haroun al-Rashid, but there is little romance in the life of the citizens. Most of them are landless and live in mud hovels. The average wage is 30 cents a day, while prices are as high as in New York or London. A large majority have syphilis, and 95 per cent are illiterate.

During the past year many dramatic events have been staged against this sordid background: vociferous political parties have been born; striking oil workers have been shot; British troops have landed; and "new-style" elections have been held. Only a tiny minority of the population, however, have had roles in the drama—on one side a few feudal sheiks owning dozens of villages and tens of thousands of acres, the big city merchants, and the "old gang" politicians linked to both; on the other the newly articulate students, some progressive intellectuals, and the railway and oil workers.

While some of the extreme nationalists are ready to blame all Iraq's ills on "British imperialism," conditions were much worse before the British forces arrived thirty years ago. Under British control a good port, a railway system, roads, and airdromes have been built, and a moderately efficient police and civil service have been trained. The government has been centralized by imposing the Hashimite dynasty of King Feisal on the feudal sheiks and by the R. A. F.'s suppression of tribal uprisings. Of course the nationalists say that these benefits are merely by-products of Britain's need for oil and markets and for an effective but subservient ally on the Mediterranean-Persian Gulf air and land routes.

Iraq's independence has been recognized internationally since the end of the British mandate in 1932, but as late as last January even the Anglophile Premier Nouri Said described it as "conditional independence," that is, independence limited by the conditions of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty. By this treaty Britain was given air bases, facilities for moving troops and supplies, the right to supply the foreign military and civilian advisers and technicians required, joint control of the British-built Iraqi railways and port of Basra, and the right to move in troops if war threatened. The purpose of the treaty—to keep Iraq safely within the British sphere of influence—was nearly defeated by the machinations of the Nazis in the period 1933-39, but when a group of ultra-nationalist army officers under Rashid Ali tried to seize the

ANDREW ROTH, on a roving commission for *The Nation*, has been in the Middle East for the past six months. His next article will be from Teheran.

government in May, 1941, the British stepped in and remained firmly in the saddle throughout the war. Today the ruling Iraqi is Emir Abdul-Ilah, regent for the boy king, Feisal II.

Nouri Said, called the "Smuts of the Middle East," is the smartest of the "old gang," the men who served under and were paid by T. E. Lawrence in World War I and came to Iraq with King Feisal. Nouri has a genius for conjuring up schemes to advance British policy. He negotiated the Anglo-Iraqi treaty and the Saadabad pact and has pushed the Arab League. In 1943 he proposed the "Greater Syria" plan, which was to unite Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, and part of Palestine under the British puppet, King Abdullah of Transjordan, great-uncle of Iraq's monarch. As a result he is much in demand for Cabinet posts, the present Cabinet being the ninth he has headed and the twentieth or so in which he has served. His pro-British policy is strongly seconded by Foreign Minister Fadhil Jemali, who would like people to forget that he was pro-Nazi before the war.

The British occupy the key posts in the Iraqi economy. Recently when a Briton was appointed head of Basra's laundry department, the left-nationalist paper *Saut el Siasa* asked sarcastically whether the task was beyond the ability of an Iraqi. The British firm of Andrew Weir monopolizes the chief agricultural exports—dates and barley. An Englishman is Acting Controller of Currency and Exchange Control Director. Iraq's foreign trade is controlled in the interest of British exports. A contractor of my acquaintance was refused the requisite dollars to go to the United States to purchase road machinery and therefore had to buy from England. Many Iraqi merchants do not seek United States accounts for fear of being blacklisted by "the Embassy" and its friends in the government. Although Iraq's allocation of \$14,000,000 from the London "dollar pool"—into which American payments for Iraqi exports are pumped—is quite generous, Iraq is encouraged to spend these dollars in countries like Sweden, Switzerland, and Canada which want dollars for their products but spend a large portion of them in England. The most recent statistics (January to September, 1946) show that Britain's exports to Iraq are fifteen times its imports from Iraq, while our exports are only six times our imports.

Since the war discontent has been stirring in the people, and progressives and students have demanded the political liberties promised by the Atlantic Charter and other expressions of Allied war aims. The Regent, believing that moderate reforms would block the development of Persian-style extremism, appointed as Premier Tewfik Suweidi, a man of wealth but of somewhat more modern views than most of the ruling clique. Suweidi abolished war-time security regulations restricting civil liberties and in April-May, 1946, allowed the formation

of five "reasonable" (his word) political parties. He limited their activities, however, to Bagdad. One was the Premier's own Liberal Party, led largely by wealthy merchants. Another was the chauvinist Istiklai, or Independence Party, comprising many of the junior officials and army officers who had followed Rashid Ali. Three were progressive parties, alike in advocating free elections, evacuation of foreign troops, distribution of state, not private, lands, and an independent Arab state in Palestine, but differing somewhat in leadership and following. The pro-Communist National Liberation Party was not licensed.

The actual membership of the new progressive parties was only some thousands—their newspapers, like other Iraqi papers, had a maximum circulation of 3,000—but they were a nightmare to the Iraqi feudalists. At the end of May the Regent withdrew his support of Suweidi and replaced him with Arshed Umari, who suspended six journals in his first month in office.

Last summer political warfare, stimulated by Anglo-Soviet tension, was almost as hot as the broiling sun. In Bagdad a student was killed when police fired on a demonstration of the National Liberation Party urging the evacuation of British troops. But the shots that echoed around the world were those fired at the striking Kirkuk oil workers.

The Kirkuk field, one of the most valuable in the world, is worked by the Iraq Petroleum Company, which pays only eight shillings a ton in royalties to the Iraq government. The company is jointly owned by American, British, French, and Dutch concerns, but its top personnel is almost entirely British. Wages were good, for Iraq, but had not kept up with the rise in prices. Workers had to walk at least a mile in the hot sun from Kirkuk to the fields. There was a critical housing shortage because the number of workers had greatly increased and floods had washed away many of their mud hovels. The I. P. C.'s opposition to the formation of a union and its reluctance to grant demands until it could get word from the London office provided ammunition for a handful of Communists who were anxious to sharpen the militance of the workers in this strategic industry and to brand the company as "imperialist exploiters" in an area of sharp Anglo-Soviet friction. On July 3 all of the I. P. C.'s 4,000 workers struck. On July 14, when most of them had eaten up their slender reserves and were ready to return to work, gendarmes fired into a labor demonstration, killing eight men. Although the local governor was a former I. P. C. employee, there is no evidence that the company instigated the shooting. However, a British official formerly in the Indian C. I. D. is said to have declared: "The Iraqi police botched the job. In India they would have got the dozen men we wanted with twelve shots; here they fired three hundred rounds and didn't get any of the ringleaders."

The Iraqi government and its British advisers, recognizing the danger in this incident—on the very same day 80,000 workers went on strike in the Anglo-Iranian oil fields in Abadan—rushed conciliators to the spot and induced the workers to go back to work by promising that conditions would be improved and that there would be no discrimination against the strike leaders. All the ringleaders were in fact soon fired on one pretext or another, but, partly under British government pressure, important concessions have been made. Wages have been raised from 16 to 75 per cent, a daily allowance of 20 cents for rent has been added, medical facilities have been extended, and plans have been made for 400 workers' houses when materials become available. My trip to Kirkuk convinced me that while labor relations have improved, the company and the cooperating local authorities have no intention of allowing anything but a company union.

The Kirkuk shooting aroused tremendous indignation, but anger rose still higher in August when the British, to counter what they considered a threat to their Abadan fields, moved troops into the Iraqi port of Basra just across the border from Iran. The nationalist papers in Bagdad asserted that this was a violation of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, which allows reinforcements only in case of a threat of war. The papers were thereupon suppressed and their editors imprisoned. This provoked a printers' and railway workers' strike. Arrests were the order of the day.

When in London last fall, Foreign Minister Fadhil Jemali, according to a highly placed Iraqi source, boasted of these "anti-Communist measures" to Mr. Bevin. To his surprise Mr. Bevin suggested that blind repression was not the best way of fighting communism. When informed of this, the Regent, already made jittery by Premier Umari's erratic actions, called for his resignation and gave the post to the agile, experienced Nouri Said with instructions to hold elections.

If any proof were needed, the recent elections have demonstrated Nouri's amazing skill as a manipulator, in which he is equaled in the Middle East only by Persia's Premier Qavam. As a result of the government's victory, Iraq's parliament will be filled with the usual subservient merchant-landlord representatives, but the crudities of pre-war practices will have been avoided. In the past what were known as "telephone elections" were held. Parties were illegal, but the feudal sheiks and city merchants put up candidates. Then the night before the balloting the Minister of Interior's assistants called the provincial governors on the telephone and informed them, in cipher, which candidates were to win and by how many votes. Later, unless there was a mistake in deciphering, the figures ordered were announced as the electoral results.

As in Turkish times elections are indirect—that is, have two steps—and the political parties were much too weak to hope for more than a scattering of urban seats even in an unfettered election. But Nouri took no chances, although he wanted to preserve the outward trappings of "free elections." His first step was to break up the united front of the political parties which had been driven together by his predecessor's repressive measures. In November he split off the Liberals and National Democrats and persuaded their representatives to join his Cabinet on the promise of free elections and full scope for the political parties. Then he proceeded to suppress the extreme, underground left. Iraq has two sectarian Communist factions with a combined membership of about a thousand. Their immediate programs differ very little from those of the progressive parties, but they emphasize mass demonstrations and underground organization of the oil and railway workers, legal unions not being permitted. In mid-January the secret printing presses and over fifty leading figures in both organizations were seized. Apparently the police failed to uncover any Soviet connection because Nouri's best effort to discredit them has been to suggest that they were financed by the Zionists. Actually they have attacked Zionism as a creature of British imperialism and sponsored an Anti-Zionist League.

Even before the left was weakened by these arrests it was clear that all the legal parties were kept in a strait-jacket by being banned from the provinces. At the end of December the Liberal and National Democratic ministers resigned from the Cabinet. In January the National Union and People's parties decided to boycott the elections because, instead of giving the parties full scope as promised, Premier Nouri had deftly passed the buck by saying it was up to the governors, who in turn said their police chiefs had to decide whether the opening of party branches was a "threat to security and order." Under this ingenious scheme even the conservative Liberal Party has been allowed only five branches in the seventy-one provinces.



Labor Coalition in Holland

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Hague, April 1

THE new Dutch Labor Party is one of the few really creative new political impulses upon the European continent. It represents a combination of the old Socialist Party, never strong in Holland, the left wing of the Protestant churches, and a few left-wing Catholics. It is at present in a coalition government with the Catholic Party, the opposition being the traditionally conservative Calvinist parties.

What is creative about the party is that it has healed in Holland the breach between Marxism and Christianity existing generally on the Continent. It consciously fashions its program, or at least its orientation, on the example of British Labor. Like the British party it is pragmatically rather than dogmatically Socialist. Socialism, in its view, is a political-economic program, not a religion or a cure-all for the ills of the world. It therefore disavows the position of Continental Marxism, which usually challenges not merely the economics of capitalism but the whole traditional Christian culture of the West. The party is as intent as British Labor to gain the support of the middle classes as well as of industrial labor.

Unlike the British party, which has always been quasi-Christian and quasi-Socialist but which has never represented an explicit alliance of church and labor leaders, the Dutch party has in its leadership some of the most prominent leftist churchmen, particularly those responsible for the missionary enterprise of the Dutch church. One of the new points of contact between labor and the church is, in fact, the affinity between the Socialist criticism of Indonesian imperialism and the conviction of the more advanced missionary leaders of the church that imperial support for the Christian missionary enterprise is wrong. The influence of the party has greatly contributed to the liberalism of the government's position on the Indonesian independence movement.

The Labor Party controls 29 of the 100 seats in the Dutch Parliament. That it should hold office in alliance with the Catholics, who have always polled 33 per cent of the votes in Holland, rather than with the old Christian anti-revolutionary party simply means that Catholicism, however conservative, has, as usual in Europe, a con-

nection with political labor by way of the Catholic trade unions. The Calvinist party is, on the other hand, solidly bourgeois and has always mixed middle-class conservatism with Christian piety in the manner that justifies Karl Marx's acute observation: "The beginning of all criticism is the criticism of religion." Lutheranism in Europe has usually been as conservative but not so explicitly political. Dutch Calvinism, on the other hand, has been explicitly political in much the same fashion as Catholicism. The politics of Holland have been dominated for generations by these religiously oriented parties, partly because Holland is one of the least secularized of industrial nations.

The Christian leaders in the Labor Party were somewhat disappointed that they did not gain more seats in the first parliamentary election. The prestige of some of the churchmen, particularly of Dr. Henrik Kraemer, one of the most respected missionary leaders in the whole Protestant world, was so great that a larger number of the rank and file was expected to follow him. But that was a little too much to expect. Holland, like Switzerland and Sweden—and the United States—is a thoroughly bourgeois nation. Imperial wealth and the conservatism of the farmer are allied much as the farmers and big industry are allied in our Republican Party.

One might assume that in such a situation the conflict between the "Christian" right and the Socialist feeling of the Continent, which helped to destroy the social and cultural fabric of Europe and even now prevents either the social or the spiritual reconstruction of many European nations, would have been conducted here with particular acrimony. The new impulse which gave rise to the Labor Party is therefore the more remarkable and the more praiseworthy. While it is not likely that the party will ever be able to shake the solid middle-class conservatism of the Dutch agrarian, it has gained support in the impoverished middle-class life of the urban centers and bids fair to win the industrial classes completely. It may even in time be able to forge at least a working alliance with the labor wing of the Catholic Party, if the interests of the Catholic workers ever come into sharp conflict with the policy of the party.

The significance of this whole development lies in the fact that the rest of the Continent is unable to fashion stable non-Communist governments primarily because of the breach between the Marxist parties and the Christian right. All these Christian parties have a left wing which has more in common on economic issues with the Socialist Party than with its own. Usually, however, it is prevented by ecclesiastical authority from making common

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary and author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man," has been lecturing in Great Britain and on the Continent for the past several months.

cause with the Socialists. One of the disappointing developments in both the M. R. P. in France and the Christian Democrats in Italy is that various genuinely creative "lay Catholic" developments in these parties, growing out of the resistance movements, have come progressively under hierarchical domination. The clergy insist on making monopoly in religious instruction the dominant issue and thus spoil any possibility of a working alliance with the Socialists. Sometimes the Continental Socialists, unlike their Dutch brothers, also contribute to this impasse by a dogmatic secularism. If Europe should fail to achieve a stable economic or political life, ecclesiastical institutions, seeking to preserve their perquisites or even to restore medieval conditions, will have a high responsibility for the failure.

The Dutch Labor Party is not at all impressed with the present seemingly high living standard of the Dutch nation. It insists that living conditions are better in Holland than in Britain because Holland is not balancing its export-import budget. (Nor are the British for that matter.) Holland hopes to retain a large trade with the

Indies, even if Indonesia gains complete independence; and it trusts its intensive agriculture for the usual surplus of eggs, dairy products, and vegetables. But there may not be as large a market for these exports in an impoverished Europe.

The Dutch party, with whose leaders I had the pleasure of meeting this week, is as concerned as any similar group in Europe that the Continent should not fall to communism. It is, however, fully aware that drawing a strategic line beyond which communism may not go in Western Europe will be of no avail if behind that line Western Europe does not regain economic and political health. It is grateful that American power is to remain in Europe and yet apprehensive about American power. Many party leaders were perturbed by Truman's Texas speech on "free enterprise," having assumed that that was the slogan of Republicanism. They wanted to know whether it was a kind of golden calf to which all parties had to make obeisance. They assured me that impoverished Europe required a managed economy and that unless we understood this, all our help would be vain.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

III. Big Jim of Alabama

Birmingham, Alabama, April 2

IN BIRMINGHAM there is a little factory, equipped with modern machinery, in which technology dictates the presence of many workers in one room. Some are white, some Negro. Each man does his job, and racial friction has never entered the shop. But human relations in the South are not so modern as the machinery in this factory. Convention, originating in bourbon days, demands segregation, and since the owners of the factory are not radicals, and do not want to be called radicals, they conform to the convention. To reconcile convention with technology they have made two big doors into the factory room. Over the top of one is inscribed "White" and over the other "Colored." The workers come in by different doors but once inside sit or stand side by side, just as they came along the street on the other side of the door. Thus convention and technology are both satisfied; if they were persons instead of abstractions, they would surely wear complacent if embarrassed smiles.

This is a minor manifestation of the clearly discernible changes which are being forced on the South as it passes through the stages of industrialization. To the unsolved problems of a primitive agricultural era are now added in Birmingham those of a relatively primitive industrial economy. How primitive can be judged by the fact that the average family income in Alabama in 1850 was \$100 a year, and in 1938 it was only \$130. Share-cropping, tenant farming, concentration on one crop, and uneconomical production methods persist, but are jumbled up with such innovations as mechanical cotton pickers, flame throwers, and harvesting combines. Consideration of the industrial worker's needs and productive capacity is retarded by the hold on Alabama of the two great monopolies, the United States Steel Corporation and the Commonwealth and Southern Power Company. With these undigested problems and relationships are intertwined the frustrated aspirations of a business class which would go into manufacturing but cannot while monopolistic restrictions prevail, and of an artisan class which would master technology but cannot while the South lacks training facilities.

Necessarily, this conglomeration of unsolved difficulties produces confusion, ill feeling, and misunderstanding. But the problems cannot be evaded, and because they are always present, a growing number of people here are beginning to see what it is they want, though

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," has spent the past several months making a new survey of the South. This is the third article of a series he is writing on current political and economic trends in various Southern states.

they do not yet see clearly how they will get it. They visualize a future in which they will not only have the machinery of production but enjoy the fruits of that production. Alabama has marvelously rich ore and coal deposits. In Birmingham, the state's most important city, are some of the country's largest steel plants. Alabama needs bridges and highways, hospitals and schools. It cannot build them because it cannot afford to buy the steel which is produced from its own ore, coal, and flux. Alabama wants a greater volume of production usable in Alabama than has ever been dreamed of in the Pittsburgh offices of Big Steel or the Wall Street luncheon clubs where Commonwealth and Southern executives meet the partners of J. P. Morgan and Company.

The eagerness of the people of the South for more goods fails to delight the big corporations, for the good reason that the people cannot buy what they need unless prices are lowered through more efficient production methods and removal of artificial restraints. Also necessary is a wage system which provides a standard of living equal to that in the North. Only with such a wage system will it be possible for the worker to pay, directly or in taxes, for the houses, schools, hospitals he wants.

Waste of motion, waste of material, and waste of man-power characterize the production methods of the entire country. In the South the waste is worse because of archaic farming methods and primitive industrial mechanization. Some wastage is easily seen, and its elimination is demanded. But there is an equally costly invisible wastage due to rigging of prices by monopolies, to patent pools and freight rates which exclude men and women from economic opportunity, to control of money by an Eastern corporate aristocracy. In these is snarled the progress of the entire South.

On every side Southerners see pillaged forests, eroded lands, exhausted mines. This waste, being of the old era, balks change and explains much. Unless the people of Alabama can recapture control of their own destiny, the future is lost, along with their wonderful natural resources. For them it is anything but an academic question; the decision must be made quickly or fifty years from now Alabama and the South will be an impoverished agricultural wasteland. Labor leaders worry about it; middle-of-the road college groups study every aspect of the problem; patriotic and civic-minded aristocrats call it the paramount question. And with these vocal groups stand a great many of the three million people on the farms and in the cities of Alabama.

How else explain the fact that poll-tax Alabama, by electing John Sparkman to sit in the United States Senate with the able Lister Hill, has shown itself to be at present the most liberal state of the South? How else explain the popular vote for Governor Folsom, who, though he mugged through much of his campaign, kept insisting that he intended to carry on the New Deal as Gov-

ernor Arnall had done in Georgia? There is promise in Alabama that private government by Vulcan will give way to government by the people.

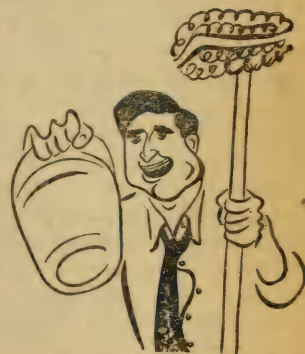
THE PEOPLE CHOOSE A GOVERNOR

Big Jim Folsom took the oath of office as Governor on January 20. Montgomery had not witnessed such a colorful scene since 10,000 people turned out to watch Jefferson Davis, in an open carriage drawn by six gray horses, ride through the city in 1861. Folsom had invited the people of the state to come to his inauguration, and 100,000 accepted. (The record vote in Alabama is only 300,000.) The Governor's reception, for obvious reasons, was held in an airplane hangar.

The new Governor, thirty-eight years old, a giant standing six feet eight inches, had got around to see the people during his campaign. He had traveled with a hill-billy band, the Strawberry Pickers, and had carried as stage props a corn-shuck mop and a suds bucket, with which he promised to sweep out the "Big Mules" (the big plantation owners of the Black Belt) and the monopolies. The people listened; at first because Folsom—with his background of working on WPA, sailing in the merchant marine, and serving as overdressed doorman in front of a big New York movie house was a good entertainer, and then because he told them about the things he wanted to do, things which seemed good and necessary.

Folsom had started out as a political nobody, and the important people, the heads of Birmingham corporations and the Big Mules, paid him little heed except to laugh at him as a mountebank. And then suddenly came the primary election and the big shock. The Big Mules were in danger.

Press and radio swung into action. In the country clubs and at the Hotel Tutweiler, where Birmingham's elite gather, the air was rank with rumor and slander: "Folsom is a drunkard," "Folsom can't resist a skirt," "Folsom can't read—I saw his record at school and he was kicked out because he flunked all his grades." Bankers, business men, rich farmers, all joined in the barrage to break down Folsom's public support. The noise was great, so great that it convinced the noisemakers that they were



Caricature by Seligson
Big Jim

carrying the day. The rank and file of the voters heard the noise, too, but it had a very different effect on them from what was intended. They had heard all that kind of talk before—about F. D. R., and from the very same voices. Disregarding the big press, employers' pressure, and plantation owners' coaxings, they made up their minds.

The voters considered Folsom's program for the future, not the scandal retailed about his past: a \$40 monthly pension for the aged, an \$1,800 a year minimum for teachers, hard-surface highways so that the small farmer could get his produce to market. They thought about his proposal for a constitutional convention designed to take the state government out of the hands of absentee corporations and quisling landlords and give it back to the people. They made up their minds as to the merit of his demand for an end to the poll tax, and for legislative reapportionment which would shear from the sparsely populated Black Belt, controlled by rich plantation owners, its voting preponderance over the industrial counties of northern Alabama. Their decision was determined by all these issues, plus the affection they had built up for Big Jim and his clowning. Folsom was in—by the largest majority ever given any candidate in Alabama.

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The monopoly boys and their Big Mule henchmen took a bad shaking up, but they have not quit trying to keep their control of the state and they are not going to quit. The election results were no more than announced when they began their campaign for the Boswell amendment. There was just time to pass it, they estimated, before Folsom took office. To the dethroned overlords it was obvious that the election of Folsom and later of Senator Sparkman added up to an extension of democracy in Alabama, and as has happened often before in the South, a rearguard action was attempted. A traditional pattern was followed. The Boswell amendment was directed at the historic target, the Negro. He, at least, could be kept from enjoying the benefits of democracy.

White supremacy came on stage with a bang. The incumbent Governor, Chauncey Sparks, announced that Negroes and whites could live together peacefully and harmoniously only if "absolute segregation" were recognized as the "first essential of a workable racial society." He demanded the amendment to "prevent a flood of Negro registration."

It was also demanded by one of Folsom's supporters, a dubious character who proclaimed the sanctity of the Ku Klux Klan; whereupon the Governor-elect announced his opposition to the amendment and one of the big questions which were troubling Alabama's liberals was answered. There had been doubt about Folsom's sincerity, but on this issue he was forthright and quick, and his erstwhile K. K. K. friends jumped off his band-wagon

and back into their sheets and hoods. To the voices of Klansmen was added that of former Governor Frank Dixon, now attorney for some of the biggest Northern-controlled interests. Dixon toured the state, speaking to the luncheon clubs and proving to every Kiwanis and Rotary member by a dramatic and exact mathematical calculation that if the Boswell amendment failed to pass the percentage of Negroes in the Legislature would be at least equal to the percentage of Negroes in the general population. He didn't say it "might" be; he stated this prospect as a certainty.

One of Alabama's leading attorneys characterizes the Boswell amendment as an "immoral action." This lawyer has never been a liberal on race questions. In fact, he has defended the registrars of several counties who have denied Negroes the right to register. Yet he said, "I couldn't take the Boswell amendment. It is set up to give the county registrar arbitrary power. It doesn't matter how severe we make the qualifications to vote, but once made we must register all those who can meet them." The amendment defines a voter as one having the ability to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." It also requires registrants to be "of good character" and to "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship." The catch is that the registrar, who is part of the political machine, is the sole judge of whether the applicant meets these tests. Obviously, first the Negroes would be denied the vote and then all but the favored whites.

The lawyer I have quoted became a leader in the fight against the amendment. He was joined by Folsom, Lister Hill, some of the largest newspapers, and all of labor. But the people of Alabama had reached the peak of their political excitement in the Folsom run-off and they did not turn out to defeat it. The amendment passed. That was a setback. It served warning on the new governor that though he might have won the battle for the governorship, the war for domination of the state was still undecided.

Big Jim was thinking of all this as he stood before the massed thousands on his inauguration day and said, "I believe in the kind of democracy that goes back to the branch heads and bush arbors. That's the kind of democracy that gives the average man and woman more to say about the way their government is run. That means we're going to get rid of worn-out restrictions on voting." And to the Big Mules and the power and steel overlords he threw a defiant challenge: "We're going to have cheap electric power all over Alabama. We're going to have it at every farmer's doorstep and in every factory. Those who own our natural resources—our ores, our coal, our river valleys—have got to use these resources for the development of our state. If our democracy is strong, it has to have a regeneration every now and then. . . . I am not afraid of too much democracy. I am afraid of

what happens to people when they have too little democracy." Thoughtfully the young Governor concluded, feeling the push and the throb of the huge crowd: "I want to be the best governor I can for you."

CAN BIG JIM HARNESS THE BIG MULES?

In his inaugural speech, Big Jim accepted all the implications of his fight against the monopolies. Fearing that Talmadge would establish himself as governor in neighboring Georgia and withdraw that state from the anti-trust suit which Governor Arnall had brought against the railroads, Big Jim made Alabama a party to the suit. Subsequently he announced that anti-trust actions would be filed against the "monopoly by which trade associations and corporations" have fixed the prices at which goods are sold throughout the state. The battle over the election laws, he said, was not yet over. The next round will be fought in the Legislature in May. Folsom's opponents, in full knowledge that not one member ran in support of his program, are relying on the Legislature to block his every move.

In this contest the experience and parliamentary skill of the Big Mules will count for much. The plan of the conservatives is clear. They will seek to capture the legislative committees and to bury in them the bills which must be passed if Big Jim is to carry out his program—that is, the proposals for a constitutional amendment, abolition of the poll tax, and reapportionment.

Simultaneously, they will try to drive Big Jim into premature action on old-age pensions, teachers' wages, and improved highways—sections of his program which depend for financing on federal grants. They know that Senators Hill and Sparkman are in favor of these measures and will work like Trojans in Washington to see that federal support is granted. But the Big Mules and their corporation henchmen also have tried and true friends in Washington—among the Republicans. If the old coalition of Southern reactionaries and Republicans performs now, it will serve the reactionaries of Alabama on several fronts. Their hope is that with Folsom stymied in Alabama by the Legislature and Senators Hill and Sparkman blocked in Washington the two liberal Senators and the Governor will be discredited in the eyes of the public and their program killed.

Folsom, of course, understands what he is up against, but it is said that he fights like the longshoreman he resembles. The liberal South is watching the struggle, hoping for Folsom's success but at the same time wishing it knew more about him. Everywhere people are asking, "Is Folsom the real thing, or is he a carbon copy of the Huey Long who also put on colorful campaigns and talked to the people about their deepest needs?" In the South more than in most places campaign promises of social reform are not the same thing as a people's administration. Up to now all estimates are simply guesses based on what Big Jim himself has said, and that has been encouraging.

Inquest on the British Press

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, April 2

IN THE wake of a destructive gale there commonly follows a period in which the storm's victims, numbed by the stroke of elemental disaster, survey the wreckage impassively. In time they will muster their energies afresh to cope with the damage; but momentarily they find relief in busying themselves with pathetic little odds and ends—pruning an apple-tree which is the sole survivor of a wrecked orchard, dusting the china in a house stripped of half its roof. In time the Labor government will get doubtless around to taking realistic action in the present crisis, but momentarily the observer gets the impression that governmental departments are still suffering from the numbing effects of shock.

Sir Edwin Plowden, director of a large chemical corporation and chief executive in 1945-46 of the Ministry

of Aircraft Production, has been appointed head of the promised Economic Planning Staff; but he will have no executive powers and will merely tender advice to the Cabinet. The Prime Minister's latest statement, forecasting a coal deficiency of ten million tons during the summer months and suggesting that this is to be made good by exhorting domestic consumers to save two and a half million tons and by imposing economies of seven and a half million tons more or less indiscriminately over the whole field of British industry, does not encourage hopes that the Cabinet is yet facing the real implication of planning—concentration of production in essential, efficient units, without undue regard for vested interests.

For the moment, in lieu of effective steps to cope with the crisis, the government has busied itself with a side issue: it has appointed the long-promised Royal Commission to investigate the British press. Formed six months after Parliament voted for a press inquiry, the Royal Commission is headed by Sir David Ross, sixty-nine-year-old provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's London correspondent and a staff contributor.

whose lectures on the philosophy of Aristotle your correspondent, in the dim days before World War I, learned much that he has now forgotten. The other members of the commission, including Mr. J. B. Priestley, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, and Mr. John Benstead, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, make up between them a fairly representative cross-section of the newspaper-reading public, but the commission is definitely weak in members with first-hand experience of Fleet Street. There are two ex-journalists on it—Sir George Waters, late editor of the *Edinburgh Scotsman*, and Mr. R. C. K. Ensor, formerly leader writer on the *Manchester Guardian*—but neither knows much of the modern commercialized press. The commission is enjoined to inquire into the control, management, and ownership of the press, including "the financial structure and monopolistic tendencies in control," and to make any recommendations which, in its opinion, will "further free expression of opinion through the press with the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of news."

That "monopolistic tendencies" exist is a proposition which the inquirers should have little difficulty in accepting. In the fifty years that have elapsed since Lord Northcliffe, then Alfred Harmsworth, founded the *Daily Mail*, the history of the popular, mass-circulation press in this country has been that of the growth of a relatively small number of dominant, highly capitalized press combines. Today the independent daily journals can be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. The *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the Communist *Daily Worker* (which belongs to a cooperative society), the *Yorkshire Post*, the *Glasgow Herald*, and the *Edinburgh Scotsman*—this almost exhausts the list; and in the field of Sunday newspapers the independents consist only of the *Observer*, *Reynolds'*, and the *News of the World*. The lion's share of the press belongs to a few large corporations. At their head, in terms of magnitude, is the group controlled by two brothers, Lords Kemsley and Camrose (formerly J. G. and W. E. Berry), who manage between them three national daily papers, four national Sunday papers, seventeen provincial daily and Sunday papers, and over ninety weekly periodicals. Next comes the Rothermere group, with the *Daily Mail*, *Sunday Dispatch*, and *Evening News* in London, together with ten provincial dailies and six provincial weeklies. Then there is the Beaverbrook group with the *Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, and London *Evening Standard*; the Odhams group, publishers of the *Daily Herald*, the *Sunday People*, and twenty weekly periodicals; the Cadbury group with the *News Chronicle* and London (evening) *Star*; the tabloid *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial* group; the "Westminster Press," controlling twelve provincial daily papers, one provincial Sunday paper, and thirty provincial periodicals; and, finally, "Provincial Newspapers," publishers of four provincial dailies and ten provincial

weeklies and periodicals. The aggregate sales of daily morning papers in this country are now close to sixteen million. Of this total, over fourteen million are products of the newspaper combines listed above.

The question which the commission may have greater difficulty in deciding is whether a press which has developed into a large-scale capitalist industry is a social menace. To what extent, if at all, do British newspapers fail, in fact, to provide "free expression of opinion with the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of news"? The commission will doubtless find ample evidence that the press is predominantly hostile to the government which happens to be in power today. It may find, too, that the commercialization of the press has led to undue dependence on advertisers in the sense that newspapers all want to give the impression that their readers are contented members of an acquisitive society whose chief interest in life is the purchase of branded goods. It may even find evidence to support the view that the tendency of the managements of mass-circulation newspaper groups has been to feed their readers on sensations and trivialities, with the result that the electorate is given very inadequate information on domestic or world affairs. But what is the answer to the argument, which the advocates of the status quo will advance, that a commercialized press exists to give the public what it wants, and that large circulations are a proof that the purchaser is satisfied? As for "truth" in the presentation of the news, even if practicing journalists are bold enough to testify to the issuing by managements of directives on the treatment of news, it would be difficult enough for the commission to find definite proof that news is deliberately distorted. And, in any event, at what point does the "angling" of news pass beyond the limits of reasonable objectivity? The commission will be up against Pilate's question.

The fact is that the British press, as it exists today, is the natural function of a predominantly capitalist society, and behaves as such. There is no obvious method of changing its character unless the government were to follow the example set by Czechoslovakia and pass a law making it illegal for a newspaper to be published except by a recognized political party or cultural association. From such a revolutionary remedy the present Royal Commission—whose membership, by and large, has a distinctly liberal tinge—will certainly shrink; nor is it likely to recommend any form of "trust-busting" along the lines of America's Sherman act. What it may do is to advocate the adoption of a system whereby the government of the day would be entitled—presumably on paper—to have one editorial column set aside in each daily paper for an official news hand-out. This would doubtless do something to promote the better political education of citizens, but it would not fundamentally alter the character of a press run by, and in the interest of, large-scale capitalist corporations.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Bethlehem's Forgotten Men

READERS of *The Nation*, I am sure, will be surprised to learn that "management is the real forgotten man in the economy of the country today." However, I have this important news straight from the horse's mouth, from one of our best-known and most highly paid corporate executives—Eugene G. Grace, chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Mr. Grace, presiding at the corporation's annual meeting at Wilmington, Delaware, let fall this pregnant sentence in the course of a vigorous defense of an amended pension plan the chief effect of which will be to raise immensely the scale of retirement pay for the corporation's leading officers. It was necessary to increase managerial incentives in this way, he argued, in order to attract first-class ability, since high taxes precluded savings from salaries for old age.

In the course of his speech Mr. Grace developed the thesis that "there is no better way of appraising the worth of an employee than by the compensation paid him." This seems a questionable proposition, but, in any case, it could only be valid when an employee's compensation is objectively determined. The chief officers of Bethlehem Steel, however, also compose the Board of Directors, so that they are in the fortunate position of appraising their own worth. No one can say that they are hampered in this task by false modesty. Collectively the sixteen men listed in the corporation's proxy statement as "directors and/or officers" received in 1946 the sum of \$2,209,744—an advance of \$727,631 over their aggregate compensation in 1945. Being a "forgotten" manager certainly has its attractions.

On top of this, the new pension plan insures the better-paid executives of Bethlehem, including the directors, a more than comfortable old age. Hitherto the maximum pension payable has been \$25,000; now, after forty years in the corporation's service employees can draw 40 per cent of their average annual compensation during the ten years preceding retirement with no ceiling whatsoever. Mr. Grace himself has waived all rights under the plan, but seven of his fellow-directors are now in line for pensions exceeding \$40,000, with two of them entitled to well over \$70,000.

With most proxies made out to the management, this plan was approved by a large majority of the stockholders. But the adverse vote was by no means insignificant and probably would have been larger but for the fact that the plan, in addition to removing the ceiling on pensions, also raised the minimum from \$400 to \$600.

At the meeting both the executive salary and pension payments were challenged by Lewis Gilbert of New York, who was unkind enough to make comparisons between the total paid to Bethlehem officers and directors and that received by the officers and directors of United States Steel—\$706,123. Was it to be assumed, he asked, that the management of Bethlehem was worth three times as much as that of its big

competitor? Mr. Grace was clearly incensed by this suggestion. Under his black, bushy eyebrows his pink cheeks took on a deeper hue. The comparison, he snapped, was quite unfair since Bethlehem's board, unlike that of United States Steel, was composed entirely of full-time working directors. We can, however, properly compare payments to the three chief executives in each company.

	<i>Bethlehem</i>	<i>U. S. Steel</i>
Chairman	\$293,279	\$106,700
President	239,399	154,800
Comptroller	170,520	107,000

Bethlehem Steel Corporation has 74,117 stockholders, of whom eight only, apart from men connected with the management, were present in person at the annual meeting. The most active part in the proceedings was taken by Lewis Gilbert, a young man of independent means who has earned the title of "minority stockholder No. 1" by attending numerous company meetings and pressing for greater measures of "corporate democracy." At the Bethlehem gathering Gilbert introduced two resolutions which he has frequently moved with varying degrees of success elsewhere. The object of the first was to change the locale of the annual meeting from Wilmington to New York; the second provided for a "reasonably complete and impartial account" of proceedings at the annual meeting to be sent to stockholders requesting it.

These seem moderate enough reforms, but they are important. The first would make it possible for a larger number of stockholders to take part in the annual meeting and to get acquainted with the men they employ to manage their property. The second would enable the vast majority of stockholders who cannot come to meetings under any circumstances to know what criticisms, if any, were made of management and how they were answered. An increasing number of important corporations, some under prodding by Mr. Gilbert and his friends, some simply from a good sense of public relations, have started to send reports to their stockholders. A few—General Mills is a notable example—have taken steps to facilitate attendance at annual meetings.

But too many managements are like that of Bethlehem. They take the view that stockholders should be neither seen nor heard, that their sole duty is to fill out their proxies. They don't want to encourage larger attendance at meetings by making them more accessible; after all, the insatiable curiosity of Mr. Gilbert and similar "agitators" might prove disconcertingly infectious. Similarly, reports of meetings, if "reasonably complete and impartial," would reveal the fact that proceedings were not always as smooth and automatic as management would desire and might stir up a dangerous increase of interest on the part of stockholders. The Bethlehem management claims that reports are unnecessary because the press always provides a full account of meetings. Having been present on April 8 at Wilmington and taken very full notes, I can testify that this is not so. The *New York Times* had a fairly adequate report, though it did not mention criticism of salaries. The *Wall Street Journal's* very brief story referred to the increase in minimum pensions but omitted all mention of the controversial features of the plan. From the stockholders' point of view, publicity of this kind is worthless, though it may suit Bethlehem's directors. They hate to be forgotten but they don't want to be too closely supervised.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

LAST month the State Department asked Congress to create and finance a public corporation to take charge of all international short-wave broadcasting in the United States. Since Assistant Secretary of State William Benton is now in actual control of all such short-wave programs, the



proposed new set-up seems to many persons in the radio industry just another example of inept government action.

The plan to create the International Broadcasting Foundation of the United States is really part of the government's current effort to sell the idea of American democracy all over the globe. At the same time it foreshadows the end of international short-wave broadcasting by the domestic commercial radio industry for at least a generation, if not for good.

As defense against the propaganda broadcasts of the Axis transmitters at the beginning of the war, the United States set up the Office of War Information and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Later it went on the offensive in the short-wave war with the formation of the Psychological Warfare Unit at SHAEF and the operation of ABSIE, the American Broadcasting Station in Europe. After V-E Day effective American short-wave broadcasting almost ceased. The only way to save it was for the State Department to take it over, and that is what happened.

Difficulties were encountered immediately. Writers, producers, and idea men, who had, as the saying goes, "cooked with gas" during the war, found themselves stymied by the hidebound conservatism of the State Department. Better salaries were available in commercial radio, and now that the war was won this talent shuttered its typewriters and moved on. The only consolation for the department was that the exodus lessened the chances of an international incident. The professional radio men the double-talking technique of international diplomacy. In fact, the fear that something might be said at any moment which would cause trouble later was behind the State Department's desire to see a public corporation run our international broadcasts.

Today the State Department has thirty-six transmitters in the United States beaming programs in twenty-six languages. To the world these programs are the official voice of America. Frequently the State Department is made uneasy by having to put a thing "on the record" when every concept of diplomacy calls for innuendo and inference and refraining from definite statements as long as possible. It would prefer to have short-wave broadcasts handled by some outside agency under the eye of the diplomats. In that way trial balloons could be floated—and disowned if badly punctured,

Another reason why the State Department wishes to turn the short waves over to a separate agency is that it is leery of economy-minded Congressmen. At present its operation of international radio costs something over \$5,000,000 a year. If Congress were to trim its budget, the short-wave unit would have to be cut. The proposed International Broadcasting Foundation would be less likely to suffer.

The foundation would be administered by a board of fifteen trustees appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Thirteen of the trustees would be "distinguished" private citizens serving without salary; the Secretary of State would be the fourteenth member, and a director at \$15,000 a year would complete the board. It would be financed by Congressional appropriations, although the proposed charter permits the sale of time and the acceptance of contributions. By virtue of its non-civil service status the I. B. F. would not be limited by government salary ceilings in buying talent.

The I. B. F. would have full control and use of the international wave lengths. Today fifty such wave lengths are in use, most of which were preempted during the war. Before the war we had only nineteen short-wave signals, and after the International Communications Conference next month we shall undoubtedly wind up with fewer than the fifty-six now used and possibly with no more than the original nineteen. The result will be more crowding in an already crowded operation. For this reason the Federal Communications Commission has said it would transfer control to the I. B. F.

For this reason, too, the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation and some of the more reactionary elements in the radio industry have attacked the plan. They also object to a clause in the I. B. F. proposal which permits "a group or organization owning international broadcasting facilities the use of I. B. F. international frequencies provided that the programs of such group are in the public interest with regard to the foreign policy of the United States."

Commercial operators generally are not complaining about the government's running the short-wave end of the business. The war smashed their dream that American advertisers would soon be sending their network programs over world-wide networks using the short-wave stations of the commercial broadcasters. With United States manufacturers either operating their own plants overseas or working closely with cartel partners, the dream might have been realized. But today manufacturing facilities abroad are in many instances ruined or inoperative, and even the radio sets that could hear these programs are few in number and in poor condition.

Then, too, the war taught the commercial radio men just how expensive international short-wave broadcasting is. These business men would rather see the government run it than put their own money into it with the world so unsettled.

World Wide, the only short-wave broadcaster to protest against the proposed I. B. F., is the only one with sufficient funds to operate without a government subsidy. These funds, in the form of a foundation, kept the organization in the van of international short-wave broadcasters before the war. Today, presumably, World Wide would rather maintain its competitive lead than give the United States the international voice it requires. This in turn raises the question, as yet unanswered, of what sort of foundation is supporting World Wide and what is the original source of its funds.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Shorter Toynbee

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgment of Volumes I-VI in One Volume. By D. C. Somervell. Oxford University Press. \$5.

BY UNIVERSAL history I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, and is not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul"—so wrote Lord Acton. Other historians have suggested that the study of history may elicit dependable knowledge which can be used for guidance in the proper conceiving and successful solution of contemporary problems. Toynbee's "Study" is, in its synoptic view of the whole, an illumination of the soul, and in its comparisons between Western history and the histories of other societies it does elicit such knowledge. Professor M. M. Postan, in a review of the original six volumes, wrote that "Toynbee possesses the gifts of a truly great encyclopedist, for he is capable of holding and giving out essential information while pursuing an argument. . . . What is important is that for the first time the essentials of modern knowledge in every imaginable field of history and archaeology have been set out by a man capable of comprehending and handling them." What is more important is that what is known of history is so interpreted and presented by Toynbee as to be an illumination of the soul.

The first three volumes of the work were published in 1934, the second three in 1939, and the third three volumes will probably not appear before 1950. During these years "A Study of History" has established itself as the most important work of the century not only in history but also in sociology and philosophy and religion. Those scholars and general readers who are anxious to understand their fields of interest, and not merely to accumulate facts about them, have read the 3,500 pages of the six volumes with pleasure and profit; but many general readers have been unable to afford either the price of these volumes or the time required to read

them. To these, the excellent abridgment by Mr. Somervell will be a boon, for the "Study" is of the sort that lends itself readily to abridgment without loss of the significance of the general argument.

The method of the "Study" is, throughout, empirical and comparative: no conclusion is drawn, no concept formulated, and no "law" derived until after a survey of the relevant facts has been made. Some of the facts and illustrations are worked out in great detail, and some of the comparisons are pursued to considerable length; hence the task of shortening the book is simply that of reducing the number of illustrations and the detail of their exposition while preserving the argument intact. Mr. Somervell has performed this task admirably, and the abridgment will consequently be a boon not only to the hurried general reader but also to the scholar who wants and needs an epitome of the larger work. The abridgment "presents an original of over 3,000 pages in 565," and the one volume includes an abridgment of the abridgment in 25 pages; it includes also four tables from the original work and a fifth table that "gives a bird's-eye view of the whole field of the first six volumes" (the fifth table is included in the British edition of the abridgment but is missing from the eight copies of the New York edition this reviewer has seen), and an excellent index. Mr. Somervell writes in a prefatory Note: "I should be very sorry if [the abridgment] came to be regarded as an entirely satisfactory substitute for the original work. For 'business purposes' it is perhaps an adequate substitute: for pleasure surely not; for a large part of the charm of the original resides in the leisured amplitude of its illustrations. Only the big book, one feels, is aesthetically worthy of the bigness of its subject. I have been able to use to such a large extent the actual sentences and paragraphs of the original that I have no fear that this abridgment will be found dull, but I am equally certain that the original will be found much more entrancing."

Toynbee's method is empirical and comparative; more specifically, it is to "search for an intelligible field of historical study independent of the local and temporary standpoints and activities of historians"; he finds that these intelligible fields "are societies which have a greater extension, in both Space and Time, than any political communities"—that is, civilizations. Investigation shows that there are in existence today five such civilizations: our own Western, the Orthodox Christian society in South-eastern Europe and Russia, the Islamic society, the Hindu, and the Far Eastern. Further investigation shows that, altogether, there have been and are twenty-one civilizations and that the earliest of these came into being not more than six thousand years ago. The members of Western civilization are accustomed to regard it as the consummation of human history and as synonymous with Civilization itself; but there is evidence in plenty that the members of all the other civilizations have regarded their own society in the same light. This suggests the likelihood that the conception of any one civilization as synonymous with Civilization is founded on the egocentric illusion by which a man regards himself—or his society—as the hub of the universe. Further, an unprejudiced analysis and appraisal of the ethos and achievements of each of the civilizations support the conclusion that it is proper to speak, as Toynbee does, of the "philosophical equivalence" of all civilizations. This conclusion, taken together with the earlier conclusion that the history of no political community or nation is intelligible in itself, should do much, for thinking men, to dispel the nationalistic illusions of contemporary power politics—and politicians. Thus, the "Study of History," in addition to being an illumination of the soul, presents and establishes ideas that are more critically needed now than at any earlier time in the history of Western society.

Societies are fields of action of human beings, are relations between them, and from another viewpoint they are intelligible fields of study; so defined, "society" is a genus comprising two

species—civilizations and primitive societies; civilizations differ quantitatively from primitive societies in that the former are far less numerous and far more extensive; qualitatively, in that in the former mimesis (the imitation by the majority of the social attitudes and assets of the creative few) is directed forward and they are in process of dynamic growth while the latter are static because mimesis is directed backward. By definition, the sources of social action cannot be the society but can only be some or one of the individuals "whose fields of action constitute a society."

Toynbee has discovered that the histories of the twenty-one civilizations so far have followed the same pattern, and his notice of this fact has led some superficial readers to classify him with certain "deterministic" and "cyclic" historians. This is complete error. Toynbee fully recognizes the creativity of individuals and of societies in response to challenges, and he urges the consideration that, since the period of civilizations on earth covers only 2 per cent of the lifetime of mankind, and since, on the same time scale, many more civilizations may reasonably be expected to appear, the courses of the histories of future societies cannot be predicted.

Toynbee's conception and analysis and exposition of the ideas of growth, of challenge and response, of breakdown and disintegration, of withdrawal and return are, each of them, of sufficient importance and excellence to merit serious study; his presentation is as "entrancing" as Mr. Somervell suggests it is. If readers of this review have time for only one book during this year—and the next and the next—Somervell's abridgment of Toynbee's "Study of History" should be that book.

E. D. MYERS

Two French Novels

JOY. By George Bernanos. Pantheon Books. \$2.75.

WOMAN OF THE PHARISEES. By François Mauriac. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.50.

THESE two books are exceptional, both for their literary qualities—of quite opposite sorts—and for their saturation in the consciousness and acceptance of a spiritual context for man

which, considering the level of the author's concern, arrestingly extends the meaning of such terms as moral standards, the super ego, conscience, and the like. The force and authority of neither writer spring entirely from this recognition. Backgrounds in which religious ritual and ecclesiastical personnel are almost natural elements are familiar enough in French novels, but neither Mauriac nor Bernanos is a Catholic apologist; both are sophisticated psychologically and fearless religiously, and what they therefore essentially communicate is that God triumphs over the church, and man's direct relations with Him transcend its intermediation.

"Woman of the Pharisees" is the more straightforward novel, in structure and language. It tells, in the main, the story of a moral perfectionist who takes it upon herself to interpret God's will to as many of His children as come within her orbit; who in the process of her self-conscious pursuit of the abstract courses of justice and truth poisons the lives of all about her, and her own as well, but who is saved, after a crisis of remorse and loss of assurance, by the love for another human being which leads her at last to the true love of God. So summarized, this seems a rather heavy and sanctimonious conception; it escapes being that by its honesty, its irony, its compassion, and the skill of its narration. It is narrow but universal, interesting if not exciting, thoughtful without being profound, and written, this somehow "old-fashioned" novel of values, in the most admirably easy and colloquial of styles; Gerard Hopkins, the translator, has kindly and ably made himself transparent for the occasion.

"Joy" is a work of a different order, more subtle, more oblique, more intense, more immersed in a kind of spiritual poetry, and though apparently written before "The Diary of a Country Priest" it goes far beyond it into regions of the soul at once pure and opaque, requiring of its readers "patience exquisite" for the violence of its intangibles. Briefly, Bernanos tells of a pious young French girl who apparently experiences the presence of God in the manner of saints, and whose soul is caught up in Him, as it were, long before she meets her untimely and undeserved but only possible end—the astonishing young martyr is killed by the

depraved Russian chauffeur who has been the first to perceive the cast of her spirit and hurries her to her God, and himself perhaps to his devil. Before her death, however, she has thrown an entire household, which already numbers several persons inhabiting only the borders of rationality, into a turmoil for which they are unable to account. Indeed, it is not altogether easy to see why sanctity, simplicity, and humility, even if of such mysterious persuasion, should quite so frenziedly distract the unsanctified. This engagement of Bernanos's with mysticism is too often baffling and elusive to the point of irritation, but it is marvelously written in a dazzling, rich, even overburdened language which makes possible a special kind of expressiveness. For this is a special kind of book, a dramatic poem of religion that quite naturally encompasses an enormous mass of experience of the world. Though it has less humanity and much less accessibility than "The Diary of a Country Priest," it is perhaps more brilliant, dense, and variously rewarding. It is no book for anyone whose imagination, for instance, would not permit sympathy with the retreat into insanity of a priest who had lost his faith but not left the church. Or perhaps it is.

Here, too, grateful mention must be made of Louise Varèse for what must surely have been one of the most exacting translating jobs of our time.

GERTRUDE BUCKMAN

An Old Quarrel

SOIL AND STEEL. By P. Alston Waring and Clinton S. Golden. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THE cleavage between farmers and industrial workers has never been more apparent or more distressing in its effects than in the months since V-J Day. Misled by constant anti-labor propaganda in the rural press, country people as a whole have been highly critical of the unions and have blamed the inevitable shortages and high prices of the post-war period on strikes and high wages. The powerful farm lobby, notably the Grange and the National Farm Bureau, has backed big business in the drive for a revision of our labor laws. City workers, on the other hand, blame

the farmers for the removal of price ceilings and the high cost of living.

Recognizing the seriousness of this cleavage, Alston Waring, a Pennsylvania farmer, and Clinton S. Golden, nationally known leader of the United Steelworkers of America, C. I. O., have collaborated in a thoughtful exploration of the possibilities of bringing about greater unity of viewpoint and action between these two great productive groups in American society. They do not attempt to gloss over the very real differences which tend to divide the groups. But they are convinced that the misunderstandings are due largely to the fact that city workers and farmers rarely know each other as persons. Because of this lack of contact, business interests have encountered little difficulty in stirring up anti-labor feeling in rural areas. The authors tell, for example, how the United States Steel Corporation and the American Iron and Steel Institute placed "canned" stories and editorials with the news agencies serving the rural press and at the same time purchased huge advertisements presenting the company's side of the steel strike in several hundred selected rural papers.

Despite this fabricated hostility, the authors find many factors which are tending to break down farm-city misunderstanding. And they describe several "techniques for unity" which hold promise of bringing urban and rural viewpoints much closer to each other. Chief among these is the cooperative movement, which by emphasizing the consumer approach to modern living provides "a tool for the welding of the interests of otherwise widely separated groups." The authors also see in the TVA and in community organizations of both workers and farmers bridges to a broader point of view. Another bond is found in the common democratic requirements of both groups—economic security, self-respect, and dignity, a democratic education for all their children, and participation of all citizens in the shaping of governmental policies. It is difficult to see how any reader who is genuinely interested in the building of a dynamic democracy in America can fail to find encouragement in this book; but it is the encouragement provided by a goal worth striving for rather than by a triumph already won.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

An Unconvincing Genius

THE MIND AND DEATH OF A GENIUS. By David Abrahamson, M. D. Columbia University Press. \$3.

IT WOULD seem virtually impossible that a study of a Jew of violently anti-Semitic opinions, a misogynist with the most powerful biological drives, a sadist, masochist, hysteric, and a suicide at the age of twenty-three, could be any-

thing but thoroughly absorbing; yet with such material Dr. Abrahamson, in his book on Otto Weininger, has produced a document which falls somewhere between a case history and an insufficiently documented biography.

During his short lifetime Weininger published one book, "Geschlecht und Charakter" ("Sex and Character"), a psychological and philosophical work which attracted little attention until he

CASE NO 835

The girl who dug her mother's grave

NAME: Rozia Mehlsack. AGE: 11 years. BIRTHPLACE: Poland. FACTS OF CASE:

When father was deported by the Nazis, mother and child hid in forests. Mother sickened and died; child stayed with body a few days, then dug a grave and buried it. PRESENT STATUS: In our orphans' home at Bellevue, France. Physical condition good, but child weeps continually.



this child was "lucky"!

ONLY 1 IN 10 IS LEFT ALIVE!

Of a million and a half Jewish children in Europe before the war, only 150,000 remain alive today . . . one in ten! During the war our organization saved thousands of these, hid them from the Nazis, brought them after liberation to

one of our 11 orphans' homes in Europe. Many had never tasted meat or sugar; a slice of bread was a wonderful treat. New cases occur every day. More help . . . more homes . . . more care is needed for these luckless, hurt, grieving children!

HOW YOU CAN HELP - NOW

Underground workers died to keep these remnants of Judaism alive during the war. Now, only money—more money—is needed. Your gift will help substantially! And every penny you send goes directly overboard for the care of these children. Can you rest until you have helped? Give . . . please . . . as generously as you can afford . . . today.

\$5	FIVE DAYS
\$10	TEN DAYS
\$30	ONE MONTH
\$300	A FULL YEAR*

*Constitutes "adoption" of a child. Case-history, picture and address are sent to the donor, who may communicate with and personally help the child. For fuller information, use the coupon below.

FOSTER PARENTS

division of the Labor Zionist Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation, Inc.
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y. Telephone: GRamercy 5-0701

Foster Parents Division, Labor Zionist Committee
673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y.

- ☐ I enclose \$..... to be sent to the aid of the orphans in your institutions.
- ☐ Please send me fuller information regarding "adoption" of an orphan.

(Name)

(Address)

Contributions are deductible for income-tax purposes.

N-79

shot himself in the room where, seventy-six years earlier, Beethoven had died. This act stimulated considerable interest in the book, which aroused almost universal distaste by its unbridled attacks on women and Jews. But August Strindberg, to whom Weininger's misogyny was sympathetic, wrote to him after reading the book: "To be able at last to see the solution of the problem of woman is a great relief to me. Therefore please accept my reverence and my thanks." There were others to whom the book's strong anti-Semitism made an appeal.

The weakness of Dr. Abrahamsen's book lies in his failure to prove that his protagonist, with his warped mind and repugnant precepts, really was a genius. Freud describes Weininger as "a personality with a touch of genius," but writes of "Sex and Character" as a "rotten book," and accuses Weininger of plagiarizing the central theme of the book—universal bisexuality—from him. He also says of Weininger that he was completely swayed by "his infantile complexes, and from that standpoint what is common to Jews and women is their relation to the castration complex." Such complexes do not necessarily preclude a man from being a genius, but to proclaim him one is to assume a heavy burden of proof, a burden which—to the reader unfamiliar with Weininger's work—Dr. Abrahamsen seems somewhat to have shirked.

ANTHONY BOWER

The Court and the People

LIONS UNDER THE THRONE. By Charles P. Curtis, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.50.

THE Supreme Court still makes headlines when it deals with John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, and it was a first-rate scandal when Justice Jackson publicly attacked Justice Black, but few people are concerned today with the basic question of the position of the court in American government which seemed so tremendously important ten years ago.

If "Lions Under the Throne" had been published in 1937, it would have been bitterly attacked and eagerly quoted. Today it seems urbane, scholarly, judicious. Nevertheless, it is an effective reminder that the Supreme Court represents anomaly and compromise in American theories of democracy.

Whether or not the framers of the Constitution meant to give the court the veto power which Chief Justice Marshall seized for it, they unquestionably had misgivings about democracy sans checkrein, and the court's authority was apparently an ideal check. There is little doubt that today an overwhelming majority of United States citizens still approve the fact that actions of their elected representatives can be nullified by nine middle-aged or elderly men.

Mr. Curtis recognizes and states explicitly that the institution of the Supreme Court is undemocratic, and that

it now rarely acts even as a court of law, in the usual sense. The nine justices seldom concern themselves with a court's normal business of settling specific cases unless a principle of constitutionality is involved. But their right to pass on legislation has been virtually unchallenged, even by President Roosevelt. Criticism has arisen only when it has seemed to some people that the justices were reading their own social and economic theories into the Constitution.

So long as the people want it that way, there is no great harm. This beautifully written and witty study of the Supreme Court points out that the court can, under the exact terms of the Constitution, be overruled by Congress and the people. The author then quotes Francis Bacon: "Let judges also remember that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides. Let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne"—in our case, lions under the Republic. In practice, the court has saved its position by changing with the times.

At a time when the United States is proposing to export democracy all over the world, this examination of how democracy works in the United States deserves the most careful attention. It is effective proof that democracy is still growing and changing, and may take a variety of forms. The book is also delightful reading. CHARLES E. NOYES

Wanted: Politics to Match

ECONOMIC POLICY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. By Alvin Hansen. Whittlesey House. \$4.

A READING of this volume suggests that advocates of expansionary economics ought to hold an annual conference to decide the best means for attaining the common goal. Professor Hansen does not hesitate to take his colleagues to task for alleged errors of judgment. John Pierson, Henry Simons, Frank Graham, Abba Lerner, Friedrich Hayek, and George Terborgh—friends and enemies—are given sharp academic scoldings. But they merit censure, for they have either been enthralled by capitalism's ancient glories or been much too bold with new panaceas.

Professor Hansen's own program is, as must be well known by now, a sane, balanced effort to place sturdy crutches

Next Week in *The Nation's*

Spring Book Number

Some Notes on D. H. Lawrence by W. H. AUDEN

REVIEWS

JUSTIN O'BRIEN: "Three Short Novels" by Vercors and "The Republic of Silence" edited by A. J. Liebling

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH: "Hannah More and Her Circle" by Mary Alden Hopkins

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.: "Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams"

RUSTEM VAMBERY: "The Nürnberg Case" by Robert Jackson

M. W. FODOR: "The Bright Passage" by Maurice Hindus

ELEANOR CLARK: "Fyodor Dostoevski" by J. A. T. Lloyd

P. ALSTON WARING: "The Wallaces of Iowa" by Russell Lord

"Bathsheba's Lament in the Garden," a poem by ROBERT LOWELL

Music by B. H. HAGGIN

Films by JAMES AGEE

under the arms of an arteriosclerotic economy. He wants a "high-consumption" system, one in which compensatory taxation, government-sponsored housing, an adequate health and nutrition program, and sound debt management will keep the precarious balance between volatile economic elements.

No one, I am sure, questions the need for this kind of rationality. But one can raise the question whether existing political drives are fully compatible with such programs. An economic system in which monopoly and maldistribution of income are dominant features is not easily altered, and no amount of economic analysis will do the job. The economics of full employment would itself have to be bolstered by a politics of full employment.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THE WHOLE WORLD OVER (Biltmore Theater) is a play of life in Moscow after the war. On the surface—which is where most of it seems to be—it is an amiable, rather obvious farce-comedy full of rowdy high spirits and wholesome moral sentiments. But since its author is that Konstantine Simonov who has been taking a leading part in the most recent propaganda in favor of propaganda, we critics are not to be wondered at if we sniff doubtfully and suspect a rat which ought to be there even if it isn't. I shall therefore proceed cautiously, and after describing briefly what goes on at the Biltmore let my readers in on my own darkest suspicions.

Just what it is that is the same the whole world over I am not quite sure. It may be the housing shortage, which serves in the play to bring together the dramatist personae who would not otherwise have met; it may be the desire to return to the pleasures of peace after years of war; or it may be merely love of the simple boy-meets-girl variety, of which the author seems to think surprisingly well. In any event, the story concerns a female engineering student mourning her lost fiancé who meets a Colonel mourning his lost wife and who gets him for her own just before the final curtain—thanks largely to the aid of her distinguished father, whose machinations extricate her from an im-

minent marriage of convenience to which she had allowed herself to become committed.

In more than one respect both the general conception and the dramatic conduct of "The Whole World Over" rather suggest one of those American works now to be found only in French's "Select Plays" and marked "suitable for amateurs." It evolves, that is to say, through a series of standard situations which do seem to be the same the whole world over, and it is replete with sound sentiment as well as unmistakable humor. Russian literature used to be praised for its "elemental" quality, but a good deal of the relatively little Soviet writing I have seen seems to be rather less elemental than elementary, and that is not quite the same thing.

On the other hand, it would be churlish not to admit that Uta Hagen as the heroine and Joseph Buloff as the eccentric father make the most of a certain disarming geniality and naive charm which the writing exhibits or, what is more important, that there are occasional moments when genuine emotion breaks through. War weariness, nostalgia, and a certain pathetic eagerness to clutch at anything which indicates a revival of normal life are now and then suggested poignantly enough to be not only effective in themselves but also interesting in so far as one can assume them to be a genuine revelation of a contemporary Russian mood. It is a pity that these moments are so few and that their effect is so quickly lost as soon as the conventional dramatic machinery begins to revolve again. A really good play might have been built around them.

Where, then, is the skulduggery whose existence we have more or less taken for granted? Most of the sentiments, far from being characteristically Marxian, seem astonishingly bourgeois. Not only flowers but even champagne and English tobacco are spoken of with favor; we are told that the dignity of the individual is a *sine qua non* for a good society; that it is better to obey the call of your own vocation than to try to do what the state needs to have done; and even that love—good old-fashioned romantic love at that—is the most important thing in the world. What could be more soothing than that to bourgeois ears, and if it represents the official line at the moment, what could be a stronger argument in favor of sending those Russian wives back to their English husbands? One can almost imagine whoever is responsible for the decision

leaving a performance of "The Whole World Over" to rush back to his office where he signs the necessary papers and murmurs with tears in his eyes: "Bless you, my children. *Amor vincit omnia!*"

But let us suppose if we can that the play was written primarily for foreign consumption and that the author is Machiavellian enough to realize that in the America of the moment propaganda would be the worst possible propaganda and that nothing would do the Russian cause more good than the conviction that Russian sentiments are really very much like our own. Suppose that the end of the play in which the just demobilized colonel drinks a toast to "A future without uniforms" was really written to persuade us to destroy our plutonium stockpiles. Far-fetched you say? Perhaps. But it is really doing Mr. Simonov a service to fetch it so far. He has, I am told, recently declared not only that all plays should have a political purpose but that the very casting of them should also—in some way not made clear—be controlled by political considerations. I offer him my interpretation of the present play as a free gift to his defense if he should ever be summoned to explain how he happened to write "The Whole World Over."

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE relative poverty of American art in the last twenty years imposes superlatives in discussing anyone who shows a minimum of talent coupled with seriousness. The gulf between the mass of what is popular as modern art and the few items valid as modern art is immense. To call the latter merely "better" than the former is inaccurate and unjust; it has to be called the "best." Yet this "best" has seldom meant "best" or even "better" in relation to world art. Usually it has had to be given a local qualification.

Two weeks ago I wrote that David Smith was the best sculptor this country has produced. The quality of four or five pieces at his current show of work done in 1946 and 1947 (at the Willard Gallery through April 26) requires me

ADVENTURES IN THE REALM OF IDEAS

And Other Essays by Victor S. Yarros. 20 essays (about 40,000 words) that range from Russian revolutionary Socialism through American Philosophical Anarchism, to Pragmatism and Democratic Socialism. 75¢ per copy, prepaid. Mail orders to:

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS
BOX 1977 GIRARD, KANSAS

to say even more. Sculpture has until quite lately been a poor thing in this country, and to call Smith the best of all American sculptors is not to claim so very much for him, the achievements of Lachaise, Flannagan, and Calder notwithstanding. In my opinion Smith is already one of the great sculptors of the twentieth century *anywhere*, deserving to stand next to Brancusi, Lipchitz, Giacometti, Gonzales, not to mention Laurens and Moore. That is, he is making an absolute contribution to the development of world as well as American art. The course of sculpture in other countries will be affected by what he is doing; the French, British, Germans, and others will have to take him into account. And almost equally important at this moment to criticism is the fact that Smith presents it with a relatively fixed point from which to measure the rest of the field here in America.

The baroque exuberance and invention that disrupted Smith's style in 1944 and 1945 has in this latest work been assimilated into a new unity of style that moves again with that "classical" spareness and speed which is so indispensable to the new linear, pictorial sculpture of our time. That Smith has been so well able to subdue his embroidery and luxuriance to this streamlining without emasculating his invention represents a feat and establishes a strong example. It is easy to be elegant in Smith's vein at the cost of power; it is far from easy to combine the two. His sculpture for all its energy presents an elegance like that of Picasso's and Braque's high cubism: there is a similar clarity and a similar plenitude, both of which come from the artist's certainty of having a style that is able to say everything he has to say with the maximum of economy. Yet at the same time the content of Smith's art is worlds away from cubism, being the product of an age whose remaining optimism—of which Smith seems to have plenty—has become the private affair of individuals; whereas the cubists regarded the disenchantment of the world as a triumph for man, later artists like Smith have become so disillusioned

with that triumph that they now seek new myths and new obscurities inside themselves.

The best piece at the present show is beyond question the steel, bronze, and silver "Orchard Landscape," whose tail and spreading feathers are a feat of draftsmanship no less than of sculpture. Other successful pieces are "Deserted Garden" in the same materials, "Specter of Mother" in steel and stainless steel, the steel, bronze, and stainless-steel "Specter—Race for Survival," the steel "Head," the steel, bronze, cast-iron, and stainless-steel "Landscape with Strata," and the polychromatic steel "Helmholtzian Landscape." This last piece is not quite pushed through to final unity, but the richness of its suggestion and possibilities almost redeems that fault. In the future we may expect to see chromatic works from Smith's hand that belong as much to painting as to sculpture.

There are also some very bad pieces, among them the polychromatic carbon-steel "Personage from Stove City" and the massive fabricated-bronze "Euterpe and Terpsichore," the second of which demonstrates again how unsuited Smith's talent has become to the monolithic and how much he remains a draftsman, not a modeler or carver. But it can be said, really, that Smith needs his failures, for out of these arise ideas that go on to become the nuclei of masterpieces in the end.

It is to be hoped that Smith's show sells sufficiently to permit him to embark on larger-scale works. He shows every aptitude for heroic sizes, and it is only the question of expense that has confined him so far to relatively small table and pedestal sculpture.

David Hare's bronze, cement, and plaster figures at Art of This Century (extended through April 26), although different enough in style from Smith's work, belong in the same category of pictorial sculpture. If Smith is baroque, Hare is gothic, more angular and awkward, less closely related to cubism and more directly inspired by surrealism. Although under thirty and working as a sculptor only in the last three or four years, Hare has already shown enough promise to place him in the forefront of what now begins to seem, not a renaissance, but a *naissance* of sculpture in America: sculpture that in its methods and very utensils no less than in its conceptions—which, like our architecture and engineering, tend toward linearism, flat surfaces, and the denial of weight and mass—attaches itself more intimately to industrialism than any

other form of art now being practiced.

Hare is still somewhat too prone to the self-indulgence and whimsey of surrealism to channel his powers into a style. Thus, at his present show, any unity the very fact of his temperament might impose is still not enough to overcome the impression of eclecticism and capriciousness. But one feels, as in Smith's case, better this waywardness and muscle-flexing than the anemia of good taste. In the end, when Hare does develop a style, it will say and include more, precisely because of the excess it will have to subdue. The signs of such a style were present in his last year's show; they have not multiplied in this year's, but they persist even more strongly, so to speak, in such more recent pieces as the bronze "Fisherman," and the bronze nude that was shown at the Hugo Gallery's surrealist show last month. It is my hope that Hare will confine his surrealism more strictly to the role of stimulant and not let it usurp as many of the functions of aesthetic preceptor as it has in the past.

The exhibition of works by Mirko, a new young Italian sculptor, at Knoedler's (through April 19) offers an epilogue. This, indeed, is the last gasp of academic sculpture—and that it is even a gasp and not merely a sigh is due to the fact that it is expelled by an artist of real talent. Like Chirico's, Mirko's parody destroys—in this case, the classical tradition of bronze casting. His bronze figures have the texture and a suggestion of the contours, if not the size, of eroded, oxidized archaic Greek figurines, although there is nothing of archaic stiffness about them. The distortions and simplifications are licensed by post-Rodinesque sculpture—which is about all they have to do with modern art. And yet Mirko's sculpture in such pieces as the "Pegasus," the "Figure," and the "Chimera No. 1" has a certain contained vehemence underneath its impressionism and period stylization. Nor do the classical and Renaissance motifs he favors retain enough of their original chasteness to hide a curious sexuality and sadism. This is academic, archaeological art all right, but it is also very up to date. Chirico set the example. And is all the new Italian art as academic and, at the same time, as full of the *Zeitgeist* as this? It is a shame to see a talent as natively strong as Mirko's waste itself and everything it has to say about modern life on the academic, only because Italian despair, pride, and nostalgia have made the academic *de rigueur*.

HENRY WALLACE
AN UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY
By Dwight Macdonald
In the next two issues of America's
hard-hitting radical magazine.
politics Dept. A
45 Astor Place
New York 3, N. Y.

NEXT TWO ISSUES
\$1.00

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

HAVING resumed production of the Glyndebourne Festival recording of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," Victor has sent copies of the new pressings to reviewers for comment. Listening to the performance today I have reservations about some of the individual singers that I did not have when the recording was first issued here; but I still find the whole a beautiful and affecting achievement. Comparing the new copy with my old one I find the sound from the new records a little dimmer, their surfaces vastly and disturbingly noisier—which leads me to wonder whether Victor obtained new shells from H. M. V. in England for the new pressings. It has issued them without the original booklets containing the texts that are indispensable for complete appreciation of the music.

Even the copies I have been getting of Victor's new recordings have very noisy surfaces. One of these new recordings is that of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 27 No. 2 (referred to as the "Moonlight"), played by Horowitz (Set 1115; \$2.85). He drags and sentimentalizes the first movement, but plays the second and third movements quite well except for a detail here and there which reveals how much a performance of Beethoven is for Horowitz an exercise in the Horowitz style of playing the piano. Thus, much of that style is an alternation of finicky crescendos and decrescendos with no point other than the dazzling precision of their execution; and in the nineteenth and twentieth measures of the third movement, where Beethoven carries a crescendo straight up to the climax of its force, we get a Beethoven crescendo in the nineteenth, a finicky, devitalizing Horowitz decrescendo in the twentieth. The performance is beautifully recorded.

Noisy also are the surfaces of the single disc (11-9447; \$1) with Stravinsky's "Fireworks" and the Sicilienne from Fauré's "Pelléas et Mélisande" music. The works are slight; the performances by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony excellent and beautifully recorded.

Columbia has issued a volume of arias from "Aida," "Otello," "Don Giovanni," "Tosca," "La Gioconda," and "Cavalleria Rusticana," sung by Traubel (Set 675; \$4). This is not music one would have expected her to sing

well; and as a matter of fact she chews up some of it with over-expressive phrasing; but in most of the arias the singing itself is far better than what one has heard in her other Columbia performances: the big tones may be cold but they are produced freely with little or no tremolo—the lower tones being more beautiful than the high (some of the music is transposed down a bit). But in the aria from "Don Giovanni" the voice is tremolo-ridden and shrieky. The orchestral accompaniments range from fair to poor, and are not well-recorded.

From Vanguard, a new company, I have received two single records—one with an engaging Toccata Guatemala by Sam Morgenstern and an uninteresting "Song of Worlds Unseen" by Chandler Davis, well-performed by Bertha Melnik, pianist; the other with Mahler's "Wer hat dies Liedlein erdacht" and Franz's "Zwei welke Rosen," which come out uninteresting in very poor performances by Mary Paull, soprano, and Kenneth Hieber, pianist.

A member of the faculty of one of the big universities writes: "The policies of the domestic companies are driving me to importations, and I should think would drive you to give more attention to importations. In 1946 I spent only \$35 on records, and so far this year I have bought only three domestic albums—the recent Haydn Opus 74 No. 3 and two older things I happened to run across—and two single records. You might relay that to your commercial friends, although"—he adds more realistically—"it may not mean much, since such collectors are in a minority and do not figure much in the vast sales that Victor and Columbia aim for." Not only that, but Victor and Columbia have what amount to cartel agreements with their European affiliates which enable them to keep some recordings out and collect a profit on every imported record they allow in.

Nor are Victor and Columbia likely to worry about the few people like the musician I know who writes me from Connecticut: "I have stopped buying . . . I am disgusted with the recording a big firm like Columbia does of the Budapest Quartet, spoiling unique performances like those of the Schubert C major Quintet and Beethoven's Opus 132, which I bought despite the atrocious distortion of the sound." And he doesn't think more of Victor for its recording of Berlioz's "Harold in Italy."

As for me, though some readers of this column may be interested in Euro-

pean recordings I can report only on the ones that are sent to me for review—the London Deccas and the Italian C. E. T. R. A.s. Thus I have been able to hear some of the Tagliavini records that C. E. T. R. A. has put into albums, and have found the voice fresh but a little dry and hard (with none of the splendor of Bjoerling's voice a few years ago), the tones produced with extraordinary ease, the phrasing full of the mannerisms of Italian tenors (except Schipa), including the sob. I liked best his performances of excerpts from "Falstaff" and "Sonnambula" on BB-25022; and there is, of course, his singing in the performance of Mozart's Requiem, where he is kept under control by de Sabata.

As for the letter on page 463 from Storer P. Lunt, publisher of Lang's *Music in Western Civilization*—it is on a wrong track. I have referred to German musicologists as one does to London economists or Chicago jazz musicians—to describe not their place of birth but their school of thought or operation.

Is America TRULY a healthy nation?
Need every 8th person die of cancer?
Why have 6 countries death rates lower than ours?

Should the practice of medicine be a monopoly?

These and other vital questions affecting YOUR HEALTH will be answered by

10 Outstanding Authorities on Drugless Healing Methods in a SYMPOSIUM

"NEW WAYS TO HEALTH: A Challenge to Modern Medicine"

Emanuel M. Viscusi, M.D. "A Doctor Rebels!"
Harry Gilgulin "The Fifth Freedom: Medical Liberty!"
Dr. Alice Chase "New Health for Women!"
Robert Anderson, N.D. "Perfecting Health Through Nature!"
Edward Whitmont, M.D. "Dietary vs. Medical Methods!"
Max Warmbrand, Ph.D. "Can Nature Heal?"
Clara Gold Niehter "Health via the Kitchen!"
J. D. Trop "Making the Public Food Conscious!"
Alexander Markey "The Metaphysics of Health!"
Rev. Dr. Max Felshin "The Sin of Being Sick!"
Chairman: SYMON GOULD

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

THIS SUNDAY (APRIL 20) at 2 P.M.

MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street & 8th Avenue

ADMISSION \$1.00 (plus 20¢ tax)

Come Early for Best Seats — Doors Open 1 P.M.
Tickets obtainable at offices of the

LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION
117 West 48th Street, New York City
Phone: Circle 5-6184

FOR OUT-OF-TOWNERS: We are preparing a published DIGEST of the above proceedings in a limited edition, which will be sent to any address on receipt of \$1 postpaid. Order your copy at once.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st St.
88th St.
50th St.
Ent. Lec. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th St.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd St.

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BO. HWICK
BYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYON
Tilcon Island

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL
B'way & 12 St.

RKO

NOW

Swashbuckling extravaganza . . . good fun."—N. Y. Post

DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR.
MAUREEN O'HARA • WALTER SLEZAK

'Sinbad the Sailor'

IN TECHNICOLOR

— AND —

'BEAT THE BAND'

FRANCES LANGFORD • GENE KRUPA

"INTENSELY MOVING."—N. Y. Post

JIMMY STEWART

IN FRANK CAPRA'S

'It's A Wonderful Life'

with **DONNA REED • LIONEL BARRYMORE**

— AND —

'STEP BY STEP'

LAWRENCE TIERNEY • ANNE JEFFREYS

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland,

Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by **GARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with **JOSHUA LOGAN**

"DEFINITELY A HIT."—Morchouse, Run **JOHN LOVES MARY**

A New Comedy by **NORMAN KRASNA**

Directed by **MR. LOGAN**

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A DELIGHTFUL COMEDY."—*Atkinson, Times*

HELEN HAYES in **HAPPY BIRTHDAY**

A New Comedy by **ANITA LOOS**

Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT"—*Barnes, Herald Tribune*

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by **IRVING BERLIN**

Book by **HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS**
with **RAY MIDDLETON** Directed by **Joshua Logan**
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

MOTION PICTURE

BOB HOPE • DOROTHY LAMOUR

'My Favorite Brunette'

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— IN PERSON —

JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA

PLUS

PAT HENNING • LYN SHIRLEY

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE

Doors Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

Planning to Advertise *in The Nation?*

HERE ARE SOME VITAL STATISTICS!

General Advertising — **\$300** per page

Publishers & Local — **240** per page

Classified Display — **\$7.39** per inch

Classified — **74c** a line (six words)
minimum three lines

Call or write today for additional data
on deadlines and discounts!

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
Twenty Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.
BARCLAY 7-1066

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation*.

Please address your orders to
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

+ Give Gladly +

Letters to the Editors

Not a German

Dear Sirs: I have just read B. H. Haggin's column on music in your issue of March 29 and am surprised to find the writer again dwelling on the German aspect of Paul Henry Lang, whose work we publish.

Professor Lang is not of German origin. He is Hungarian by birth, of a family which has lived in Hungary for many centuries. It may also not be amiss for Mr. Haggin to know that Professor Lang's musical education has been far more French and American (he took his PH. D. at Cornell) than German. He spent less than two years in Germany. He has lived in this country for the past eighteen years.

STORER B. HUNT, President
W. W. Norton and Company
New York, April 1

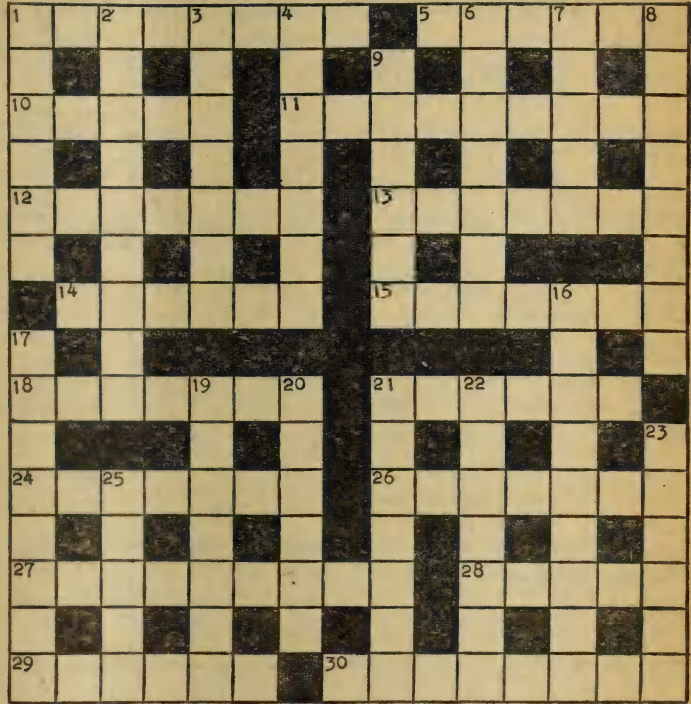
The Real "Appeasers"

Dear Sirs: Reviewing James Burnham's "The Struggle for the World" in your issue of April 5, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., enters an incidental complaint that "arguments considered beneath contempt when urged by conservatives against the foes of Nazi totalitarianism are now trotted out complacently by liberals against the foes of Soviet totalitarianism." But such arguments are surely far less common and specious, perhaps even less beneath contempt, than the kind which consists in applying the odious pre-war label of "appeaser" to everyone who dares plead for mutual understanding and peaceful compromise of differences in our relations with Soviet Russia. One expects this sort of thing from the vast host of Simple Simons who merely parrot the headlines of their favorite newspapers, but not from an associate professor of history at Harvard University. Although he judiciously backs away from the sternest implications inherent in his author's thesis, Mr. Schlesinger concludes that "on the whole, one must prefer his brand of romantic Machiavellianism" "to the confused and messy arguments of the appeasers." Thus the direct insinuation that all who oppose a rabid and suicidal Russophobia such as Mr. Burnham's are "appeasers" of the pre-war stripe.

But argument by epithet, like other primitive weapons, can at times be more dangerous to those who use it than

Crossword Puzzle No. 208

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 For trees (anag.) this is the man you want
- 5 Moliere found the world a strange one
- 10 Look! there's a donkey caught in it
- 11 Her knee is painful
- 12 Dr. Watson didn't think this islander could be human
- 13 Country from which Good King Wenceslas last looked out, no doubt
- 14 A dinner course—and from the sound of it, how the waiter brings it to you
- 15 East by northeast is one amid the alien corn
- 18 "As in a -----, the eyes of men, After a well-graced actor leaves the stage, Are idly bent on him that enters next, Thinking his prattle to be tedious"
- 21 Hold on (3 & 3)
- 24 Tougher than guncotton?
- 26 Coverlet likely to strain a fowl's constitution
- 27 Hamlet said the first is the second
- 28 A great man
- 29 Pet ram (anagram)
- 30 Tailors
- 6 She is in a fret
- 7 Gets you up at all hours
- 8 Not a sign of embarrassment in an American Indian (3-6)
- 9 We won this decisive event from the Japanese
- 16 Mostly it's a girl sitting on an officer's shoulder
- 17 Quite a usual line of the hardware man's, no doubt
- 19 Hands off this national emblem!
- 20 A winker
- 21 By no means a sluggish spirit (4 & 3)
- 22 Wendy's address (4-3)
- 23 Such villainous-looking beasts might well make Ena shy
- 25 "Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows; While proudly riding o'er the azure -----"

□-□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 207

ACROSS:—1 NORMA; 5 MINES; 7 NICE; 9 EMBLEM; 10 LYCEE; 12 TODO; 13 KIDD; 15 STORING; 17 DORCAS; 18 SOLEMN; 19 ALT; 21 PIGGERY; 23 INTONER; 24 RAM; 26 LEASED; 28 IRETON; 31 NONCOMS; 32 USES; 35 FILM; 36 TEPID; 37 THAMES; 38 STUD; 39 PAYEE; 40 CHANT.

DOWN:—1 NEMO; 2 RELETS; 3 ADMIRAL; 4 MELONS; 5 NICK; 6 SHED; 7 NOTED; 8 CEDAR; 11 BILEEN; 14 DONOR; 15 SAGEHEN; 16 GOITERS; 19 AYR; 20 TIM; 21 PALAU; 22 GOATEE; 25 ASCETIC; 27 DOODLE; 28 IMPALA; 29 TWIST; 30 NOMAD; 32 STEP; 34 SPEX; 35 FEST.

DOWN

- 1 A pretty trifle, that's all, Alf
- 2 House with the side in the middle, or nearly so
- 3 Is he angry, or merely playing in the barn?
- 4 Heighten

to those against whom it is directed. Who are actually the original appeasers of the decade preceding World War II? One need not be a professor of history to know that in the main they were precisely the same persons, or the precise counterparts of those persons, who today are the most intransigent foes of Soviet Russia. And in the main they were actuated by precisely the same emotion that chiefly inspires the post-war anti-Russian campaign—a paranoiac fear of communism, as intense and obsessive as the monarchist fear of democracy after the French Revolution. The appeasers of the thirties were willing to risk any stakes, however high, in the desperate game of "stopping communism." In playing that game they sacrificed the League of Nations, as today they are sacrificing the United Nations; they assisted, condoned, or blinked a long series of monumental crimes committed by totalitarian leaders or regimes; actively or passively they abetted the enemies of popular freedom in every country, until those enemies were powerful enough to defy the world. As end result, in a war which Winston Churchill has said could have been more easily prevented than any other in history, Europe was reduced to ruin and misery, millions turned in desperation to communism where that creed had only its hundreds of thousands of adherents before, and our ally Russia emerged from its blood bath as the second strongest power in the world. Yet today, even before peace has been officially declared, the same champions of disaster are hotly engaged in a renewal of the same fatal crusade; and again they are appeasing or preparing to appease any and every reactionary government that will serve their purposes—as in Spain, Portugal, China, Argentina, Greece, and Turkey. Like the Bourbons of old, they learn nothing and they forget nothing.

In unbroken historical continuity from the rape of Manchuria to the present day, save for those war years when Soviet Russia was bearing the brunt of the Nazi-Fascist assault on human liberties, the actual party of appeasement has been the party with which Mr. Schlesinger and so many other liberals have made "the strange alliance." But at least they should not discredit their own cause by bringing that fact into prominence through their ill-advised resurrection of "appeaser" as an opprobrious epithet and its reckless use against those liberals who from the beginning have remained steadfast in the opposing camp. WALDO R. BROWN
Warwick, N. Y., April 7

LECTURE SERIES

Young Men's & Women's Division of
AMERICAN ORTAnnounces a Lecture Series on
JEWISH LIFE AND HISTORYbeginning Tuesday, April 22—8:15 p.m., at
THE JEWISH TEACHERS' SEMINARY

154 EAST 70th St., N. Y.

Series of six—\$5.00—Individual Lecture—\$1.00

Write or Phone: ORT, 212 5th Ave., AS 4-7452

SITUATION WANTED (FEMALE)

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, confidential secretary, correspondent; mature judgment, long and varied experience; legal, advertising, business and organizations; capable handling affairs and people. Box 1700, c/o The Nation.

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

TEACHER, experienced in elementary, secondary, college, English-for-foreigners, tutoring, eleven years on faculties of first-class schools, wants summer work, vicinity of Lincoln, Neb., Boston, Mass., Philadelphia, Pa. Box 1702, c/o The Nation.

HELP WANTED

POSITION OPEN—Competent male secretary, 28 to 35 years old, wanted to serve as confidential secretary to union executive. Would be necessary to live in Detroit, do some traveling. Expert shorthand, typing required. Applicants must give educational background, experience, previous employment. Write to Box 1703, c/o The Nation.

WANTED—ROOM—APARTMENT

BUSINESS WOMAN desires quiet room with kitchen privileges, (or will share apt.), good transportation. Call LOnacre 5-6500, EXTENSION 16.

SUMMER HOME WANTED

WANTED SUMMER RENTAL within 50 miles of Williams College, (Williamstown, Mass.). Tennis, swimming, comfortable home, 6-8 rooms. Box 1701, c/o The Nation.

There are more than 42,232 readers of *The Nation* doing what you are doing—reading this advertisement. If you have something of interest to offer them—call *The Nation* Advertising Department for particulars as to space, cost and closing date of next issue. BA 7-1066.

CONTRIBUTORS

E. D. MYERS is the dean of Roanoke College.

MAXWELL S. STEWART, an associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "Building for Peace at Home and Abroad" and "Social Security."

ANTHONY BOWER, formerly Hollywood correspondent of *The Nation*, is on the staff of *New Directions*.

CHARLES E. NOYES is editor of the *Congressional Quarterly*, a publication summarizing the activities of Congress.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation*, is the author of "Southern California Country," "Brothers Under the Skin," and other books.

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT—FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOnacre 5-4917

MISCELLANEOUS

SWAP NECKTIES! (Satisfied swappers everywhere). Mail us one-to-six ties you're sick of. You'll receive pronto same number of handsomely cleaned different ties we got same way. Then you pay mailman \$1 plus postage. Far-away store labels wow demoiselles! **TIESWAP**, Box 547A, Wilmington, Del.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, **ACE MAIL ORDER CO.**, East Orange 1, N. J.

BOOKS

FREE! SEND FOR FREE LIST of world's finest books! Marriage, Love, Sex, Hygiene, Divorce, Slimming, Alcoholism, Cancer, Sinus, Psychology, Philosophy! Absolutely no obligation. **DANIEL S. MEAD CO.**, 200 (NA) West 20th St., N. Y. C. 11.

RUSSIAN BOOKS, old and current. Send for list on your subject. **George Telberg** (Mail Address Only) 3569 Broadway, N.Y.C. 31.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. **TAA B**, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

LANGUAGES

SPANISH, RUSSIAN, FRENCH, 26 other phonograph language courses. **ALL MAKES**, sold, bought, rented. Free catalogue. A. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, Murray Hill 3-1093.

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for **FREE** book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 R C A Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 26, 1947

NUMBER 17

The Shape of Things

COMING AT THE PEAK OF AN ANTI-UNION hysteria in Congress, the settlement between United States Steel and the C. I. O.'s United Steel Workers should go far to restore national perspectives on the labor front. Achieved quietly and without any of the usual publicized bitterness, the agreement is widely accepted as the beginning of a period of industrial peace. The 15-cent hourly wage rise was clearly in order, and will almost certainly set the pattern for C. I. O. demands in the months ahead. By the same token, United States Steel has given a lead that other industries will find hard to reject. The hope expressed by President Benjamin F. Fairless that the corporation would be able to absorb the increase without raising prices should have been more than a mere hope, with profits as swollen as they are, but even this is in contrast to past procedures and promises to arrest the spiraling of prices and wages that made last year's wage boosts a mockery. Acceptance of the 15-cent formula by the rest of the C. I. O. and by industry in general will be tested almost immediately—perhaps before this issue reaches our readers. General Motors, which sets the pattern for the automobile industry, claims to have made an equivalent offer and been turned down by Walter Reuther's Automobile Workers, but few doubt that Reuther will follow Murray's lead if the G. M. proposal stands up under scrutiny. The company has actually offered an increase of 11½ cents plus other concessions, and the point at issue is whether or not the net effect will be a 15-cent raise. The first reaction of the telephone industry has been sour, but this is not unnatural in view of the fact that its chief argument has been dealt a fatal blow. Its flat rejection of a wage boost has been based almost solely on the absence of a "national pattern" for such an increase. Benjamin Fairless and Philip Murray have turned up with the missing pattern.

✱

THE PESSIMISTIC PREDICTIONS OF FAILURE at Moscow which are current as we go to press may well be borne out by the time this issue reaches our readers. Our correspondent, Alexander Werth, has consistently held to the view that until some agreement is reached on reparations the other problems the Big Four have been considering are merely of academic significance. And, as we write, the gap between Molotov and Marshall on this matter appears to be as wide as ever. But

even if the conference ends this week, there is no need to write it off as entirely wasted effort or to assume that the irreconcilable conflict between the Russian and the Western points of view makes a two-Germany solution inevitable. For one thing, the American position on Germany has been clarified. Secretary Marshall has made it plain that the United States favors the rebuilding of Germany, with proper military safeguards, so that it may emerge from its present slum status to that of an economically and politically healthy democracy. Admitting reasonable claims for reparations to help repair the devastation caused by Hitler's armies, he has insisted that the restoration of Germany must benefit the German people as well. Russia's position is also becoming clearer. Behind its insistence on large reparations is the present serious economic situation in the Soviet Union, to remedy which, heavy demands must be made on the steel and coal resources of western Germany. The two positions are not absolutely incompatible, for Russia, as well as the nations of Western Europe, would gain from an economically restored Germany. Unfortunately, Mr. Molotov has been less than candid in stating the reasons for the Russian demands and has advanced them in such an unequivocal way as to make compromise difficult. What must not be assumed is that a future agreement is impossible.

✱

GEORG BRANTING OF SWEDEN HAS BEEN nominated by Russia for the post of Governor of Trieste. Since the Security Council has informally agreed to exclude nationals of the Big Four, the final slate of candidates will probably consist of three Swedes, a Swiss, a South African, and a Spaniard. The Swedish candidates are Nordenskiöld, chief of the Air Force; Sandstrom, a former Supreme Court justice; and Senator Branting, a lawyer with a distinguished anti-fascist record dating from 1933. General Henri Guisan was one of Switzerland's most popular war-time leaders and, though seventy-three years old, has more than enough energy to tackle what promises to be the "toughest job in the world." Leif Egeland, South Africa's Minister to the Netherlands, has established a solid reputation as an administrator. But the Spanish Republican, Pablo de Azcárate, whose name was proposed by France, is perhaps the best candidate. Azcárate was Assistant Secretary of the old

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 465
 Learning the Hard Way 467
 The U. N. and Palestine *by Freda Kirchwey* 468

ARTICLES

- India's Hour of Decision *by Shiva Rao* 470
 Looting the National Forests
by Richard L. Neuberger 471
 Italy's Place in the World
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 473
 Notes on Jamaica *by Margaret Marshall* 476
 In the Wind 478
 And Still They Laugh *by Charles Larom* 479
 Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 480
 In One Ear *by Lou Frankel* 481

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- Some Notes on D. H. Lawrence
by W. H. Auden 482
 The Russian Neuroses *by Keith Hutchison* 484
 Dangerous Radical *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 486
 France's Dark Night *by Justin O'Brien* 487
 Hindus on the Czechs *by M. W. Fodor* 488
 Abstraction and Actuality
by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. 489
 The Wallace Family *by P. Alston Waring* 491
 The Aftermath *by Rustem Vamberg* 492
 Dostoevsky's Huckleberry Finn
by Eleanor Clark 493
 Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 494
 Films *by James Agee* 495
 Music *by B. H. Haggin* 497

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 209

- by Jack Barrett* 500

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
 Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside, Assistant Literary Editor:

Caroline Whiting, Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building, Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is Indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

League of Nations until 1936 when, in a gesture of solidarity with his embattled country, he resigned to become the Spanish Republic's ambassador to London. He was generally considered to be one of the ablest officials at Geneva, and a fair, impartial arbiter, particularly in his handling of the League's Section on Minorities. Were it not for the well-known bias of certain of the big powers, Azcarate's ability and experience would make him the logical choice; however, with the cards of power politics stacked against him in advance, most observers are predicting that the post will go to the Swiss general. Certainly there are no strong objections to Guisan. But it would be more reassuring to see a civilian in the job.

✱

WITH THE DECISION ON AID TO GREECE AND Turkey certain of ratification by Congress, Americans who have sharply criticized the Truman Doctrine must decide what their stand should be when the policy is put into practice. The modification of policy as reflected in Senator Austin's speech before the Security Council and in the Vandenberg amendment giving the United Nations power of review does not substantially lessen the dangers inherent in the doctrine itself. They are simply brought out into the open where everybody can see them. What American liberals can do now is to watch the whole process and use their considerable power of protest and exposure to prevent American dollars from being used to bolster up corrupt, reactionary regimes. They must also see to it that the Greek people, at least, get the maximum economic assistance. (In the case of Turkey, the aid will be almost exclusively military.) The choice of personnel for the administering commission will be of first importance, particularly the choice of a director. At the top of the list of candidates we would place the name of Fiorello H. LaGuardia. He is familiar with contemporary European problems, especially with Eastern Europe, and gained wide experience as head of UNRRA. Besides which, he is highly respected by the peoples of Europe and is a man not easily pushed around.

✱

THE HYMN TO WORK WHICH BERNARD Baruch sang when his portrait was unveiled in South Carolina's State House of Representatives has inspired a rash of sycophantic editorials, but no one has sought to analyze its content. Risking the crime of lèse-majesté, we are venturing, therefore, to ask Mr. Baruch a few questions. He suggests, quite justly, that the world's great need is not more money but more production "to catch up with the ravages of war." To this end, he proposes a forty-four-hour week with no strikes and no lay-offs until January 1, 1949. The result, he says, "would be electrifying," which we can well believe. (The question is: Who will get the shock?) What we want to know is whether Mr. Baruch is advocating a treaty between employers and employees with the former guaranteeing

continuous employment for the next twenty-one months in return for a no-strike pledge and an undertaking by the workers to accept a longer work-week. If so, has he any reason to believe that most employers would be willing to give such a guaranty? Unless they are, workers are not likely to look on proposals for longer hours with any great enthusiasm. Again, Mr. Baruch says that "the more we produce, the less will be the cost of living,

Learning the Hard Way

FATE continues to deal harshly with the Grand Old Party. In the gay days of last November the Republicans swamped the country with promises to end government controls, put labor in its place, rout the reds, and slash the budget. Having killed price controls, they are now shuddering over the consequences. Their efforts to strait-jacket labor, going far beyond the few reasonable curbs that were in order, have split their ranks—seriously in the Senate—and will in the end probably yield nothing more fruitful than a veto. Speaker Martin and other party leaders complain bitterly that the Administration has snatched the Communist issue from under their very noses. And now the budget-cutting to which they had looked forward so fondly is proving the most painful disappointment of all.

To their chagrin, the Republicans are finding that the budget submitted by the President simply does not lend itself to the dramatic kind of surgery they had planned. Its recommended expenditure of \$37½ billion for the coming fiscal year is \$5 billion less than last year's budget and hardly more than a third of the outlay at the peak of the war. Both the President and the Budget Bureau did a thorough job of examining department requests and pared them down by \$7 billion. What is left is largely the total of inescapable obligations: \$5 billion in interest on the public debt; \$11.2 billion for national defense, including occupation costs; \$7.3 billion for veterans' services and benefits; and \$3.5 billion for international commitments.

The amounts required for aid to foreign countries and other international obligations are far more likely to increase than diminish—and this with the support of the vast majority of Republican Congressmen. By the same token, few G. O. P. legislators will seriously plump for a reduction in defense expenditures while giving their blessing to a foreign policy of "containing" the Soviets. Finally, even professional penny-pinchers, like New York's Representative Taber, can hardly escape the fact that the salaries of federal workers are 32 per cent higher than they were before the war; or that the government, like everyone else, must buy in a market of inflated prices.

Faced with these road blocks, the pruners have fallen back on several types of budget-cutting that can do them no good. Type One is the deceptive, or sleight-of-hand cut, the crudest example of which is the proposed reduction of \$800,000,000 in the Treasury's appropriation for tax refunds. This is a purely arbitrary lowering of the Treasury's own estimate of a cost it will inevitably have to bear. It would be just as logical—and as meaningless—to balance a budget by pretending that your revenue will be greater than you know it can possibly be. What is worse, any delay in paying the refunds, through sup-



the more things we can buy." How, then, does he explain the fact that a big upswing in production has been accompanied by an even more spectacular rise in prices? And why is it that, now goods are pouring from the factories, there is insufficient purchasing power to take them off the market, with the result that in some industries output is being curtailed and workers being laid off?

✱

AN HONEST ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS would surely have to take into account the restrictive effects on consumption, and therefore on production, of high prices. We would therefore like to invite Mr. Baruch to descend from the moral heights from which he lays down the law in generalized form and put the weight of his authority behind the President's campaign to reduce the cost of living. Mr. Truman, with the backing of his economic advisers, has been stressing the fact that abnormally high profits afford an ample margin for price reductions. This claim is strongly supported by first-quarter earnings statements, which are now beginning to appear. In the past four days we have extracted from the *Wall Street Journal* the statements of thirty corporations, mostly in the small to medium-sized industrial class. For the first three months of this year these companies have reported aggregate profits of \$22,546,678, a rise of 63 per cent over their total of \$13,832,015 in the corresponding months of 1946. In order not to weight this comparison unfairly, we have omitted from the tabulation several concerns which last year experienced losses during the first quarter because of strikes or reconversion difficulties but this year have turned in whopping profits. The sample, while small, shows an unmistakable trend and one which, we predict, will be accentuated when the statements of the real industrial giants are available.

plementary appropriations, will serve only to increase the amount by the added interest the government will have to pay.

Even more costly, if less devious, are the proposed reductions of personnel in certain key agencies. The House Appropriations Committee, for example, has voted to slash the operating budget of the Bureau of Internal Revenue by \$30 million. This cut would require the discharge of enforcement officers in a year when fifty million income-tax returns must be handled, as compared with fifteen million in 1940—an "economy" that may well cost the government some \$600 million in uncollected revenue, or twenty times the salary of the discharged auditors. With only 3 per cent of all income-tax returns audited by the present staff of the bureau, according to reliable estimates, a reduction in personnel would be an open invitation to increased tax evasion. Similarly, the committee's reduced appropriation for the Customs Bureau would result in loss of revenue. The point is that such losses do not show up in a budget; lower appropriations do. Such are the weighty calculations of politics.

These dents, of course, are hardly noticeable in a budget of \$37½ billion, but the latitude for cuts is narrower. What is worse for the G. O. P., it is getting narrower every day, as one potential cut after another turns out to be political poison for the Republicans themselves. Mr. Taber's party colleagues were quick to cover the gauche blunder of their Appropriations Committee chairman when he attempted to stint on veterans' benefits in a pre-election year. And now a rebellion threatens to break out among Western Republicans over proposals to slash appropriations for the Interior Department, which would wreck plans for a Missouri Valley Authority and for other reclamation and irrigation projects, particularly in California's Central Valley. The alarmed Westerners quickly sensed the irate reaction of their districts to the prospective cut of 60 to 70 per cent for reclamation purposes, and at once served notice on Martin and on Majority Leader Halleck that they would bolt the party on the issue and restore the appropriations. With the Democrats, they have more than enough votes to carry out the threat. And they are in deadly earnest. As Representative Hill of Colorado pointed out, such an assault on the reclamation program would have a "devastating effect" on the party that fathered it in the days of Theodore Roosevelt.

To add to the sorrows of the G. O. P. leadership, farm Republicans are ready to lead a similar assault on the slashing of the Agriculture Department's appropriation, and, according to *Business Week*, trade-association executives, most of them Republican, are up in arms against attempts to curtail the Commerce Department's business-service functions.

The experience should prove highly educational to a party that thought it could erase a decade and a half of

the New Deal by a little intensive double-entry book-keeping. The question is whether the education will take effect before the fall of 1948.

The U. N. and Palestine

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

IN THE end, what is decided about Palestine in the U. N. will depend upon this country. The problem will be solved the way we want it to be; or it will be left unsolved if we decline to take a clear position. The United States has tried ever since World War I to evade the role that is now being forced upon it; and with good reason. Palestine meant many things to many peoples, but it was above all a by-product of empire. The mandate was accepted by Britain not out of zeal for the Jewish National Home but out of a firm purpose to establish and fortify the British position in the strategic areas wrested from Turkey in World War I.

The rise of America's oil empire in the Middle East has shifted the balance of interest and with it the weight of responsibility. Britain is still there, but the United States has moved in too. And the Truman Doctrine, about to find its first overt expression in Greece and Turkey, applies with equal force throughout the Near and Middle East. Greece is a frontier post, but Palestine is a major bastion of the new empire of oil.

It is easy to understand why Britain decided to submit the Palestine question to the United Nations. Caught between the irreconcilable claims of Jews and Arabs, the mandate has become a nightmare of terror and repression. The British military establishment in Palestine, 120,000 strong, is a giant trapped and harried by pigmies. Only a war of extermination could end the resistance of the Jews to the restrictions imposed by the White Paper; and the British government could neither stomach nor survive such a struggle. On the other hand, abolition of the White Paper and admission of the hundreds of thousands of Jews waiting to come to Palestine would rouse fierce resentment among all the Arab states, even though it would probably not result in the general uprising the British pretend to fear. To dump the problem into the lap of the U. N., while at the same time reserving the right to ignore its advice, offers Whitehall the best way out of its dilemma.

Britain's interests are still enormous and its military power formidable; but the vital force of empire, the will and wealth to dominate, is ebbing. This Mr. Churchill denies; he looks upon the government's policy of retreat as a tragic but temporary aberration. But he is romantically wrong. His Labor successors are far more realistic than he. They want to keep all the profits of empire they can, and cut the losses; and they know that this aim requires some measure of withdrawal. In

terms of Palestine it may mean a willingness to relinquish the mandate; Britain would probably be glad to hand that thorny prize to the United States. Or it may mean merely an effort to win United Nations support for a compromise which will leave the British in effective control while offering small concessions to Arabs and Jews. It is even possible that Mr. Bevin still hopes to force through the Morrison-Grady plan. Whatever formula may ultimately be accepted, we can assume that the British intend to maintain a set-up which will protect their interests by suppressing revolt in Palestine and keeping Russian influence out.

It looks, therefore, as if Mr. Bevin had submitted Palestine to the Assembly half in good faith and half with his fingers crossed. And it is clear that the United States is the one power capable of forcing a different policy. If this country approved a solution for Palestine and assumed a major share of the responsibility for carrying it through, there is no reason to believe that Britain would balk. Indeed, an important part of Whitehall's plan of strategic retreat is to involve the United States in each area of interest, for that is the way investments can best be safeguarded, risks minimized, and losses reduced.

In spite of vacillations and conflicting promises to Arabs and Jews, the United States is legally and morally bound to support the principle of a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine as well as the admission of a large number of Jewish immigrants. We have also President Truman's recent declaration that in the judgment of the United States "the Jewish National Home has not as yet been fully developed." Just how far the American delegates in the Assembly will go in defining this commitment one dare not guess. Conflicting and powerful influences are at work, some pressing for a Jewish state, others for conciliation of the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. With the Greek-Turkish policy as a warning, we cannot assume that this country will be bound by decisions made before oil and Russia emerged as compelling factors. But neither should we too hastily decide that our new interests and fears necessarily imply a policy patterned on Britain's. For the fact that British policy in Palestine is a failure is attested not only by continued disorder and repression and military rule but by Britain's voluntary submission of the question to the U. N. The United States can hardly wish to see that failure perpetuated, still less to assume responsibility for it. Our government, in attempting to justify its intervention in Greece and Turkey, has constantly stressed the need of raising the economic level of the people to make possible a stable democratic society. In Palestine the one valid hope of democratic stability lies in the survival of Zionist institutions and their continued growth. The alternative is violent rebellion against a feudal tyranny which

cannot be held intact indefinitely even by foreign doles and British troops.

The United Nations General Assembly, meeting next week in special session, will appoint a committee to investigate the Palestine question and report to the regular session in September. The choice of members and the instructions to the committee will inevitably determine the nature of the inquiry; so the decision is a vital one. A fair inquiry will be one which scrutinizes Britain's administration of the mandate with complete freedom, which passes on the legality of the White Paper and the restrictions based upon it, which considers the complaints of Jews and Arabs, which studies the various proposals for change made by both peoples and by previous investigators—particularly by the recent Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, whose excellent report was so brusquely brushed aside by the British government. The Assembly committee should also face the desperate situation of the displaced Jews in camps in Germany—and of those on Cyprus. And the result of the study should be a series of recommendations aimed at creating *a new political order in Palestine*, with the full weight of the United Nations put behind it.

The United States should insist that the inquiry committee be chosen with this purpose in view. To imagine that such a study could be made by a body which includes any of the parties in interest is clearly absurd. Neither Britain nor the Arab states should be represented; their presence would prejudice the case from the start.

Preferably, the committee should be made up of individuals chosen for their ability and integrity and not as representatives of states. But if the nationalist mood prevalent in the U. N. finds this basis of choice unpalatable, the best alternative would be a committee representing middle and smaller states which are not too closely tied to one or another of the great powers. In this divided world, real neutrality is a fiction; the most one can hope for is relative independence.

The Nation Associates is submitting to the United Nations a memorandum arguing the necessity of a committee such as I have outlined. We urge, at the same time, that if nations directly concerned should be included, the Assembly must also admit the Jewish Agency as the official representative of the Zionist interest in and out of Palestine. If a neutral body is appointed, we advocate a procedure which insures full opportunity to all the parties concerned to appear both before the committee of inquiry and in the deliberations of the Assembly itself. This means that special provision must be made for the participation of the Jewish Agency, since Britain and Arab states are in a position to present testimony and argue their case as members of the United Nations

India's Hour of Decision

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, April 19

THE first impression created by the Mountbattens during the three weeks of the new viceroyalty has been good. They have broken down the rigidity and pomp surrounding the Viceroy and have seen representatives of many different groups—the Congress Party, Moslem League, princes, untouchables, Sikhs. The Viceroy has had long talks with Gandhi and Jinnah covering the entire ground and has ascertained their points of view. Today Mountbatten will see the governors of all eleven provinces and obtain reports on the situation in their respective jurisdictions. Lady Mountbatten has been busy visiting Delhi's hospitals and making the personal acquaintance of leaders of the women's movements.

All this is good and augurs well for the future. But the process of receiving other people's impressions—those of politicians, princes, governors, and lesser officials—must soon end. Then the Viceroy must begin to form decisions in his own mind in regard to the manner in which power will be transferred, completely and peacefully, by June of next year.

The first question of almost every Indian is whether Mountbatten, appointed for the short space of fourteen months, can impress on all officials from the governors down the Labor government's determination to effect such a transfer of power. The majority of the governors are drawn from the Indian Civil Service: they are able and experienced administrators, but they don't believe in India's right to independence or its capacity for it. In a dramatic outburst last week the Pathan premier of the Northwest Frontier Province declared that Churchill had more friends and followers in India than in England and that they were using the Moslem League as their tool. Several of the Viceroy's British agents who act as advisers to the princes similarly give the impression of fighting a rearguard action in order to obstruct or delay India's advance toward freedom.

The time is rapidly approaching for some big decisions on the part of the Viceroy, the Congress leaders, and the Moslem League. Jinnah continues to demand that full Pakistan apply to five entire provinces—Assam and Bengal in the northeast and Sind, Punjab, and the Northwest Frontier Province on the other side. There has been a remarkable movement among the Hindus and Sikhs in these areas in favor of the partition of Bengal

and Punjab. Applying the same logic and principles used by Jinnah in his demand for division, they have worked out a scheme for partitioning the Punjab, the eastern half of which is decisively Sikh and Hindu. Similarly, the Bengal Hindus want a separate homeland for themselves west of and including Calcutta. Should these movements gain more strength Jinnah's conception of Pakistan stands in grave peril of being truncated. Assam has a Hindu majority, and the Northwest Frontier Province, though overwhelmingly Moslem, is under the influence of the Congress Party. The Pathan values independence more than anything else and despises the Moslem League as a party run by pro-British landlords.

Six months ago the suggestion for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab would have been fiercely resisted by Hindus and Sikhs as the thin edge of the wedge of Pakistan. But the large-scale murder, rioting, and arson during this period have convinced the non-Moslems that division of the provinces, however distasteful, is the only practical solution. Strangely enough, the Moslems, who insist on the partition of India, disapprove this solution of the Hindus and Sikhs. A divided Pakistan, with eastern Bengal, western Punjab, and Sind separated from the rest by a thousand miles of Hindu territory, would be administratively impossible. Gandhi at one stage seemed unwilling to bless this demand for partition but has weakened in his opposition. Other Congress leaders, like Nehru, believe it offers a way, however difficult, out of the present deadlock.

This is not the only issue on which Jinnah must reach a decision. Another which he has not faced is whether the Moslem League will enter the Constituent Assembly or stay out. This decision must be taken soon, since the Assembly will proceed with its task of framing the constitution regardless of the League's policy.

Nehru made another characteristically generous offer to Jinnah yesterday, appealing to him to confer with the representatives of the other parties and reach generally acceptable agreements. Nehru's view is that the Indians must settle their internal differences and take full advantage of the British offer to withdraw in June of next year. If the Moslem League accepts the invitation in the right spirit, the problem can be solved. If not, those parts of India, whether entire provinces or more limited areas, which recognize the authority of the Constituent Assembly should frame a constitution for themselves, thus insuring independence for a great part of the country at any rate.

Nehru again made one point explicit and clear: the Congress Party will not coerce any region to accept the

SHIVA RAO is correspondent in India for The Nation and the Manchester Guardian. He is on the staff of the Madras Hindu.

constitution framed by the Assembly. Pakistan, he observed, can never be established by violence and murder; all settlements must result from negotiations and compromises. There was deep emotion behind his words as he referred to the vast influence India could wield both among its Asian neighbors and in the world if its internal feuds did not prevent. No religious community, he said, could aspire to domination.

There are two points that for tactical reasons Nehru and the other Congress leaders have not raised. First, assuming as seems likely that Jinnah and the Moslem League will decline to join the Constituent Assembly and will demand separation, should the Assembly continue to work on the basis of a weak federal center controlling only defense, external affairs, communications, and possibly some aspects of finance? This was a compromise intended to attract the Moslem League into the Constituent Assembly. Many competent constitutionalists have been critical of it, pointing out that India's social and economic progress demands a much stronger federal authority. If the Moslem League stays out, the compromise loses the only merit claimed for it. Therefore, the argument runs, why should not the Assembly decide to strengthen the federal center, while conceding to the units the largest possible measure of autonomy?

The second consideration is whether the Moslem Leaguers who joined the interim government during Lord Wavell's viceroyalty—when they had the assurance, which Jinnah later repudiated, that the League would enter the Assembly—have the right to continue as members. This issue was raised by Nehru, but the controversy ended for the time being with the recall of Lord Wavell. Mountbatten has not had the question put to him, since hope persists that the crisis may be averted. Congress leaders have appealed to Jinnah to take part in the Constituent Assembly, and Gandhi, more realistic than the rest, seems willing to let Jinnah run the central government in cooperation with Congress provided he guarantees peace in the country and seeks Pakistan through argument and not force and violence. If Mountbatten confirms the first impression he has created—of being strong and decisive as well as pleasant and accessible—the crisis may never come.

Some essential conditions, however, will have to be fulfilled. Governors and officials must either loyally carry out the government's policy or vacate office. The Moslem Leaguers cannot urge direct action and incite to murder if they are to remain members of the interim government. The process of transferring power must begin immediately.

Looting the National Forests

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, April 18

IN A period of international crisis, when the attention of the American people is on distant points, their enemies at home invariably get ready for some good old-fashioned stabbing in the back. This time the knife is being whetted by the National Livestock Association and kindred groups. The victim has not been closed in on for many years. It is the vast system of National Forests west of the Continental Divide. John Muir, Teddy Roosevelt, and more recently Gifford Pinchot, all died thinking these majestic woods and mountain ranges forever the possession of succeeding generations of Americans. The stockmen hope to prove them wrong. Unfortunately, the present Congress is ideally constituted to transform such a hope into reality.

Ever since the National Forests were torn away from the lumber companies and railroads, grazing has been

allowed within their boundaries. During these years, through political influence and mortgage foreclosures, the grazing permits issued by the federal government have become the property of a comparatively small group of powerful ranchers. Fewer than 11,000 farm owners out of the half-million or more in the Far West monopolize the forest range. On these grazing privileges formidable baronies in sheep and cattle have been built. Animals withheld from the market in order to arouse feeling against the OPA were actually fattened on grass growing on the public domain, and the American people thus denied the product of their own forage.

You might think that the stockmen would be satisfied with these feudal powers and not seek to extend them—but you would think so only if you were totally ignorant of the practices of the big ranchers in Wyoming, California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Arizona. While any contest to determine the greediest and most selfish minority in the United States would assuredly end in a photo finish, the inevitable winner would be the Western livestock industry. Its operators regard as insufferable the slightest effort by the American government to halt their flagrant looting of the range. Having helped to liquidate

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist who writes frequently on the problems of the Northwest for *The Nation*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and other publications.

the OPA, they now stalk even bigger quarry. Their current ambition is to bring about the end of all Forest Service control over 80,000,000 acres of the most scenic and productive mountain pasture between the Rockies and the Pacific Ocean.

The livestock industry wants to own this land outright, and its scheme to get it has been given encouragement by recent resolutions of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Not since the campaign waged long ago against T. R.'s conservation program has so blatant a proposal for the destruction of recreational and scenic values been advanced. Moreover, some 8,000,000 people get their drinking water from rivers and lakes which rise in this area. And it is a haven for wildlife—elk, mule deer, bighorn sheep, antelope. It includes the Tonto Basin, the Wallowa Mountains, the High Sierras, and many other regions of natural grandeur.

Even the lumber industry is horrified by the demands of the ranchers. "As a raid upon public resources the plan of the stockmen is astounding in its audacity," asserts the American Forestry Association, itself heavily composed of logging and sawmill members. "This is a plan to break up the National Forests. The strategy is to put pressure on Congress to eliminate grazing lands from the forests and give permit holders the right to acquire such lands in fee simple. We cannot believe that the Eightieth Congress will be trapped by this strategy."

The American Forestry Association, I am afraid, does not know as much as it should about Congressmen. The situation is ripe for just such a legalized steal as the cattle and sheep raisers now contemplate. The people themselves disconnected the burglary alarm last November when they defeated tested conservationists in the Western states and sent to Congress as their replacements many allies of the stockmen. Even such Democrats as Senators O'Mahoney and Hatch, who have taken a liberal stand on various other issues, are willing to see ranch herds eat off the grass anchoring the top soil on the vital Columbia, Snake, and Colorado watersheds.

Franklin D. Roosevelt knew what conservation was all about. A regard for forests and soil was instilled in him by his upbringing. When he spoke from an observation-car platform, he frequently advised the people to guard their resources. On trips across the Inland Empire and Oregon's high desert he commented constantly on the trees, or grass, or gullies fringing the railroad right of way. Roosevelt appointed two great chief foresters, the late F. A. Silcox and Lyle Watts. Watts, a lean, quiet career man in the Forest Service, is still on the job, but the fervor for conservation has been extinguished in the rest of the government. Secretary Krug, for example, has been practically supine in the face of attacks by the livestock men on his department's handling of arid grazing lands which are less valuable than the National Forest pastures.

The first objective of the stockmen is to have federal forage areas turned over to the various states for "administration." The tender mercy the forests would then receive may be judged by the fact that practically all the Western states long ago parted with their public school lands for less than the proverbial song. The ultimate goal of the ranchers is of course private ownership of the long mountain slopes which provide millions of people with opportunities for skiing, hunting, fishing, boating, and camping, to say nothing of furnishing water for domestic uses and crop irrigation. "Seldom would the rights of so many have been so flouted to intrench the special privilege of so few," declares the *Enterprise Chieftain*, published in the heart of the Wallowa grazing country along the Oregon-Idaho border.

The United States Chamber of Commerce resolves: "Private ownership should be reestablished as the ultimate objective in government land policy." The theme of the campaign is indicated by use of the word "re-established." Federal ownership of National Forest grazing lands is condemned as a heretical New Deal doctrine, ■ practice obviously never envisioned by the nation's founders. Completely forgotten is the fact that the Roosevelt who set aside the National Forests was named Theodore, and that before him the cause had been supported by both Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison.

Grazing preferences in the National Forests were granted over the strenuous objection of John Muir and other conservationists. Even E. H. Harriman voiced a mild protest. T. R. and Gifford Pinchot, distinguished conservationist and head of the Forest Service, finally compromised with the livestock interests; else there might have been no forest reserves at all. Then as now many of the Senators from the inter-mountain states fitted conveniently into the saddle-bags of the beef barons.

Instead of being grateful for the privilege of feeding their stock on the public domain, the stockmen have abused it shamefully. They have run larger herds than the land is supposed to sustain. Rangers zealous in the public interest have learned that their superiors have received nasty letters from local Congressmen. The Wyoming stock growers are now attempting to force the ouster of John W. Spencer, regional forester at Denver, who courageously referred to the ranchers seeking to get personal ownership of forest lands as "trouble-makers, rabble-rousers, and purely selfish individuals." Conservationists in the Rocky Mountain area were heartsick when the Department of Agriculture chose to issue a mealy-mouthed apology for Spencer's "injudicious words."

The stockmen want to rid themselves of the Forest Service because its soil and forage experts insist that the number of animals allowed under at least half the grazing permits must be reduced. With the grass gone, the sod is beginning to blow. Eroded hillsides are crumbling

into rivers and creeks. Fish runs have been destroyed. Lakes behind irrigation dams are clogged with silt. Flash floods replace the steady murmur of mountain streams.

If the number of head allowed under a permit is trimmed, the rancher will be out of pocket thousands of dollars. Many famous Western ranches are mere "head-quarters outfits"—that is, the operator owns only a house, corrals, and a silo. The value of the property is in the monopolistic privilege of using the adjacent National Forest land for forage. "Grazing permits," says the *Chieftain*, "are often far more valuable than the deeded ranches to which they are appurtenant." These permits are sold with the ranch. At a recent sale in Montana the ranch was appraised at \$6,500 and the grazing permit at \$29,000.

The Forest Service has not only stated that the forest lands are over-grazed. It has also hinted that perhaps reduction ought to be made for "distribution purposes." Why should one big operator hog the grass in a whole mountain cordillera? Why not reduce his permit and give others a chance, particularly if some of the newcomers happen to be ex-G. I.'s starting out on a shoestring? This suggestion is *lèse majesté* to the cattle Senators. Pat McCarran of Nevada has introduced a bill taking from the Forest Service power to trim the permits of operators now running stock on the National Forests. And Senator Robertsof of Wyoming, himself the holder of a permit to run 2,400 sheep on the Shoshone National Forest, is sponsoring legislation to turn over the public domain to the Western states. This, of course, is tanta-

mount to giving away the legacy of the American people at bargain-basement prices.

If these measures are passed, Harry Truman's veto may be the sole means of preserving our heritage of forest and mountain for future generations. But the character of the President's conservation advisers is not reassuring. Certainly neither Secretary Krug nor Secretary Anderson has demonstrated the understanding of soil and forest problems which distinguished Harold Ickes and Henry Wallace. The lethargy of the people of the West is also discouraging. They succumb to the argument, repeated with boring monotony in the daily press, that the inflated prosperity of the big stockmen is essential to the economic well-being of the region. They forget the lesson learned long ago by Switzerland—that the tourist trade goes on forever and brings money into the pockets of everyone from hotel keepers to garage mechanics. A range grazed bare is an economic loss. A mountain meadow, lush with grass and wild flowers, will lure nostalgic fishermen and campers from the ends of the earth.

If the National Forest grazing lands pass into the possession of the livestock operators, the joys they offer will be gone beyond recapture. The National Forest system as Muir and Pinchot envisioned it, as millions of Americans have come to accept it, will be ended. The one sure way to thwart the stockmen and their minions in Congress is for people in garden clubs, wild-life groups, and Izaak Walton Leagues all over the country to make their voices heard.

Italy's Place in the World

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN THE Palazzo Chigi, Italy's State Department, Carlo Sforza has found the spot in which he can best serve the interests of his country. A consistent anti-Fascist, Count Sforza quit the Italian embassy in Paris on the very day Mussolini came to power, in spite of the Duce's insistence that he remain. When the Fascist regime was overthrown, he might easily have become the leader of the new Italy; but he made the mistake of letting himself be caught in the web of Anglo-American diplomacy, whose goal then as now was to check the Resistance everywhere and prevent it from becoming stronger than was necessary for the defeat of the Nazis. Washington and London were playing one group of political exiles against the other in order to split the anti-Fascist forces of Italy just as they had split those of France and Spain.

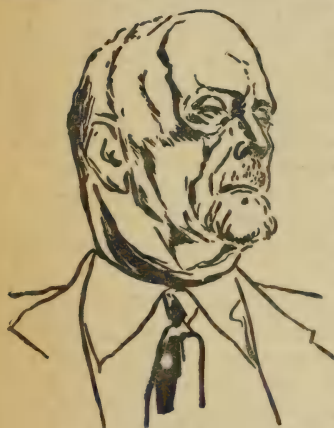
For a brief period Sforza was involved in these in-

trigues to the point of believing that he was the only man who could swing Anglo-American support to the Italian liberation movement. Against his initial impulse to stay out of the Badoglio Cabinet, he finally agreed to become a minister without portfolio. But Sforza's republican sentiments and his loyalty to the Italian people were too deeply ingrained: when the British began maneuvering openly to restore the House of Savoy, he rebelled. In reprisal Churchill attacked him as politically "unreliable" and charged that he was conspiring to usurp Marshal Badoglio's place. By this cynical foray into Italian politics the British leader succeeded in blocking Sforza's appointment as Prime Minister after the first Bonomi Cabinet fell in November, 1944. Now, on his own merits and without the blessing of either Washington or London, Sforza has won the post of Foreign Minister. Had it not been for the split in the Socialist Party, Nenni

would probably have remained in the Foreign Office and pursued a bolder policy than his successor; since he did resign, however, Italy is fortunate to have a man of the experience and international prestige of Sforza.

It is the fashion these days to scoff at classical diplomacy. In the period between the two world wars the career diplomat became so closely identified in the public mind with failure, appeasement, and all the rest that progressives instinctively look with a suspicious eye on striped trousers and silk hat. But recent international

conferences have proved that a certain amount of old-style diplomacy, or at least old-style diplomatic experience, is desirable; at the Paris Foreign Ministers' conference I heard radicals more than once express a longing for a few veterans who had cut their teeth on problems of foreign affairs and knew how to deal with them.



Drawing by Dolbin

Carlo Sforza

Carlo Sforza is such a veteran. He made his international debut at the Algieras conference of 1906, which settled the fate of Morocco. There the young diplomat was thrown into the center of the turmoil of his time. Sforza was one of the first to realize that the European balance was already precarious and that the headstrong ambition of Kaiser Wilhelm, the stupidity of the statesmen of imperial Austria, and the consuming greed of Hungary's feudal landholders must inevitably lead to war. Time after time he called the turn in foreign affairs. In 1919 when the Paris conference was announcing almost daily the "imminent collapse" of the Soviets, Sforza wrote to his chief, Foreign Minister Sonnino: "I hesitate to venture an opinion on the vitality and the future of the Soviet regime. But of this I can assure Your Excellency: it will never be smashed by wretched White Russians like those we have saved at the front and are now supporting. . . . Theirs is a dying world, without courage, without generosity, without ideals." But one of Sonnino's weaknesses was his lack of imagination; and as Sforza told me the other day, repeating a favorite maxim of his, "imagination is the only thing that counts in foreign policy."

A notable achievement in Sforza's long career was to have gained the confidence of Serbian Prime Minister Pachich and to have convinced him that it was in the interest of both Yugoslavia and Italy to settle their differ-

ences by direct negotiation. During the Spa conference of 1920, when I interviewed him for *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, Sforza told me that the only way to come to an agreement with the Yugoslavs was to deal directly with them; he did not allow the dispute to be brought before the conference. He carried on direct discussions with the Yugoslavs and after five months of effort concluded the Treaty of Rapallo, the first negotiated treaty of World War I. Unfortunately Italy had little opportunity to enjoy this success, for barely two years later an adventurer called Mussolini staged his march on Rome. The Rapallo accomplishment by itself justified the choice of Sforza as Foreign Minister in the present period, when the need to establish friendly relations with Yugoslavia is even more urgent.

Meeting Sforza for the first time since he left the United States two years ago, I found him as youthful and energetic as ever, even more sure of himself, and delighted to be back in the magnificent setting of the Palazzo Chigi, which seems somehow to have been designed to his measure. His visiting cards and all official documents simply carry the name "Carlo Sforza," though the Republic has authorized him to use his title. When the issue of titles of nobility came up in the Constituent Assembly, a Communist deputy, Ruggero Grieco, settled it with his vote, saying: "After all, titles are fairly innocuous toys; surely the many freedoms guaranteed by the Italian constitution ought to include the freedom to play with them."

Recently Sforza joined the Republican Party of Rodolfo Pacciardi, though in the Cabinet he is an independent. It is a source of deep pride to him that Italy's "common man," instead of following Giannini, has rallied to those parties which stand for real democracy based on social and economic justice. His sympathy for the people will not be affected by the incident last week when he was assaulted by a group of unemployed. He knows that the provocative display of all kinds of luxuries in the windows of shops and the exhibition of the new wealth in Italy has created an irritation which Fascist agents and other provocateurs may easily exploit.

Sforza is certain the treaty will be revised, because, he says, it is almost inconceivable that the Allied statesmen would deny Italy a role in the reconstruction of Europe for the sake of a few million lire in reparations. At the same time he realizes that the way to speed revision is not by protest demonstrations and threats, all too reminiscent of the Fascist era. He succeeded in obtaining Cabinet approval of the treaty on the ground that it would prove Italy's determination "to hasten the advent of a constructive peace in the interest of genuine amity and collaboration among nations." Unlike the reactionaries, Sforza rejects the idea that Italy, by playing the role of *tertius gaudens*, could profitably exploit the differences

between East and West. He opposed an anti-Soviet bloc in 1919 and he opposes it today. The new foreign policy of Italy is embodied in Article VI of the draft constitution, which not only bars forever Italian participation in wars of aggression but accepts any limitation of sovereignty necessary to make the United Nations a more useful instrument than the League.

Unquestionably the peace treaty will be revised. But in the meantime, it seems to me, Italy should be admitted to the United Nations with full rights as a country that has resolutely taken the democratic path.

While Sforza is doing his best to pave the way for Italy's entrance into world affairs without sacrifice of its independence, his colleague in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Rodolfo Morandi, is working hard to restore the country's economy without mortgaging it to reactionary internal or foreign interests.

Morandi is one of the ablest men in the Socialist Party. He has that characteristic air of energy and initiative which marks the men of the Resistance. Now in his middle forties, he struggled throughout the Fascist period to keep alive a nucleus around which the party could later be rebuilt. Morandi was arrested for propaganda activities in behalf of the Spanish Republic at the most crucial moment of Italy's intervention in Spain. He is the author of a number of books on economics, notably the "Storia della Grande Industria Moderna in Italia." Convinced that in Italy as in all Europe reconstruction must go hand in hand with socialism, he advocates orderly planning to eliminate the chaotic free-for-all of unregulated enterprise.

For more than twenty years Italy survived in an economic limbo halfway between state control and free enterprise. At the economic congress in Florence last January the delegates were unanimous on one point: the country must now choose between a capitalist economy and a planned economy along Socialist lines. The partisans of capitalism pointed to the recent extraordinary expansion of certain industries, especially textiles, which in 1946 surpassed all previous records; I myself talked to several prosperous textile manufacturers who impressed me with their optimism and ingenuity. But Morandi is not interested in isolated success stories; his aim is to release all the potentialities of Italian industry. For while the textile industry has already reached a peak of technical capacity, there are many other industries, like food, chemicals, and machine tools, which still have a long way to go and whose development could contribute greatly to the economic independence of the country.

Morandi realizes that Mussolini's corporate state discredited in the eyes of many Italians the whole idea of planning. None the less he has submitted for popular approval a simple program outlining two objectives:

1. To reconstitute an efficient system of transport by rail, sea, and other public carriers, and to alleviate the shortage of electric power. At the present rate, this objective can be realized by 1949.

2. To reestablish the balance of payments, provided, of course, that materials necessary to the development of Italian industry are made available. This implies important changes in the economic structure and therefore cannot be achieved much before the end of 1951.

Economically Italy has one advantage over France: the war left its industrial machinery relatively intact. "Deliver nothing to the Germans—save as much as you can for Italy," was one of the slogans of the Resistance. All sorts of methods were used to keep supplies from going to the Nazis. Hitler's armies were able to buy far more in Vichy France than in Fascist Italy. When Mussolini signed a pact with Hitler, anti-Fascists in the civil service as well as in industry systematically sabotaged the fulfilment of its economic clauses. The outraged Nazis complained bitterly to the Duce; it did no good. Machines were smuggled out of factories and hidden away in villages; in Milan I visited a printing plant whose entire equipment had disappeared overnight and been distributed among peasants in the neighborhood. Thus the bulk of Italy's wealth remained within its borders even though the Germans created a vast black market in the hope of luring products into the open. When the Allies reached the industrial centers of northern Italy, they were amazed at the resources they found there.

Despite the efforts of the Resistance, however, Morandi has a major task on his hands. Although considerable progress was made in 1946, industrial production on the whole is still under 70 per cent of the 1938 level. The lira is subject to constant inflationary pressure, and its fluctuations make it difficult to fix prices or finance new business enterprises. The nightmare of Italian planners is the lack of fuel. Before the war England, Germany, and Poland supplied most of Italy's coal, but they are no longer in a position to do it. Of course there is always the United States, but American coal is expensive and distant and, besides, Italy has not the ships to transport it. The government is now studying several practical projects for new hydroelectric power plants; the main difficulty is to find sufficient capital.

All this may lead people to question my optimism about Italy's future. That optimism is based not so much on statistics as on human factors. Italian leaders with whom I spoke, unlike those in other European countries, expressed complete confidence in their ability, despite all difficulties, to see the job through. The Italian workers provide even greater reason for hope. While I was in Milan I used to watch them on their way to the factories. I would get up early and go to the Cathedral

Square, where other early risers were treating hundreds of pigeons to their breakfast. Then I would take a tramway or a bus loaded with workers and ride out to the factory with them just to listen to their talk. At closing time I would go again to the plant and accompany them back to town. Men who exhibit the humor and vitality and interest of these people will surely set Italy on its feet again.

Given the role the workers played in the Resistance, one can understand Morandi's determination to push through his bill to give legal status to the "Consigli di Gestione" (Industrial Councils). He told me the story of these mixed committees of laborers and technicians which sprang up spontaneously during the war and spread through Italy after the liberation. They shared in the battle for freedom; today they are more than ever essential in the reconstruction of the nation. During the Allied occupation the committees were prohibited from functioning; apparently the military authorities thought they represented a step toward bolshevism even

though similar methods were prevalent in Britain. Morandi's project has met with stiff opposition from the Christian Democrats; Premier de Gasperi argues that recognition of the committees might jeopardize Italy's chances of obtaining further financial assistance from the United States. The dollar continues to exercise an inhibiting influence on progressive developments in Europe.

If in these articles I have placed special emphasis on the role of the Resistance, it is not out of partisan sympathy. It is because the Resistance is the very backbone of the new Italian Republic and will, I predict, lead the left to victory in the elections next October. I have come back from this brief visit to Italy convinced that neither the Vatican nor Western capitalism nor the surviving native Fascists will prevent the Italian people from making their country a leading factor in a progressive Europe. That is why I say again: Open the doors of the United Nations to the new Italy.

[This is the last of three articles on Italy by Mr. del Vayo.]

Notes on Jamaica

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

[Continued from the issue of April 12]

Ocho Rios, Jamaica

THE "uneducated ones" in Jamaica speak a pidgin English that is almost unintelligible, and speak it in a singsong fashion that doesn't make it any more comprehensible. By chance the *Gleaner* printed the other day a poem written in this lingo. I pass it on both for the language and the content. As literary editors are wont to say, it has some rather good lines in it.

PLAIN TALK

Tan tuddy, bwoy, an ah respect
An' show yu mannan well;
Me daughta is comely gal—
Noe tink she so-so shell.

So if you warn response fe her
An' kep her a-yu yard,
Yu wi ah fe men yu ways
An' play noe mo tree-card.

Yu Moo-ma say use noe good,
An' gamble day an' nite,
An' spen' yu time pon idleness,
Yu drink . . . yu cuss . . . yu fite.

Me ear yu conchance gone pon strike
For Ratta nyam ye out,
De ongle part a-yu whey wok
A-yu big raw-chawin' mout.

Dem tell me say yu neva toil,
But ate fe se Yam heap—
Nobody se yu wen yu sow
Nar ketch yu wen yu reap.

Me gal noe deh pon shelf a-spwile,
Nar rot like tinkin' fish;
So she muss get a propa man
An' everyting she wish.

Noe gal gwine like a two-time man,
An' one dat sleep a-street;
Carrousin' wid a pin-leg gal
Wid numba leven feet.

An' me daughta, she nah mix-up
In all dem slackness way,
Far me can tell yu, an me no
Dat Sweet-art life noe pay.

Now, since yu say yu love me gal,
An' since yu proud fe ask—
Me warn fe meck ye plain to yu
Dah it noe easy task.

Look round me-son, an' start fe count
Dis fambily noe small,
Yu ah fe mine de gal an' me,
Moo-ma, Gran-ma, an' all.

GEORGE B. WALLACE

One is always being regaled with talk about the ways of the natives and how one must handle these people. An amusing and downright woman—a part-time resident who owns a property here—told me you had to lose your temper at regular intervals and make it clear that you were not a “fool-fool.” She outlined her methods of preventing pilfering—up to a point. She said you had to allow for a certain amount, and Marx would agree with her. She spoke of the high incidence of venereal disease and added that the only thing that kept it down was the fever treatment provided by malaria. “If they wipe out malaria before they wipe out syphilis,” she said, “God help us.” Shortly before our conversation Pamela Churchill had been out here and had written an article on the terrible conditions in the hospital in Kingston. One of her complaints was that the patients sometimes slept two—or three—in a bed. My acquaintance said that Pamela was right but that Pamela didn’t know that the natives don’t like to sleep alone—her own servants have often told her so, and she has never been able to put over the idea of one to a bed!

All “nice people” agree that the natives have no morals. One woman told me that the native population was 75 per cent illegitimate. The old grannies say that you are not a woman until you’ve had a child, and girls are anxious to prove their womanhood. Besides, marriage is a costly affair, since it is a great event and must be celebrated properly. By the time they get around to it there may already be seven or eight children on the scene. The connection between sex and sin has simply not been established. A woman who does a good deal of work with the natives and is fond of them told me she had a group of girls who came to her house once a week to sew. One of them suddenly stopped coming. When she questioned the others she was told that the girl had had a baby. “She knew you wouldn’t approve of it,” said the informant. Illegitimacy makes difficulties, of course, for young and indigent mothers. If they go to court they may get half a crown or a shilling and a half a week from the father or fathers of their children, but their employability is impaired. Where religion is concerned they are similarly polite and impervious. The same woman was authorized by her church to hold Sunday School at her home. When she asked what time of day would be most suitable, she was told that the afternoon would be the best time because the kids went to the Baptist Sunday School in the morning. They like to dress up and go to church and sing, but creeds mean little.

All this is a condensed version of the views of white people I talked to, views undoubtedly colored by a conviction of upper-class superiority. I offer them as testimony not as evidence.

But it is a fact that the very poor present a difficult problem, especially in the towns. This problem assumes its most extreme form in the West End of Kingston, an

urban slum which was recently the subject of much comment when a member of the city council, Wills O. Isaacs, made a tour of the area and confronted his colleagues with his findings. One has only to drive through the district—as one does traveling in or out of Kingston—to know that Mr. Isaacs’s dismal

report was not exaggerated. It is a huge tropical Hooverville, the obvious breeding place of the current crime wave and of the epidemic which Mr. Isaacs said must sooner or later break out. For an American perhaps the most lurid sight of all was the spectacle of two movie houses, rising like palaces out of the surrounding squalor, with long lines of people waiting to see “The Road to Alcatraz” and “Saratoga Trunk.” It seemed hardly the fare they needed.

Needless to say, the illiterate poor, urban and rural, are a class apart from the colored Jamaicans of education and status who with the white minority run the affairs of the island. In view of the fact that they are not a race apart, the nature of the relations between the whites and the people of color on the upper levels seems to an American all the more interesting. Officially, of course, there is no color line. I was assured more than once, however, that socially the color line does exist. Yet as it works out in practice, according to my observation, the line doesn’t hold with any consistency. It is whispered that so-and-so is no longer accepted because he married a woman “with a lick.” Yet the very people who will not accept the woman in question have colored friends of their own.

Among the most interesting people I met were a colored man and his white wife who told me something of the family history. Mr. A’s great-grandfather, a Scotchman, came to Jamaica in 1743 and married a mulatto—at this point Mr. A spoke with eloquence of the superior colonizing talents of the Scotch as compared with the English. They founded a family which in the third and fourth generations is proud of its ancestry, both dark and light, and appears to be freely accepted, socially and otherwise. It was a very pleasant experience. I’ve no doubt that there is a great deal of race prejudice, but it would seem that colored people are accepted or rejected as individual human beings and not made much or little of as symbols—as they usually are in America by the enlightened or the prejudiced as the case may be.

To one coming in from the great world Jamaica seems an archaic period piece, something left over from a sim-



pler time. It has its charm. The white people I've met have a very pleasant way about them—as if the tropical sunshine had softened the sharp edges of their Northern heritage. But they live in a small and special world—which is now being impinged upon by world events and forces, including the famous American standard of living. They are in general conservative, and think the Labor government is going too fast and too far!

I've mentioned the *Daily Gleaner*. It's not a bad little newspaper. Mr. Bustamante says it's a monopoly; the *Gleaner* retorts that it is not. Certainly it gives plenty of space to Mr. B. Its news stories of the British crisis revealed a desire to believe that the Labor government was about to fall—like many other journalistic harvesters the *Gleaner* sows what it reaps—and this desire was nowhere more apparent than in its considered, reluctant editorial opinion that nothing of the sort would happen. But it tries, perforce, to please its readers, white, brown, and black, and it is endlessly interesting for the picture it gives of the people who do read and advertise in it. It plays up, for instance, cases of racial discrimination in the States. At the same time it deplors Bustamante's references to the color question at home. Its advertisements are often quaint and naive. My favorite, frequently run, is that of a funeral director whose catch line is, "If I should die call Jackson." Its proofreading is amazing and confounding; some of its headlines are not to be classified. One declared that "Lady Huggins Finds Poor Stimulating." (Lady Huggins is the wife of the Governor.) Her speech didn't really deserve the headline. She, by the way, is very active in the campaign to prevent cruelty to animals. A great many ladies are: Marxians please note. The animals are badly treated, and thin as rails. It's just possible, of course, that the natives think it's the only way to handle these creatures.

ENVOI

In Jamaica you still clap your hands to summon a servant. An American who still has a maid was wondering how Mary would react if she inadvertently did the same thing at home. "That's easy," said another American, "she'd think you were applauding and ask for a raise."

I prefer it that way—even though my hands have acquired that Ivory look in just twelve days. I shouldn't like to live in a community with a submerged population. It's pleasant to be waited on hand and foot for a pittance, but it's also uncomfortable. And the discomfort rises from a mixture of feelings. The sense of guilt is basic, I suppose, and in a way it puts you at the mercy of the people who wait upon you, whatever their particular attitudes. You tend to ascribe to them all the resentments you yourself would have in their situation—and the fact that they accept their situation and don't have the resentments you ascribe to them is not soothing either.

The faithful servant embarrasses you. The occasional surly one arouses a vague anxiety rather than a clear anger. And, not least, the knowledge of what the living conditions of these people must be may stir your nobler feelings, but it also makes you conscious of the relation between food and sanitation. The ideal of equality, like most ideals, has its practical aspects.

In the Wind

A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "The Use of Books in Public Relations" states that "it is preferable to find . . . a writer of reputation who will mix truth with interest in proper proportions."

AND A STEAMING RELEASE from the Jonfield Service in New York City announces with pride that that organization has "secured access to the 1946 List of America's 500 Second-Best Writers."

HERE COMES COLONEL R. C. KRAMER, chairman of the Allied Store Corporation, a department-store chain, to tell us, as quoted in the *Cooperative News Service*, that "never in my business life have I seen business morality so low, so little sold for so much, such disregard for quality and long-range interests, such opportunism, and such an absurd inflation of ego."

NOW LET'S HEAR from two churchmen: "I should want segregation if I were a Negro," says the Reverend Dr. Cyril E. Bentley in a recent issue of *Living Church*; the Reverend Dr. Walter R. Courtenay, in a bulletin published by the First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, Tennessee, weighs in with this affirmation: "I believe in Private Property, its sanctity and dignity, because I believe God does."

ACCORDING to the Meridian (Mississippi) *Star*, "Crooner Taylor [Senator Glenn Taylor] speaks for 500,000 Idaho Potatoes," while "Bilbo represents 2,000,000 Mississippi Anglo-Saxons." The Wind is glad this is so, because the 1940 census reveals Mississippi's population to be 2,180,905, of which 1,074,478 were colored.

NOT TO BE OVERLOOKED in the loan-to-Greece crisis is the small news item that the Greek parliament, two weeks ago, approved a bill authorizing the government to allocate \$40,000 for the dowry of Princess Catherine.

MEANWHILE the War Department has issued a list of Education Manuals, G. I. Round-Table Series, which have been rescinded because they are obsolete, one of which is War Department Circular 335, November 14, 1946—"The Way to Prevent future Wars."

A FEW WEEKS AGO President Truman nominated five Negroes out of a total of 1,864 officers for a commission in the regular army. That brought the number of commissioned Negro officers up to 46 out of a total of 26,850.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

And Still They Laugh

BY CHARLES LAROM

Jinsen, Korea

THE Stateside newspapers which arrived aboard our broadbeamed LST in the last mail would probably seem amusing, except for the dead children lying in the gutter a few hundred yards from the ship.

The several-months-old papers seem to be unusually food conscious. Spread over one front page is a three-column picture of a line-up for sugar. . . . Two learned writers fuss over the political implications of sending food abroad—one of them sure the food is playing into the hands of the Communists, the other that the totalitarian right is benefiting. . . . The response to President Truman's food-conservation plea is adjudged "mild," the plan condemned as "naturally ineffectual"; Walter Winchell alone gives it a real plug. . . . A columnist on a Boston paper screeches at "Uncle Sap" for sending food abroad when the country is suffering from a "critical shortage" of its own.

Those two kids over in the gutter died of starvation.

Their sucked-in cheeks, washboard chests, and bloated bellies are almost a trademark of the post-war Asiatic area. They are only a step ahead of millions of others who are still trying to scrape together enough food to last another day, another week, or even until the next harvest.

Evidences of mass starvation have been plentiful from French Indo-China, all the way up the line, and the people reaching the coast from farther inland say the situation there is even worse. They agree that UNRRA has helped, but insist it has never had large enough supplies to be more than a token blessing.

In Haiphong I walked the streets early one morning with an American medical sergeant, a member of a military liaison unit, while he made his daily count of bodies before the street cleaners disposed of them. Thirty-seven natives had dropped dead in the main part of the town during the previous night—a new low for the week, according to the Sarge. It was cholera that usually struck the final blow, he explained, but in almost every case the dead man had been so weakened by malnutrition over a long period that it was merely a matter

of chance which disease shoved him over the brink.

Northwest of French Indo-China families in crude paddle sailboats fluttered close to our anchored ship, hoping for any sort of handout. In athletic contests got up by the sailors rival boatloads of natives dived into the choppy waters of Henriette Pass for slices of bread. The women of the winning boat were required to express their thanks for each soggy slice by an undressing act, but the rows of their ribs protruded too distinctly for the sight to have the expected allure. (Before the ship left, incidentally, the crew robbed the galley of most of its own evening meal and lowered it over the fantail—probably without contributing to a political victory for either Commies or Fascists.)



In Soochow and Tsientsin listless, scrawny children chanted their plaintive "No momma, no poppa, no chow-chow—Comashaw, Joe?" We never knew whether they had really lost their parents, but their frail malformed bodies offered adequate proof of "no chow-chow."

Sampans of natives, crowding close around the ships in the Hongkong anchorage, vied for a chance to collect the slop-cans of garbage. After sorting the discarded swill into its component parts, they would wash off chunks of food in the sea, carefully ration out enough for a meal, then carry the rest ashore.

The usual mob of skinny urchins surrounded the Sixth Marine Division's officers' club in Tsingtao, but their wail was just a little different from the usual chant. Someone had tipped them off to some additional varieties of suffering; so they expanded their plea into: "No momma; no poppa; no chow-chow; no sea pay; no flight pay—Comashaw, Joe?" Then a smile spread the distance between sunken cheeks, and some of them even laughed.

Your thumb and finger could reach around the calves of their legs. The bodies of many of them were covered with sores. And surely they must have known instinctively that any night it might be their turn to crawl into their rat-hole homes along the dock and get too sick ever to crawl out again. Yet whenever they told their little joke, which they could have only partially understood, they were somehow able to laugh.

CHARLES LAROM is the pseudonym of an American naval officer.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The British Budget

THE New York *Times*, editorializing on the British budget, praises Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Dalton and his colleagues for scorning "the radical, escapist budgetary theories that one finds among our own neo-economists and their followers." It continues: "Under a Conservative government or a Labor government a balanced budget is still, to the British, a symbol of financial integrity, and as such a matter of national pride." If the writer of these words had read the excellent report on the budget in the New York *Herald Tribune*, he would have come across a quotation from the Chancellor's speech, omitted in the *Times*'s own dispatch, which shows that Dr. Dalton is no believer in the shibboleth of a balanced budget.

Summing up the fiscal policies of the Labor government, Dr. Dalton said: "The aim is not, as used to be thought, to balance the budget each year regardless of circumstances. . . . Each year we should consider, in the light of our financial and economic situation, the movement of prices, the level of employment, the relative danger of inflation or deflation, whether it should be a surplus or a deficit. There can be no doubt that on these terms this is a good year for a good surplus."

Dr. Dalton's approach to fiscal planning, in fact, is almost identical with that of American advocates of a "compensatory budget," and the *Times* could hardly have picked a worse witness for its side. What is more, in the current controversy over the United States budget it is the so-called radical economists who have urged the importance of achieving a surplus to be applied toward debt reduction; it is the conservative elements in Congress and elsewhere who have been calling for tax cuts even if they cause a deficit.

In Britain, as in this country, objective analysis of the total economic situation indicates the need for a revenue surplus. There, although the government has kept basic prices under firm control, many inflationary elements are present. As the recent White Paper pointed out, incomes totaling \$28 billion are competing to buy goods and services priced at a total of \$24 billion. The first step toward closing this gap must be to end deficit financing through the banks, and this should be one of the results of the new budget. In place of last year's actual deficit of \$2,276,000,000, Dr. Dalton has provided for an estimated surplus of \$1,080,000,000. It is interesting to note that this transformation has not required cuts in vital social services; it has been achieved by reducing military expenditures nearly 50 per cent.

Members of the British opposition have been quick to claim that the budget is not genuinely balanced. They point to the inclusion in revenue of "windfall" items such as proceeds from the sale of surplus war material. I cannot say how far such criticism is justified until full details of the

budget reach me. It seems probable, however, that there are non-recurring expenditures which offset these non-recurring receipts. More questionable, perhaps, is the large total of "below-the-line" items—war-damage payments, excess-profits refunds, repayments of post-war tax credits, and so forth. But again it is not clear from the information at present available to what extent these liabilities are payable from previously accumulated funds. In any case, whatever borrowing may be necessary to meet them should not exceed the amounts that can be derived from genuine personal savings and therefore should not prove inflationary.

In providing for revenue Dr. Dalton has given with one hand and taken away rather more with the other. Revisions in income tax—Mr. Knutsen, please note—are calculated to ease the burden on low incomes while affording but negligible relief in the upper brackets. They include increases in personal exemptions and children's allowances and a restoration of the deduction for earned incomes to the pre-war rate. Apart from the equities involved, the purpose of these changes is to provide an additional incentive to workers who have been discouraged by income-tax deductions from putting in a full week's labor.

Tax increases have been designed as antidotes to various inflationary pressures. A steep rise in the purchase (sales) tax on such goods as heaters and cooking stoves is intended to moderate the rush for electrical equipment which helped to overload the power stations during the winter coal crisis. A new 10 per cent tax on bonus shares and a 100 per cent increase in the stamp duties levied on stock certificates and other financial instruments are expected to curb speculation. An increase in the distributed-profits tax from 5 to 12½ per cent shows that the Chancellor was not fooling last year when he warned corporations to use their increased profits to improve and expand capital equipment. Many of them have ignored this warning and have been paying lavish dividends. Hence this new tax, which is justified by Britain's need to recoup war losses by reinvesting a more than normal proportion of its income.

The most spectacular and controversial item in the British budget is the 50 per cent increase in tobacco duty, which means that popular-brand cigarettes have risen from 47 cents for twenty to 67 cents. This staggering burden on smokers is being imposed to save dollars rather than to raise revenue. As Dr. Dalton explained, current British expenditure on American tobacco is absorbing nearly all the dollars which the country earns by selling goods to Americans. Consequently, should British smokers go on strike, as some of them threaten, nobody would be better pleased than the Chancellor, for while his surplus might be diminished, his anxiety about the rapid exhaustion of the American loan would be somewhat relieved.

The need for economizing dollars is generally understood in Britain, but this increase in the tobacco tax is being attacked in some quarters on the ground that the same objective could have been achieved more fairly by rationing. There is force in this criticism, but the British government probably decided that the mechanics of tobacco rationing were unduly complicated and that the necessity of issuing cards to all adults, whether smokers or non-smokers, would lead to a big black market in coupons.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

ONE of the favorite whipping boys of the radio critic has for years been the programs for children. With public attention now focused on juvenile delinquency—its causes, effects, and possible preventives—radio's kid programs are again getting the strap.

Juvenile delinquency stems of course from an unsound home life and numerous other social factors that have thrown a child off his moral balance long before he ever listened to a radio program, but its manifestations are undoubtedly influenced by radio. Most kid programs are blood-and-thunder shockers. In addition to these the youngsters listen to detective dramas, ostensibly designed for adult ears, which can easily leave them with a perverted sense of moral values. Admittedly, one solution would be stricter parental supervision of a child's listening. Another would be for the broadcasters to raise the level of adult programs. But radio is not certain that its audience wants this, and until it is convinced, no change can be anticipated.

However, the continued complaints about children's programs have induced NBC and CBS to get rid of chiller-diller juveniles. Unfortunately American and Mutual have kept them, and NBC and CBS are going in for pulp-drama serials, the so-called soap operas, which are but a short step above the kid shows. As a result children get the dubious excitement of pulp-written violence and teen-agers the just as dubious excitement of pulp-written romance.

The American and Mutual networks together provide nine "violence" serials a day. In plot they vary but slightly. All of them attract listeners with a theme that is straight blood, thunder, and terror. As *Variety* said recently, "These serials make up a carnival of sluggings, muggings, shootings, murders, and tortures—a veritable paradise for sadists. In each quarter-hour episode the violence mounts from a high-starting plateau to a towering climactic peak where the dialer is left hanging until he's rescued the following day 'in another exciting chapter in the so-and-so at the same time, same station.'"

Just as at a murder trial the defense can produce "experts" to offset the testimony of the prosecution "experts," so in the controversy over these programs both sides produce psychiatric opinion in support of their views. One group says the killer-laden shows of radio give youngsters the same emotional release that the stories of Robert Louis Stevenson and Mark Twain gave their parents. Other experts insist that radio's kid programs are not only far below the level of the

children's classics of literature but through their serialized presentation create an unappeased appetite for violence.

What makes these programs all the worse is that American and Mutual air their "violence" serials at the same time and therefore try to outdo each other by piling horror on horror in order to get the audience. Through every program runs the familiar cops-and-robbers theme. When Buck Rogers is fighting pirates in the inter-planetary spaces, Dick Tracy is doing much the same thing on a steamship. One may use scientific mumbo-jumbo, the other a straight blood-and-thunder approach. Hop Harrigan battles enemy agents and espionage in Darkest Africa while Terry and the Pirates are similarly active in China. And so on down the line. All are larded with such juicy nightmare-makers as giant man-eating ants, fixed prize fights, crocodile men, and assorted tortures. Superman, much lauded for preaching tolerance, dispenses some of the most abusive language and worst brutality. Invariably the hero is a run-of-the-mill individual with rough edges, a heart of gold, and plenty of strength and staying power. The villain is sophisticated, educated, and speaks precisely and fluently. How this determines a child's attitudes requires no expert to interpret.

That the networks know how to provide better programs is evident if one listens to Adventure Parade, a sustaining program used by Mutual as bait for its "violence" strips, which are all sponsored. Adventure Parade translates the classics of literature into serials, completing one novel each week. The production uses none of the high-power sound effects of the killer programs but relies on deft narration and performance. Unfortunately Adventure Parade, when it came on just before Buck Rogers, had the lowest rating of any program in either Mutual's or American's skein of juvenile shows. Now that Adventure Parade has taken the Rogers spot, it will be interesting to see how it stands up.

It should be noted that this same rating anemia afflicts Columbia's American School of the Air, a most intelligent educational program heard for a half-hour at 5 p.m., E. S. T.

Another "good" program on CBS is the eminently successful Let's Pretend, which dramatizes fairy tales each Saturday morning. NBC presents a well-done half-hour dramatization of a Frank Merriwell story at 10 a.m. on Saturdays, followed by thirty minutes of Archie Andrews, a teen-age version of the Aldrich Family. Beyond this, there are a number of good programs on local stations, but by and large they are exceptions.

The reason for this condition is no secret. American radio is a highly competitive commercial enterprise. The local stations cannot afford to compete with the networks—again with a few exceptions. And the networks themselves have profit-and-loss statements to consider. As long as the children continue to buy comic books by the million each week, as long as newspapers run comic strips, and as long as the kids prefer this kind of radio show to less exciting programs, these much-criticized juveniles will remain on the air.

One hopes that all four networks will finally do what only two have done thus far. The stronger the listener pressure the sooner they will do it. Meanwhile, remember that it took the movies a long time to drop their "cliff-hanger" serials. When I was a kid, the Fu-Manchu serial was a must at the neighborhood nickelodeon on Saturday afternoons.



BOOKS and the ARTS

SOME NOTES ON D. H. LAWRENCE

BY W. H. AUDEN

THERE is one characteristic of D. H. Lawrence which can never fail to delight the reader, namely, the enormous pleasure he took in writing. Superficially the voice may be strident, hectoring, even, in his deplorable letters (as dreadful as Rilke's), self-pitying, but *au fond*—what wonderful high spirits! How can the class take their wiggling quite seriously when teacher is having such fun giving it?

THE WOULD-BE young writer of my generation in Europe grew up under the aesthetic shadow of nineteenth-century France. The serious writer was a solitary *esprit*; writing was an extremely difficult and exhausting sacred task; between the artist's working life and his personal life there could never be anything but antagonism. To encounter a writer who wrote as naturally as he breathed or slept was for us therefore a great liberation. For what the young writer needs is the child's shamelessness and frivolity which is not afraid of making a fool of itself nor asks if its play is important so long as it is having a good time, and we were aesthetically too prudish for our age, so afraid of writing badly or trivially that we were in danger of losing the self-confidence to write at all. Once, of course, the young man has won the battle with his laziness and his fears, and learned to work easily and happily, the questions of the importance and truth of what he writes have to be raised, and their restraining hands should grow stronger as he matures. Lawrence will not be much help to him then, but so long as there are earnest aesthetic young pigs in the world, few can give them the shaking they need better than he.

NEARLY EVERY important writer brings to consciousness some field of human experience of which before his time men were scarcely aware but which henceforth they can never forget; even if the writer himself ceases to be read

he has effected a historical change in human sensibilities.

When we try to read a person's character, not from his words, not even from his face, but from the shape and movement of his body, we are doing something which Lawrence taught us to do. If we can no longer watch, say, a tennis match as if it were merely a simple contest of skill and wits but are immediately on the look-out for obscure and violent passions behind the sport, Lawrence is largely responsible for our loss of naivete.

THERE ARE four things which Lawrence does supremely well: writing about non-human nature, writing as a stranger about places and people he sees for the first time, criticizing books, and describing states of irrational hostility between man and man or man and woman.

IN MY OPINION, the poems in "Birds, Beasts, and Flowers" are Lawrence's greatest achievement. To begin with, they are of great technical interest: so far as I know, Lawrence is the only poet on whom Whitman has had a fruitful influence; his free verse is quite new, but without Whitman it could not have been written. Then, whenever he writes about animals or plants, the anger and frustration which too often intrude in his descriptions of human beings vanish, *agape* takes their place, and the joy of vision is equal to the joy in writing. To Wordsworth the creatures are symbols of great mysterious powers; to the naturalist, examples of a beautiful or interesting species to be observed objectively; Lawrence, on the other hand, loves them neither as numinous symbols nor as aesthetic objects but as neighbors. To a fig tree or a tortoise he gives that passionate personal attention usually offered by lonely or shy people, or by children, invalids, prisoners, and the like; the others are too busy, too accustomed to

having their own way. (The forerunner of these poems is Christopher Smart's description of his cat Jeffrey in "Jubilate Agno," which he wrote in an asylum.)

ALL THE travel books—"Twilight in Italy," "Sea and Sardinia," and so on—are excellent. Here again Lawrence has the intensity of the lonely man looking in at a life which is not his and trying to guess what it is really like. In a way he would like to be invited to join in, but in his heart of hearts he knows that would be a fatal disappointment.

LAWRENCE'S literary criticism—"Studies in Classical American Literature," the essay on "Galsworthy," the reviews of novels—are wonderful in a very odd way. The only work I know which resembles them is Nietzsche's "The Case of Wagner." He is often quite dotty, he does not make the faintest pretense at being objective, but he is so passionately interested in the work he is talking about and so little interested in his reputation as a critic that even when he is violently and quite unfairly attacking an author, he makes him sound far more exciting and worth reading than most critics make one sound whom they are professing to praise. I shall never forget my disappointment when, having just finished Lawrence's essay on him, I rushed off to read the novels of Fenimore Cooper.

LIKE BLAKE, Lawrence was interested, not in "individuals," but in "states." In writing about nature or about strangers this does not matter, as these are only experienced as states of being, but it is a serious drawback in writing fiction which cannot avoid the individual and his relations to other individuals over a stretch of time. Lawrence is never at ease when the time is a long one, so that none of his long novels quite succeeds because we get bored with the lack of a character to bind the states together and

give them uniqueness. With his Righteous Man and his Righteous Woman he flops utterly. Mellors is as intolerable as Uncle Tom.

LAWRENCE is now neglected as an artist because his *kerygma* no longer seems good news; yet the situation from which he tried to save us is too little changed and too desperate for us to read him as a classic whose theories, like Dante's views of the relation between pope and emperor, belong to history. A sick patient cannot take a detached view of the bedside manners of a doctor who has failed to cure him.

LAWRENCE is best regarded as a Christian heretic. Like Nietzsche and unlike Goethe, who was simply unchristian, Lawrence was obsessed with Christianity, and it seems as inevitable that his last finished work should have been "The Man Who Died" as that Nietzsche should have ended by signing himself The Crucified. (Goethe thought the Cross in such bad taste.)

HERESIES usually go in pairs. A half-truth which becomes a lie by claiming to express the whole dogma provokes the opposite half-truth to a similar excess. Further, at any particular period it is usually one particular dogma that is most liable to heretical distortion. In the fourth and seventeenth centuries, for example, the main issue was nature and grace—that is, men were concerned with the First Person of the Trinity. The characteristic debate of the twentieth century as of the second is over Christology.

It is not the relation of free will to determinism but of the Word to the flesh, the universal to the individual, the eternal to the historical, which seems to our generation the real problem involving our liberty and happiness.

LAWRENCE'S life and work was a violent crusade against the liberal bourgeois perversion of Christianity according to which:

1. The mind is spiritual. The body is base.
2. White-collar work is respectable. Manual labor is "low."
3. True love between the sexes is the marriage of two minds. The physical relation between their bodies is an un-

fortunate necessity, a rather ugly greed justifiable only as a means to begetting children.

4. The flesh cannot be redeemed. It can only be kept quiet by repression or indulgence while the mind pursues its salvation.

5. Utopia will be a society in which, thanks to the progress of science, the production of goods has become so ample and so automatic that the flesh has ceased to be a problem. There will be no need of a coercive authority, and every citizen will be able to devote his whole time to contemplation and culture.

In so far as these attitudes claim to be Christian, they imply a Gnostic conception of the Incarnation. The Word was not mere historical flesh but briefly appeared in borrowed flesh to teach men, not how to redeem their flesh and their time, but how to redeem their minds from flesh and time.

In reaction Lawrence preached the opposite:

1. The body is good. The mind is corrupt.
2. Nearly all intellectual and white-collar work is mechanical and sterile. Manual labor when it is really manual and not just machine-minding is free and creative.
3. True love between the sexes is a creation of the Dark God, the physical sympathy of two bodies. Spiritual intimacy is always hostile to this.
4. The instinctive flesh must redeem the corrupt mind.
5. Salvation for society is probably impossible, but if it should come to pass, it will be through the authority of an instinctive genius.

This is the same gnosticism stood on its head. The Word is not made flesh for the true Word *is* the flesh. Lawrence's Christ is the pre-Adamic hero who rescues Adam and Eve from their bondage in the White Devil of mechanical reason and reflective consciousness.

LAWRENCE is right in attacking the intellectual who forgets that all genuine thinking has its roots in passion, but the cure he suggests, to retreat from desire to passion, is dangerously wrong. It is not accidental that "The Plumed Serpent" should emit such an unpleasant whiff of fascism, for fascism gives the same answer to the same Cartesian errors, only on a mass scale instead of a per-

sonal one. Accordingly it makes political passion supreme and dismisses personal feeling as cavalierly as Lawrence did the reverse.

AS AGAINST a mechanical history of the spirit which ignores man as a natural creature and rushes him helplessly, blindly forward, Lawrence is right in reasserting natural time with its recurrent rhythms, but in so far as he makes natural time the only real time his attitude toward human history and social life remains purely negative, and the only people who are in a position to lead, even approximately, the life of which he approves are *rentiers* or artists or gipsies with passports. For his opponents time is an abstract concept of history in which there is no real present; for Lawrence time is a succession of passionate present moments for which past and future have no meaning.

"SEX ISN'T SIN . . . until the dirty mind pokes in." Exactly. And for that reason it is impossible to preach about purity, for to say "you mustn't think about sex" has the same effect as saying "you may think about anything you like except elephants." By its very nature art is an act of making experience conscious, which means that it cannot and must not try to deal with any experience which is "existential," that is, is falsified by reflection. "Lady Chatterley's Lover" is, unfortunately, as pornographic as "Fanny Hill." It is of necessity as indecent as, at the other end of the psycho-somatic scale, must be all attempts to describe the Beatific Vision.

AS FAR AS one can judge, Lawrence was by temperament monogamous. The average man is not, and on him the effect of reading Lawrence has been, only too often, to send him (or her) off in a search for the perfect sleeping partner who, according to the doctrine, is most likely to be found among "primitive" or working-class types, one, in fact, who is, outside of the bed, an awful bore. By always presenting the "white" spiritual love and the love of the "Dark" God as irreconcilable enemies, Lawrence has encouraged people in fact—though not of course in intention—to divide their lives between "white" relations and "dark." This is to deny the possibility of a happy marriage, for,

however difficult to achieve, marriage is by definition a reconciliation of the two.

FOR A COMPLETE life a man requires six kinds of love—for his wife, for his children, for his friends, for his neighbors, for his work, and for God. In our time the secularization of belief, the mechanization of work, the atomization of society, birth control, and so on tend to deprive him of all but the first. If the average man today is obsessed with sex, it is partly because it seems to him the only sphere in which he is a free agent, in which his failures and his triumphs are really his; hence if he fails here, he has achieved nothing with his life. Lawrence was luckier than the majority because he had a second love, his work, but to judge from his books, even two loves are not enough, or, rather, it is too much of a strain on them to carry all the emotion due to the others.

LAWRENCE'S answers do not mean much to us any more; his questions still disturb a good deal. His genuine visions of plants, of animals, of certain passionate states will be treasured even if and when all his questions and ours, being truly answered, have ceased to vex.

TO PRODUCE a one-volume edition of D. H. Lawrence* which will satisfy anyone familiar with his work is—and Mrs. Trilling would be the first to admit this—impossible. If I, for example, would have omitted any selection from the long novels like "Women in Love" in order to include one of the novellae like "The Virgin and the Gypsy" or "St. Mawr," or the introduction to Maurice Magnus's "Memoirs of the Foreign Legion" (to me, the best piece of prose Lawrence ever wrote), if I would have left out the letters and put more poems in, this is only a personal preference for one kind of deficiency to another. Meanwhile several of my favorites—"Two Tickets Please," "Lovely Lady," the description of the mountain crosses on the route from Bavaria to Italy—are here, and any reader who is acquainted with the rich variety of Lawrence's work will know that a selection which manages to include more than one of his favorites is a surprising achievement.

Admirable in conception and execu-

tion as the Viking Portables are, their existence and success cast a disquieting reflection on the publishing and reading habits of our age. If an author is of real importance, all his books should be read, the minor works as well as the masterpieces, the failures as well as the successes; and the author of importance is, more often than not, prolific.

Even in the case of a minor writer, say Ronald Firbank, the reader who has a taste for his work would rather read all of it than read one line of some master, say Corneille, who does not appeal to him. But with the increase in the costs and hazards of publishing and the growing reluctance of the public to read anything that is not specifically recommended to them by critics and advertisements, it becomes rarer and rarer to find the complete works of any writer in print. One cannot blame the ordinary publisher for this, but it would be nice if the university presses would take upon themselves the important unprofitable duty of issuing definitive editions of the dead.

The Russian Neuroses

WHY THEY BEHAVE LIKE RUSSIANS. By John Fischer. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

THE three articles on Russia which John Fischer contributed to *Harper's Magazine* last fall impressed me at the time as a good mixture of colorful reporting and judicious analysis. But expanded into a book his travelogue seems a trifle thin even with the addition of two well-considered chapters on the cause and cure of strained Soviet-American relations. In his guided tour of the Russian labyrinth Mr. Fischer is so intent on shielding his readers from boredom—which he certainly succeeds in doing—that he sometimes hustles them too quickly from one point of interest to another. I could wish, for instance, that he had gone a little more deeply into the growth of a privileged class in Russia and its implications; or that he had expanded the paragraph in which he suggests that many Russian phenomena are the fruits not of communism but of a belated and overaccelerated industrial revolution.

However, this book, though slight, is not, I think, misleading, inaccurate, or "harmful to good relations with the

Soviet Union." These are the grounds on which it has been criticized by Marshall MacDuffie, chief of the UNRRA mission with which Mr. Fischer visited the Ukraine last spring. His strictures will be shared by those who resent any writing about Russia which is not well larded with adulatory adjectives. On the other hand, the more extreme Russophobes may feel that the book gives the devil altogether too much of his due. My own view, which I think will be shared by readers who approach the Russian problem rationally rather than emotionally, is that Mr. Fischer has written as objectively as a sincere Western democrat could be expected to do.

He himself says in his preface that his purpose is neither to defend nor to attack the Soviet system but "to estimate how that system is likely to behave under the pressure of a new and unstable balance of power." As he sees it, current Russian policies may be motivated either by genuine fear of attack by the West or by long-range plans for achieving world domination. He leans to the first theory, but since there is no conclusive proof either way, he thinks that America should "adopt a working hypothesis that will cover both possibilities." That would require a program designed to persuade the Kremlin (a) that we are not threatening Russia's security or way of life, (b) that we are determined to block aggressive Soviet expansion.

In his analysis of the Soviet neurosis Mr. Fischer finds two elements. Russians, a long-suffering and much invaded people with a wide-open western frontier, have always been suspicious of foreigners and fearful of attack. These historically and geographically conditioned fears have been inflamed by others originating in Marxist theory. Every good Communist believes that the contradictions of capitalism in America will produce in the not very distant future a violent economic crisis. This will lead in turn to political upheaval and the emergence of American fascism, which will seek to consolidate its power by imperialist adventures.

To cure this phobia, Mr. Fischer suggests, we have to prove that "the Western nations are capable of developing a democratically controlled economy which will neither bog down in periodic depressions nor explode into

* "The Portable D. H. Lawrence," Edited and with an Introduction by Diana Trilling. The Viking Press. \$2.

LIONS UNDER THE THRONE

*A book about the Supreme Court,
creator and creation of American history*

CHARLES P. CURTIS, JR.

Co-editor of "The Practical Cogitator"

LLOYD K. GARRISON, Saturday Review of Literature

"... so bubbling over with ideas and observations that his prose crackles and shoots off sparks. What interests him most, and should interest you equally, is the role the Court plays in the political life of America . . . You must read his analysis of the main cases. It is fascinating stuff and intensely human."

From a letter by Sumner Welles—

"I cannot remember when I have found a book more intellectually stimulating. There is not a page which is not first rate and not a page which does not hold you. It is not often that I can sincerely say that I enjoy a book, but I can assure you that I have enjoyed this, and I know that a very great many people will feel the same way."

At all bookstores, \$3.50

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY • PUBLISHERS



war." This achievement is equally necessary if the Soviets are really planning to overrun the world. For to defend ourselves against such an onslaught we must maintain the industrial strength which is the basic source of American power. "From a strictly military viewpoint," Mr. Fischer observes, "we cannot afford another depression." Moreover, another prolonged slump here would be catastrophic for our potential allies and would probably cause a collapse of democracy throughout the world. It follows, therefore, that "the measures which are best calculated to cure Russia's fear neurosis and bring her around to eventual cooperation with the West also are the very measures necessary to resist Soviet expansion during the intervening period of tension and uncertainty."

Mr. Fischer's prescription is undoubtedly a sound one, but I am not very hopeful that it will appeal to the political witch-doctors who are now so influential in Washington. As a nation we don't seem to be making much headway in disentangling ourselves from the contradictions of capitalism. For their part, the Russians appear to be deeply enmeshed in the parallel contradictions of communism, as this volume shows. In both worlds internal pressures of the kind that find an eventual outlet in external adventures are accumulating. Thus even the very restrained optimism of Mr. Fischer's conclusion, that within a generation an uneasy truce may be converted into real peace, has an air of wishful thinking.

KEITH HUTCHISON

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
EDGAR SNOW
CARLOS P. ROMULO

recommend

BREAD and RICE

by DORIS RUBENS

a Personal History in the Vincent Sheean tradition of high adventure in China and the Philippines

EAST & WEST ASSOCIATION
SELECTION

\$3.00 at all bookstores

THURSTON MACAULEY Associates
Distributors:

Arco, 480 Lexington Ave., New York 17

Dangerous Radical

HANNAH MORE AND HER CIRCLE. By Mary Alden Hopkins. Longmans, Green and Company. \$3.50.

IF LYTTON STRACHEY had ever written an "Eminent Georgians," Hannah More would almost certainly have been one of his subjects. She was energetic enough to be entertaining, she complacently exhibited all those traits of her time which now seem quaintly absurd, and she fell short of real greatness by just far enough to avoid shaming the mocker. Miss Hopkins's conscientious and pleasant biography is only at moments Stracheyesque, but it does strike a nice balance between genuine affection for a "good woman" and amused wonder at the limitations which seem so much more obvious to us than they did to her contemporaries.

Like Fanny Burney and Mrs. Thrale—neither of whom, by the way, she seems particularly to have cared for—Hannah More began as a pert young thing who preferred the attentions of older men to those of contemporary beaux and who was capable of amusing the former by playing at being a wit, at least as successfully as a dog walks on its hind legs. David Garrick was her special patron, as Dr. Johnson was that of the other two ladies, and like those ladies, she survived into a generation to which the members of the Club were only a legend. Rather more successfully than the other two, however, she managed to go ahead on her own steam. The bluestocking who had even risen to the height of writing a performed tragedy and having a poem printed at Strawberry Hill became the founder of Sunday Schools and the eager, priggish composer of improving pamphlets for the poor which set the tone of that sort of writing for at least three-quarters of a century.

Mrs. Thrale, though a charitable woman herself, could never forgive Dr. Johnson the fact that he not only pitied the poor but seemed actually to have a sort of fellow-feeling for them and would not consider them a separate race of creatures. This was an error of which Hannah More was never guilty. The older she grew, the more methodistical was her disapproval of the pomps and

vanities of this wicked world, including the theater, for which she had once written and of which her best friend had been a great ornament. To some extent Garrick's influence was replaced by that of the Reverend John Newton, the reformed though still terrifying ex-slave-trader who is sometimes credited with having helped scare William Cowper out of his wits. But she never supposed that the lower classes should be given anything not appropriate to their station and merely differed from other respectable people in believing that an ability to read the Bible was not inappropriate. It is true, of course, that she would probably never have got as far as she did get had she been any more advanced than she was—and she was widely regarded as a dangerous radical—but it is not to be supposed that what seems to us her conservatism was by any means merely a matter of tactics. "She acquiesced," Miss Hopkins says, "in the prevailing middle- and upper-class view that rigid social distinction was God's own benevolent plan and that it was therefore wrong for the poor to try to raise themselves to higher economic or social levels by means of workers' unions or by efforts to change laws which bore harshly upon them."

At her first Sunday Schools children were taught to read the Bible, and only the most gifted learned to write. But they were also given annual presents of clothes, provided with a gingerbread treat every six or eight weeks, and in deference to the prevailing parental opinion that children should not be expected to go through the labor of learning without being paid, given a penny for each four successive Sundays of attendance. She bore patiently with the fact that the poor were not always as grateful as they should have been, and even if it is true, as Miss Hopkins says, that her writings betray the widespread anxiety that the laboring class might get out of hand and that it was part of her plan to make laborers "physically comfortable by showing them how to utilize what they had, and submissive by teaching them that joy in heaven was recompense for deprivation on earth," there is no reason for supposing that there was anything sly or consciously hypocritical in her plans. A woman who could comment admiringly on the fact that at Mr. Garrick's table she had never

met a member of his own profession was not one to whom all ironies were patent.

If Miss Hopkins's book has a serious fault, it is that the author is in some ways almost too modest. She can on occasion turn a very neat phrase, and it seems a pity that she is less anxious to cultivate this talent than to aim at a sometimes academic sobriety. In any event, however, the selected facts are here on the basis of which opposing theorists can draw their own conclusions. There is no doubt that Miss More did much to "improve the condition of the poor," and if, to the radical, she will seem typical of those liberals whose humanitarianism is merely a desire to protect their own privileges, the more detached observer will remark that, as is so often the case, her reforms went a good deal farther than she ever intended. "Though the leaders designed the instruction to teach the working class to be obedient to their betters, it is not clear that this was the result. Children who could read the Bible could later read Tom Paine and Wilkes, and many did." Indeed, your real conservative may reach the conclusion that con-

servatives have been right all along and that Hannah's Sunday Schools should have been nipped in the bud. Maybe the Bolshevik menace really began when farm children were taught to read the Scriptures. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

France's Dark Night

THE REPUBLIC OF SILENCE. Compiled and Edited by A. J. Liebling. Translated by Ramon Guthrie. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.

THREE SHORT NOVELS. By Vercors. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.

MOVED by a strong sentimental attachment for France and an intense dislike—for the old French textbooks drawn from Alphonse Daudet's stories, A. J. Liebling came back from the war to make a living text based on recent French history. He had the help of Eugene J. Sheffer of Columbia, and the lively book they produced, full of extracts from French underground publications, has already had a deservedly successful career in high schools and colleges. Now the book appears in a trade edition with the French passages by Vercors, Pozner, Decour, Kessel, and

so on translated by a Dartmouth professor as no college student could do. What this will do for the class edition can only be guessed.

The best writings to have come out of France's dark night are already widely known, but we are grateful to Mr. Liebling for preserving often signed bits from the resistance press that record the heroic day-to-day struggle of the unions, the peasants, and the professions against the heartless, stupid invader. The whole story is here, from the fall of France to the liberation, with its hostages, executions, reprisals, tortures, and mass atrocities. Intended as an appendix to history rather than a literary anthology, this book constitutes excellent reporting. In Africa, in London, in Normandy A. J. Liebling had his eyes open for the significant page in a mimeographed or badly printed clandestine newsheet as well as for the telling incident and picturesque detail. The latter he has incorporated into his own running commentary, written in the style now so familiar in the pages of the *New Yorker*, bristling with irreverence and irrelevance, always colorful and memorable.



A NEW GENERATION OPENS ITS HEART TO YOU IN THIS NOVEL OF LOVE AND SELF-DISCOVERY

In the crisp, sometimes shocking language of youth, Leslie Waller tells the story of a love that found itself. It's a romance as modern as the hope for one world, with a conflict as ancient as hate...

Wally met Fran in the midwestern town near his army camp. But their love had tough going in its noise and cheapness and dirt. It was the sort of town that did something to the kids who crowded the streets and bars, something that made them and unhappy. But

for Fran and Wally it became something else—for him, a testing ground for new-found beliefs, for her, a mirror revealing the emptiness of her life.

How they found their way, together, out of its shabby hopelessness is a story as straightforward as soldiers' slang, and as tender and moving as a letter to the girl back home. It's a big story and a young story, filled with the priceless hope of a generation that refuses to be lost.

Show Me the Way

by LESLIE WALLER

THE VIKING PRESS

At all booksellers

\$3.00

Such a record ought to shake our complacency. When it comes to literature, however, only a few of the names cited by Mr. Liebling deserve to survive. High among those stands that of Vercors, the name of the high plateau above Grenoble which the artist Jean Bruller prophetically borrowed long before it became synonymous with one of the bravest *maquis* and one of the most desperate battles of the war. By now everyone knows the story of how Vercors, who had not before written for publication, was moved by indignation to compose a subtle masterpiece entitled "The Silence of the Sea" and then to found a clandestine publishing house to print it in late 1942. It was this little tale, variously attributed under its pseudonym to all the great writers of France, that launched the clandestine literature that was to flow from several secret presses—but chiefly from Vercors's Midnight Editions—until we entered Paris. But many Americans do not yet know that Vercors has preserved his new identity and gone on writing.

Probably no other French writer was more deeply marked than Vercors by the occupation years which revealed him to himself. All his writings to date are concerned with the psychology of the underground worker and the political prisoner. Like most of the existentialist writers, he is tormented by problems of liberty, responsibility, and commitment. But there the resemblance ends, for Vercors has a more vivid sense of character and dramatization than they.

The heartbreaking tales contained in his "Three Short Novels"—at least one of which originally appeared in clandestinity as he and his friends would say—are typical. The first one, "Guiding Star," is the now famous "Marche à l'étoile," in which the star, symbolic of the faith and hope that draws a Moravian Jew across Europe to the land of liberty, is eventually sewed on Thomas Muritz's sleeve in yellow before his arrest as a hostage. It is characteristic of Vercors that the murder of that man's faith strikes us as more horrible than his actual execution. Similarly in the second tale—which has recently been reissued in France with the addition of a few sentences to attenuate the final despair and a new title that would translate as "The Weapons of Night"—

the real horror lies less in any single act than in the systematic slaughter of a man's soul in a concentration camp. For cumulative effect it might have been preferable to publish this tale last, after "The Verdun Press," whose impact is somewhat less intense. But in each of these three gems of narration the simple, direct language coupled with the subtle technique and the sustained suspense reminds one of Maupassant at his best.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Hindus on the Czechs

THE BRIGHT PASSAGE. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

IN THE days of Czechoslovakia's greatest debasement, during and after the Munich crisis, Maurice Hindus was my hotel neighbor in Prague. No one in the United States understands the Slav soul as Hindus does, and in those fateful days his emotional but absolutely honest spirit suffered with and for the Czechs. Since then he has spent nine years in conscientious search and research into the Czech problem. The results are set forth in "The Bright Passage," which contains an answer to the question why Communist-ruled Czechoslovakia has taken a course different from that of Communist Russia.

"Czechoslovakia is both paradox and hope," writes Hindus. "It is paradox because history . . . conspired to make [it the] supreme testing ground for the massive struggle of ideas which has long been moving mankind. It is hope because its people may meet the test. If they do, they will achieve reconciliation between the Western ideas of individual liberty and the newer ideas of collective effort and individual security which Russia has been championing."

But Hindus adds a sober qualification: "Not that the Czechs are actuated by a messianic complex and are spilling over with fervor to rescue mankind from the dilemmas in which it is enmeshed. They are too prosaic and too hard-boiled a people to cherish any illusions of grandeur or to imagine themselves savior of anybody but themselves."

Throughout the book Hindus, with his tremendous knowledge of the Slavs and his feeling for them, shows clearly the difference between Russians and Czechs. "In appraising the meaning and

scope of the Czech revolution," he writes, "it is well to emphasize the differences in the history, in the culture, in the temperament of the Russian and Czech peasantry." And certainly he is at his best when he is describing the Czech or the Slovak village. Maurice Hindus is himself a child of the soil. His picture of the Czech peasant in "The Bright Passage" is as authentic as his picture of the Russian peasant in "Humanity Uprooted." "To ignore the differences [between Russian and Czech peasants] would falsify the event, especially in these turbulent times when the very word revolution conjures forth in so many a reader the picture of all the worst that has happened in Russia since the advent of Sovietism, and impels him to associate with it any and all revolutionary situations in other countries."

The book contains a store of information about post-war Czechoslovakia. There is an interesting, though somewhat confused, chapter about the important Bata shoe works in Zlin, once the counterpart in Europe of a Ford enterprise, today a nationalized factory; a vivid thumbnail sketch of the Gestapo monster who freely described Nazi cruelties; a picture of a village priest who participated in the underground and in whose rooms the many pictures of the Madonna and the saints share a place with photographs of Masaryk, Benes—and Stalin.

Hindus takes us to a remote Moravian village to acquaint us with Czechoslovakia's great recluse poet, Peter Zezruc; another excellent passage describes Jaromir Vejvoda, composer of the famous war-time song, "Roll Out the Barrel." Powerful, and typical of Hindus, is the description of the ancient city of Tabor, from which the Hussite leaders began their crusade.

More the poet than the journalist, Hindus is less successful when he tries to analyze the roots of the present revolution in Europe and Czechoslovakia or to explain the new economic order. He quotes copiously from the speeches and writings of Czech Communist leaders without seeming to realize that Communist words and action are not always congruous. His zeal sometimes carries him too far, but his book catches the Czech atmosphere very well, and it is rich in enlightening anecdotes. The writing is as genuine as the Czech soil

itself. The book is to be recommended to all who desire to understand Czechoslovakia, its precarious position between East and West, its people, and its new republic.

M. W. FODOR

Abstraction and Actuality

THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF JOHN AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited and with an Introduction by Adrienne Koch and William Peden. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.50.

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND DEMOCRACY. By Joseph A. Schumpeter. (Second edition.) Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

ONE reason that "liberalism" carries decreasing conviction is that it has moved too far away from any foundation in actuality. The "liberal" analysis today is predominantly wishful, sentimental, rhetorical. Communism and fascism are serious in the sense that they correspond to basic human needs and tensions; but the gap has widened steadily between the sentimental abstractions of liberalism and the savage complexities of life. The facts included in any current liberal theory are usually so carefully selected that the concrete situation, which very likely turns on a set of facts rejected by the canon, may well fly off in the opposite direction. Nor has the liberal addition to wishful formulas been much impaired by the regular collapse of these formulas before the importunities of history.

The susceptibility to wishfulness comes basically, no doubt, from the view of man as a creature of reason and benevolence whose shortcomings will be redeemed by the inevitabilities of progress. There is, however, a contributing cause for liberal sentimentality and one especially important in the United States: that is, it is the reflex of the sentimentality of conservatism. As an expression of protest, liberalism can hardly escape the imprint of the philosophy it attacks. Where that philosophy is intelligent, vigorous, and detailed, the reaction against it is likely to be intelligent, vigorous, and detailed too. But American conservatism has been an intellectual failure. In failing, it has dragged American liberalism down with it.

The admirable volume of "The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams," edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden, is a sharp reminder that conservatism in this country had honest and sturdy beginnings. The Federalists were men of intellectual force and candor. Their ideas were founded solidly on a realistic picture of social conflicts, and they did not shrink from following out the implications of these ideas. Alexander Hamilton, Fisher Ames, John Adams had a sinewy and robust political philosophy, whose abstractions corresponded to actuality a good deal more than they falsified it.

The serious opponents of Federalism were compelled to meet Federalist standards of intelligence and honesty. John Adams's shrewd and testy "Defense of the Constitutions . . . of the United States" thus provoked John Taylor of Caroline's brilliant reply in his "Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States," which in turn provoked Adams's series of letters to Taylor. Political controversy has never been at a higher level in this country. One shudders to think what Jefferson's writing would have been like if the unrelenting realism of the Hamiltonians had not constrained him from indulging his vast weakness for rhetoric and sentimentality. He would have been indistinguishable from Henry Wallace.

The Koch-Peden introduction sets forth with ability and sympathy the elder Adams's staunch conservatism and the far-ranging and courageous vision of the son. The pity is that this original tough-mindedness soon confronted American conservatives with a dilemma that resulted in intellectual disaster. If they accepted a class theory of society, they had to accept the possibility that this theory might have radical as well as conservative implications. The triumph of other classes during Jackson's Presidency thus terrified them into dropping the whole theory of class conflict. From that period arose the miscellany of conciliatory slogans under which the American business community has ever since concealed its ideas—or, rather, its confusion—about the nature of American politics.

It probably does credit to American liberals that they have not fallen so low as their opponents. It is easier to

On Science, Scientists, and Industry

THE ENGINEER IN SOCIETY

By John Mills

If engineers and scientists could make the world over—what would our lives be like? Would we be free of ignorance, superstition, hatred? Here is John Mills' searching study of the engineer's position in today's society—and of his tremendous role in the future as the hope of our civilization.

Second Printing

\$2.50

BUNA RUBBER THE BIRTH of an INDUSTRY

by Frank A. Howard

"The history it narrates comes from the pen of the one who knows more about that history than any living person." *

Here is the miracle story of synthetic rubber, told by the man who brought it from its beginnings in foreign patents and research, through its vital wartime service, to the present when it ranks as one of the greatest new factors in world trade. Mr. Howard's book relates an important chapter in the history and economics of our times.

Just Published

\$3.75

*DR. ROBERT A. MILLIKAN
Nobel Prize Winner in Physics

VAN NOSTRAND'S SCIENTIFIC ENCYCLOPEDIA

Van Nostrand's Scientific Encyclopedia is recognized as the most comprehensive reference work on science and its applications ever to appear in one volume.

Prepared by more than thirty-six leading scientists and professors, containing 1600 pages, 1500 illustrations and over 10,000 separate subjects from Aeronautics to Zoology—it is truly twenty books in one.

New Second Edition

\$12.00

at all Bookstores

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.

250 Fourth Avenue



New York 3, N. Y.

forgive Wallace, for example, when you realize that his main antagonist is not Hamilton but someone like Herbert Hoover or John Foster Dulles. In recent years, indeed, the intellectual stocks of the business community have been so watered that American conservatives have depended increasingly on imported talent, like Hayek and von Mises, to write their vindications.

Professor Schumpeter's "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy" will not, alas, restore wisdom on the right. Because it is the work of a complicated mind operating on a wide range of facts it fits into no obvious political category; and because it fits into no obvious-political category, it has not stimulated the National Association of Manufacturers into distributing fifty thousand copies. It burst into the generally sterile atmosphere of political discussion like a collection of firecrackers and sky-rockets. Liberals and conservatives alike can benefit by watching the display.

Schumpeter may be described briefly as a reactionary without illusions. He has no use for folklore—of liberalism or even of capitalism. "It is quite clear," he will write, "that perfect competition has at no time been more of a reality than it is at present," which is to say very little of a reality at all; and his whole theory of capitalist development—as a process of continual change, fueled by the introduction of new goods, new methods of production, new forms of industrial organization—is a world away from the static conceptions of the official apologists, like Hazlitt or Hayek, or of the official foes. "The problem

that is usually being visualized," he says, "is how capitalism administers existing structures, whereas the relevant problem is how it creates and destroys them."

Is capitalism on its way out? Schumpeter thinks it is. Not because of its failure, he writes, but because of the immensity of its success. Readers should not be distracted from his subtle analysis of the problem of capitalist survival by his weakness for paradox, by his lively internecine warfare with the Keynesians, or by his hatred of leftist rhetoric. The very success of capitalism, he argues, undermines the social institutions which protect it and creates conditions which block its working and in which it will finally not be able to live.

The great corporation, for example, socializes the bourgeois mind. It destroys the vitality in the idea of property; "the holder of the title loses the will to fight, economically, physically, politically, for 'his' factory and his control over it, to die if necessary on its steps." Soon there will be nobody left who will fight for property—"nobody within and nobody without the precincts of the big concerns." In the meantime, by virtue of the logic of its values, capitalism "creates, educates, and subsidizes a vested interest in social unrest." Capitalism thus relentlessly narrows the scope of capitalist motivation: "it will eventually kill the roots." The middle class folds up under direct attack. "The only explanation for the meekness we observe is that the bourgeois order no longer makes any sense to the bourgeoisie itself." In the end, capitalism itself tends to fulfil the technological, organizational, commercial, administrative, and psychological prerequisites of socialism.

What will replace capitalism? Like Marx, Schumpeter regards socialism as the natural heir. "Socialization," he writes, "means a stride beyond big business on the way that has been chalked out by it." Quite apart from the superiority of the Socialist blueprint, which he demonstrates by acute technical analysis, Schumpeter sees no insuperable obstacles to socialism in practice. Socialist management, he thinks, may conceivably prove as superior to big-business capitalism as big-business capitalism has been to competitive capitalism.

Will socialism be democratic? This discussion is less satisfactory, possibly because Schumpeter does not much care about democracy. He seems to feel that the electoral system may well endure as the most convenient way for dealing with the agenda that the Socialist order reserves for political decision. But he is more concerned with the need for restoring social discipline than with the need for expanding individual liberty. Indeed, one of the main conditions compelling the advance of socialism, he feels, is that it is the only way to discipline the workers and the intellectuals—groups which gained a dangerous amount of freedom under capitalism. He accordingly concludes that "there is little reason to believe that this socialism will mean the advent of the civilization of which orthodox Socialists dream. It is much more likely to present fascist features." (He does not, however, equate socialism and fascism.)

In addition to the general discussion the book contains a provocative account of Karl Marx and Marxism and a somewhat capricious historical sketch of Socialist parties. This second edition has a new chapter on the consequences of the Second World War.

Liberals should expose themselves to this important book for a number of reasons. "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy" is the performance of an intellectual virtuoso, brilliant, complex, perfectly controlled. Schumpeter has an architectonic sense of the flow and structure of an argument, of the panorama of logical possibilities and logical exclusions. His methodological sophistication is not the jargon-chopping of the sociologist; it goes to the heart of serious issues. Moreover, his arguments constitute a serious intellectual challenge. No one is likely to parrot again, for example, the Kilgore committee type of simplicities about cartels after studying Schumpeter on monopoly. Schumpeter is certainly not right either; but there is no percentage in dodging the uncomfortable points he raises. The intellectual rigor of his analysis sets a standard that liberal writers should try to meet.

Absence of intellectual rigor, fear of uncomfortable points have made liberals vulnerable too often in the past. In Military Intelligence the penalty for substituting wishfulness for objectivity

The April
HUMAN EVENTS PAMPHLET
**"AFTER THE YEARS
OF THE LOCUST"**

by Heinrich Hauser

The author of *The German Talks Back* again has something provocative and important to say about the Germans and their conquerors.

The Human Events Pamphlets
Published Monthly Single Copy 25¢
By Subscription \$2 a Year

HUMAN EVENTS ASSOCIATES
602 South Dearborn Street
Chicago 5, Illinois

is drastic and final. It is just as important in politics as in war to know your enemy—that is, to regard analysis as the dispassionate evaluation of enemy resources and capabilities and not the projection of your own hopes or anxieties. In the long run actuality endures: accept no substitutes. These volumes may both help in getting liberals off that diet of fantasy which has reduced their cause to its present spectral state.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Wallace Family

THE WALLACES OF IOWA. By Russell Lord. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5.

RUSSELL LORD'S book on the Wallace family is also a rich narrative of American agriculture over the last seventy years, a fascinating account of an era in which American farmers have struggled to make their adjustment to a swiftly growing industrialism. This is perhaps its most important contribution. It is a big book, smoothly and ably written, crowded with story and anecdote, and peopled with the men and women who have made modern American farm life: Tama Jim Wilson, David Fairchild, P. G. Holden, Gifford Pinchot, George Washington Carver, as well as those who made their impress during the New Deal.

The Middle West is the heart of American farming, and the Wallaces have had an important part in the shaping of modern agriculture. As Gifford Pinchot said, "The Wallace family is an institution." Closely knit, with strong family loyalties and principles, it has stood for agrarian reform, education, adjustment to the machine age, and scientific inquiry. As farmers, as journalists, especially through their own paper, *Wallaces' Farmer*, and as Secretaries of Agriculture, they have wielded a remarkable influence.

Thus the book is both a history and a biography in plan and intent. The assignment was a difficult one, but the author has carried it off with very real success. The Wallaces are interesting, controversial, and at times perplexing people, and the agricultural era in which they have lived has needed sorely this vivid personalized treatment.

The story begins with the first Henry Wallace. In some ways the portrait of

"Uncle Henry," as he was called by everyone, and the account of his years, which stretched from the bitter days of farm depression during the Populist movement to the golden era of agricultural prosperity just after 1900, is the most successful part of the book. Uncle Henry was apparently a lovable character, with an Irish heart and a Scotch conscience. Also Uncle Henry was a vocal Wallace, and the author contends that this characteristic appears in alternating generations. In the *Iowa Homestead* and later in *Wallaces' Farmer* he fought for fairer railroad rates, contended against the monopolies in barbed wire and farm implements, and voiced the progressive agrarian spirit of his day.

The pattern of progressivism set by Uncle Henry was followed by both his son and his grandson. But Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture under Harding, after a successful career as a teacher at Ames and as business manager of *Wallaces' Farmer*, found the decade of the 1920's tough going for his agrarian views and political philosophy. As farmers and farm journalists the Wallaces, though otherwise good Republicans, had always questioned a rising tariff, but Harry Wallace went to Washington in an era of unprecedented farm depression—and the Hawley-Smoot tariff. The odds were definitely against him and against American farmers, and his story ends on a tragic note. He died in office in 1924.

A full half of "The Wallaces of Iowa" is devoted to Henry A. Wallace and the complex agricultural problems of the thirties. Since this section deals with more recent history, objectivity was less easy to achieve, but Mr. Lord has analyzed with care and detail and relative objectivity the whole New Deal approach to the farm problem and the part played by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The book makes it clear, among other things, that the last decade marked a new and perhaps more enlightened approach to the modern agricultural problem in America, and Mr. Lord has done a service in illuminating further the farm situation of our period. He has not told the whole story by any means, but his account tends to balance a too great concentration upon urban-industrial problems by portraying some of our deep-rooted rural and agricultural values.

P. ALSTON WARING

The author of *Moscow War Diary* and *Leningrad* writes an eye-witness chronicle of the months that transformed the U.S.S.R. into a great world power.

THE YEAR OF STALIN-GRAD

by Alexander Werth

The Year of Stalingrad begins with the hour-by-hour chronicle of an embattled convoy on the Murmansk run—the convoy in which Mr. Werth travelled in May, 1942. The narrative covers the German summer offensive, the narrowing fight for Stalingrad and the Volga crossings, the secret preparation and launching of the great twin counter-offensives, and the final liquidation of Von Paulus's 330,000.

The description of the campaign in its broader outlines has the graphic quality of a map in motion. Yet the broader outlines never obscure the human details—achievements of platoon and individual soldier, endurance of horrors by overrun village and single family, the special craft of guerrilla warfare—the flavor of life that only anecdote can convey. Thus the book is more than a contemporary journal, more than a history of a decisive military campaign. It is a fascinating panorama of one of the dramatic crises of modern history.

475 pages; 5 maps. \$6.00

At all bookshops

ALFRED • A • KNOPF
Publisher, New York

The Aftermath

THE NUERNBERG CASE. By Robert H. Jackson. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

FINAL JUDGMENT. By Victor Bernstein. Boni and Gaer. \$3.50.

DE FENSE by counsel is part of a fair trial. The judgment, however, should not rest on anything but its own motivation. Therefore the defense of the Nürnberg trial by the President of the United States and a former Secretary of War confirmed rather than disproved the criticism of its legal foundations. This criticism, we are told by a distinguished attorney, "threw around a mass of legalisms, usually in Latin." The critic of the critics appears to be unaware that all law in Western civilization originates from Graeco-Roman "legalism" and fails to note that criticism of the Nürnberg procedure took exception to its disregard of such principles, for example, as that "*nullum crimen sine lege praevia*" (there is no crime without an antecedent law) and that individual guilt is the premise of criminal responsibility.

These principles have been established slowly and with difficulty over a long period of time. They have become, through the efforts of Abbé Beccaria, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Bentham, and others, the common property of the civilized sections of mankind. Their preservation is much more important than the punishment of the Nürnberg defendants.

"An honestly defensive war," we are told by Justice Jackson, "is of course

legal and saves those lawfully conducting it from criminality." A precedent having been set—so the Nürnberg apologists believe—what might we expect in another war with the tables turned? The victor will certainly call the war "honestly defensive," but what kind of law and justice is it of which the existence depends on who wins a war?

Neither the "highly respected systems of jurisprudence" in Ethiopia, Haiti, Honduras, and elsewhere nor the strenuous efforts of Justice Jackson, who apparently knows Ethiopian law better than I do, suffice to meet the basic objections to what has been called the Nürnberg novelty. This book, the third to be published in defense of the trial, contains, in addition to the opening and closing statements by the United States prosecutor, some interesting excerpts from the cross-examination of Göring, Schacht, Speer, and Milch. Once more the objection to *ex post facto* law is rebutted by reference to the Briand-Kellogg Pact, the Geneva Protocol, the Pan-American Conference, and similar manifestations of wishful thinking. It is possible to hold individuals responsible for crimes violating the rules of international law, but nothing justifies the assumption that the individual should enjoy less protection than he does when he is prosecuted for a crime under national law.

By reference to American, English, French, and even German law on conspiracy the author attempts to establish the responsibility of the Gestapo, the S. S., and other Nazi organizations. The law on conspiracy, we are told, is "well settled and fairly uniform in all systems of law." However, the very gist of the crime of conspiracy "is liability for acts . . . abetted." This analysis somehow overlooks an essential element of crime, the consciousness of guilt, the *mens rea*—pardon me for the Latin tag. Non-active members of a conspiracy are guilty only if they know what crimes their membership is going to facilitate. No matter what atrocious bestialities some members of these Nazi organizations committed, who would dare to assume that the many hundred thousands who joined the S. S. were not only conscious of a common plan to employ "illegal methods" or to accomplish "illegal ends" but were aware of crimes which their fellow-members committed. A society cannot commit a crime.

Our ethical ideas are diametrically opposed to Nazism, but for that very reason we must insist on the concept of guilt, which is a link connecting law with justice and morality. Starting from indiscriminate tribal revenge it took thousands of years for mankind to recognize that without consciousness of individual guilt, punishment makes no sense. Unlike "the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not," our law does alter, but nothing can justify its relapse into its primitive stage.

Whether the relapse has indeed set a precedent is doubtful. At least the rather personalized "fundamental information" about the Nürnberg trials has by no means disproved the case against the juridical fallacies of the Nürnberg novelty.

Victor Bernstein wisely refrains from either attacking or defending the legality of the trial. Instead, he gives us a brilliantly written historical account of the Nazi revolution and its consequences. We may occasionally disagree—for example, with the assumption that the revolution of 1918 aborted in the Weimar Republic instead of a German Soviet because the Allies never gave it a chance. But the sequence of events from the invasion of Germany by the "Brown Locusts" until the "Final Judgment" is pictured accurately and convincingly.

The Nazi war, the *Todesraum*, the "twentieth-century Calvary," the brutal plundering which overshadows the exploits of Genghis Khan—all of this as it is set forth in Mr. Bernstein's compendious and fascinating narrative impresses us as the most gigantic of crimes, but though history may be metaphorically called a crime, under the impact of enormity the legal concept of crime bursts. Now that the Nürnberg criminals have been executed or jailed, we may ask, "So what?" Not only did the trial not make the punishment fit the crime because it could not, but the short newspaper reports made little impress on the American and still less on the German public. The most important political case in history, cloaked as it was in the garb of the law, failed to stand forth in its outrageous enormity. Bernstein's story masterfully makes up for this omission, and it should be read not only by every American, as Mr. Shirer suggests, but by every civilized human being who has not entirely lost his faith in the future of mankind.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FOOD SHIPPED OVERSEAS

Send food any place in the world to your friends and relatives. Delivery guaranteed. Your name marked on parcels as sender. Certificate of mailing sent you for each package. All merchandise guaranteed highest quality obtainable.

Honey, 1 lb. tin

Milk Chocolate, 1 lb.
(12 bars 1½ oz. each)

Tea, ½ lb.

Cheese, 1 lb.

Bacon, 1½ lb.
sliced in tins

Lard, 1 lb. 6 oz.
vacuum tin

One can opener

Coffee, 1 lb.
vacuum tin

COMPLETE COST \$8.95

ADD FOR PARCEL "A"

Send check or money order to

ACE MAIL ORDER CO.

EXIT ORANGE 1, NEW JERSEY

Dostoevsky's Huckleberry Finn

A *RAW YOUTH*. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. Introduction by Alfred Kazin. The Dial Press. \$3.50.

FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY. By J. A. T. Lloyd. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

NOW that the *vérités secrètes*—André Gide's term—that were this man's most marvelous province are the only ones that will save us, and we are as befuddled about the Russians as about ourselves, and have begun to be acquainted with the idea of despair, Dostoevsky is a necessity. This was not generally true before in this country; we were perhaps not as soulless and sinless and uninteresting as Dostoevsky himself thought, but whatever the reasons, and they are various, it is a fact that there has been no major American criticism concerning him, and no leading novelist here has expressed any debt or tribute to him to put beside the studies of Gide, Thomas Mann, or Hermann Hesse. Dreiser may have been closer to him than Henry James, which only illustrates the point. But now, without entering into the perennial argument on his stature versus Tolstoy's, I believe that of all novelists Dostoevsky is the one we can least afford to do without, if only because no one else has ever made so large and genial a use of the ultimate, nightmare vocabulary that is beginning to mark our speech. It is therefore a matter of gratitude that the serious gaps both in translations of his work and in information about him easily available in English are finally being filled. One is glad to read even so unassuming a biography as this English one by J. A. T. Lloyd, which has value chiefly as a convenient reference book, and even more so, in spite of the introduction and the ugly job of printing, for the reappearance of the Constance Garnett translation of "The Raw Youth."

This novel, drawn even more than "The Brothers Karamazov," which followed it, from Dostoevsky's notes for the Life of a Great Sinner, has always been the least known of his longer works, and with cause. Its basic story is of the illegitimate youth Arkady, whose grim pursuit of an *idée fixe*, to become a Rothschild, is interrupted by his passionate and ambivalent search for, actually his need to define, his father

Versilov—a theme of fine possibilities, some of which are fully realized; but unfortunately this central tension is not up to the elaborate and sometimes hectic dissipations of the plot. A few of the characters, including Katerina Ahmakov, the object of both Arkady's and his father's passion, remain sketchy, even a trifle schematic, which is the rarest of faults in Dostoevsky; the detective approach to some important elements of the story detracts from their force and clarity; and toward the end even the theme of the split personality, the "double," which better than anything else illustrates the nature of this artist's thought and which he used so powerfully elsewhere, becomes monotonous and in one scene, that of the breaking of the ikon, rather stagy. This is not the "formlessness" that is so often attributed to Dostoevsky. Mr. Lloyd is to be commended, I think, for refuting that facile charge, referring to the novelist's mode as rather "lucidity in confusion"; certainly no master of form ever worked a mass of contradictory material into a more perfectly balanced piece of writing than "The Eternal Husband." But this book does tend to pull the reader in too many directions, and it also hovers too much around the fascinating and yet strangely insufficient character of Versilov, who while seeming always a claimant for a place in the boldest reaches of Dostoevsky's thought, never quite arrives there and is finally resolved, like a poor relation of Stavrogin, in a scene of strained and unconvincing melodrama.

Mr. Kazin in his introduction to the book takes the opposite view of this point, maintaining that the true "hero" of the novel is not the youth but the father, Versilov, whom he calls "one of the subtlest creations in all Dostoevsky's works," and finds effective precisely because he is "out of life," that is, because his violently torn personality does not lead him into the violent illegalities that characterize the novelist's other great heroes. Aside from overlooking the fact that Versilov does attempt to commit murder, I believe that this argument misses Dostoevsky's essential meanings as shown in Arkady, in whom the typical themes of humiliation, the search for suffering, and even the ambivalence of all thought and feeling are so much more cruelly portrayed. Mr. Kazin's

point, however, is at least more tenable than the rest of his oddly smug, shallow, and generally misleading piece of criticism, which is worth mentioning only because its clumsy sociological touch may perhaps be damaging a little-known book of serious value. The "double" in Dostoevsky, Mr. Kazin tells us, is "a degenerating citizen . . . who has been split on the anvil of materialism in the nineteenth century"—which leads one to some interesting reflections on Hamlet; and in connection with Versilov he remarks that "in his uprootedness Dostoevsky has shown again the great posi-

A book is known by the company it keeps

These are some of the outstanding Americans who urge you to read *TREASON'S PEACE* by Howard Watson Ambruster.

Treason's Peace

Edward Ansell Mower, Walter Winchell, John Roy Carlson, Norman Littell, Rep. John Coffee, Rep. Jerry Voorhis, Charles Van Devander, James A. Wechsler, A. L. Pomerantz, Sen. Harley Kilgore, Russ Nixon, L. M. Birkhead, James Sheldon.

Treason's Peace

tells how two World Wars were bought and paid for. It is the definitive story of the I. G. Farben conspiracy inside America. It names names. It lists 249 American corporations, business men and public officials who profited from I. G. Farben tie-ups.

At your bookstore \$3.75

A Crossroads Press Book

BEECHHURST PRESS, Inc.

296 Broadway, New York 7

tive [sic] side of his philosophy: his vision of men in the modern world lying like broken instruments on the ground." And so on.

That Dostoevsky's characters are rarely "broken" is of course due in part to the extraordinary buoyancy, or toughness as Mr. Lloyd rightly calls it, that he injected into them, drawing as much from himself in this as in the great intellectual adventures that he projected. It has to do also with the "positive side of his philosophy," beautifully exemplified in this book by Arkady's legal father, the peasant pilgrim Makar Ivanovich, from whom comes redemption for those who have wronged him, and who in his role of second father gives its true pattern and perspective to the father-and-son theme, of which Mr. Kazin has grasped only the most obvious, one should perhaps say the most Western, aspect. But there is another element that relates perhaps still more essentially to that great quality of *survival* that one finds everywhere in Dostoevsky, and to the greatness, for all its faults, of "The Raw Youth." That is what Gide, speaking of the novelist's almost miraculous probing of human inconsistency, called the "integral complexity" of his thought. No passion is exclusive, no character is simply what he appears, no thought—and there are passages of extreme political pertinence—fails to suggest its opposite; even a lie is not what the Anglo-Saxon mind thinks it should be. "My dear boy," Versilov says, "we must always let a man lie a little. It's quite innocent. Indeed, we may let him lie a great deal. In the first place, it will show our delicacy, and secondly, people will let us lie in return . . . two immense advantages at once. *Que diable!* One must love one's neighbor. But it's time for me to be off."

And yet Arkady, in whom all the contradictions rage, and who in his pride and humiliations stems directly from the horrors of "Notes from Underground," is also capable of the most infectious outbursts of joy and trust, and it is he who gives these farthest

limits of truth-telling an appeal that is unique among Dostoevsky's works. The author's great comic gift is less in evidence here than in some of his other writings, but Arkady nevertheless, one finds oneself thinking half soberly, is Dostoevsky's Huckleberry Finn.

ELEANOR CLARK

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ACCORDING to his most recent biographer, Lewis Carroll was once thrown into a dither by a request for permission to present a dramatization of "Alice in Wonderland" at a church benefit. On the one hand, he had a guilty love for the theater; on the other hand, he was quite sure that official religion should not sponsor so dubious a diversion; and on the third hand—there are probably three in Wonderland—he certainly did not want to prevent a worthy cause from raising money. The dilemma was finally solved by his giving his permission on the condition that the public should not be informed that he had given it.

The incident suggests that neurotic welter of conflict and prudery out of which "Alice" grew and also the fact that few of literature's many neurotics ever succeed so well as Lewis Carroll did in making neuroticism generate a fantasy almost continuously gay, only slightly and fleetingly touched by any suggestion of terror or distress. It provides, moreover, occasion to remark that one of the minor incidents in that reward to which we hope he has gone must be the contemplation of the dramatization of his two masterpieces which the American Repertory Theater is sponsoring at the International. His permission was not asked, but it is hard to imagine that he could do other than approve, for it is equally hard to imagine how the thing could be better done. The version is astonishingly faithful to text and spirit; Bambi Linn—she who danced in "Oklahoma" and "Carousel"—is a little girl both sprightly enough and innocent enough to satisfy even the bachelor author whose connoisseurship in the matter of little girls makes the noses of Freudians quiver whenever they think of it; and all the other members of the very large cast seem nearly perfect.

The version is said to be the same as that presented some years ago at the

Civic Repertory Theater, but unless memory deceives me the present production is considerably more elaborate, and sparkling—it must, to put baldly, have cost a good deal more, and the money was well spent. The are delightfully fanciful back drop some very amusing musical accompaniments, and an amazing variety of devices. Thus, for example, the little pig into which the bawling baby finally turns is a real little pig, while the Cheshire cat who appears and disappears is merely painted on a drop illuminate from behind. Eva Le Gallienne—wh by the way, has never been better—plays the White Queen in nothing more than an elaborate make-up, which matches that of Margaret Webster as the Red Queen. But the Ugly Duchess, on the other hand, gets a marvelous effect by the use of mountains of putty; the Dodo, Humpty Dumpty, and others are presented by means of delightful constructions credited to Remo Bufano while the whole Walrus and Carpenter episode is stunningly interpreted by life-sized puppets. The result is a wonderful variety, and it prevents any hint of the monotony which the persistent use of any one device would have been sure to produce; at the same time some unity of effect is nevertheless achieved. In general the method is, of course, that of make-believe rather than illusion, and it is interesting to imagine how different the movie version once planned by Walt Disney would have been, since the movies can and do produce illusion. But it is by no means certain that in the end make-believe is not here the better method.

Being myself one of the many who tend to make something of a cult of "Alice," I was very much on the alert to discover what was lost and what was gained in theatrical translation. Wisely, perhaps, quite a little of the merely verbal is either abbreviated or eliminated, and in the process there is a real loss. But there is one aspect of "Alice," namely, the faint suggestion of dream terror, which seems to me to come over better than it ever has for me in the reading. Psychologists have commented on it, and, indeed, a few years ago one very solemn one advised parents to spare their children the distressing experience and complained especially of what he called "an ever-present threat to the integrity of the body" expressed not only in all those "off with his head" orders, but also in Alice's inability to stay the same size. Alice herself does protest fretfully about the way in which

GIFT PACKAGE

Attractively wrapped gift package consisting of current best-selling novel, 11 ounce tin of imported candies, and pack of fine quality playing cards—ideal gift for convalescent, birthday or any occasion. Saves shopping—lasts longer than flowers. Sent postpaid anywhere in U. S. for \$5 with appropriate gift card bearing your name. Order now. Specify Assortment 9.

Mary Hunter, 1310 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill.

the beasts order her around, but I never felt so strongly before the veiled threat of the fantastic creatures who surround her or the faint, uneasy suspicion that anyone of them or all of them together might at any moment turn definitely hostile. And though the overtone of anxiety is never more than faint, it does contribute a definite dramatic value.

When I reviewed the last previous production of the American Repertory Theater I complained that too few of its offerings had been conspicuous for either passion on the one hand or gaiety on the other. I do not mean to suggest that they should all be like "Alice in Wonderland," but I do think it is an example of the kind of thing which a public will attend for delight rather than merely out of a sense of duty.

Films

JAMES
AGEE

WHEN he made "Alexander Nevsky," Sergei Eisenstein deprived himself of practically everything that had been most wonderful in his original style and developed a new and less exciting one—a kind of speeded-up, fluent, basically operatic style which was like watching a handsome, well-organized funeral cortège carry his free genius to its grave at a cheerful forty miles an hour. Relatively conventional as the film was, it was also highly charged, in nearly every shot, with Eisenstein's unique blend of poetic, intellectual, and purely animal energy. In "Ivan the Terrible," Part I, Eisenstein has deprived himself even of the speed, flow, and shape which helped give "Nevsky" grace, and most of his peculiar energy has become cold, muscle-bound, and somber. Yet "Ivan" is a bolder, more adventurous, more interesting film; for a while I felt even more admiration for it than grief over it.

Eisenstein's theme is more deeply involved in an individual and his development, and is in many ways greater, than any he has undertaken before. It is a study, on a scale as ambitious anyhow as that of Shakespeare in his political plays—and more politically knowledgeable and incomparably hotter to handle—of an able man in whom two obsessions collide and become all but identical: love for an idea (his country's strength) and, however discreetly suggested, love of power for its own sake. It is a study of what such a fanatic becomes, given unprecedented power and

opportunity, under the impingement of constant danger, treachery, and intrigue. Ivan, as Eisenstein presents him, is a fair parallel to Stalin; but he is still more suggestively a symbol of the whole history of Russian communism. Eisenstein has, for Ivan, a magnificent looking actor, Cherkassov, who can handle the utmost grandiloquence of manner; he causes him to suggest some of the superhuman complexities of Stavrogin, and it may not be accidental that he makes him up with a chin and cranium which become ever more pointed, like John Barrymore as Mr. Hyde. He seems all but desperately absorbed in communicating political ideas and vindications, especially parallels to Stalin and his regime. Ivan's siege and defeat of Kazan, to choose one of the simpler examples, becomes an interesting text on dealing with a foreign enemy: while the enemy watches the army which threatens their walls, you tunnel beneath their city, roll in kegs of gunpowder, and blow it to kingdom come, meaning *your* kingdom. (It is made clear, moreover, that this stratagem is strictly Ivan's idea, that his lieutenants prefer the old-fashioned cavalry charge, and that his sappers never quite realize what they're up to.)

Eisenstein is very acute with his research, very excitable over architecture and decoration, costume and ritual, and very astute and forceful in his use of them. He is evidently much interested in finding out how little a movie can be made to move and yet move at all, and in giving each movement legendary grandeur—as in the marvelous shots, at once comic and sinister and full of glory, in which the kneeling Ivan's rising hands accept the orb and scepter. He goes boldly and successfully against naturalism and even simple likelihood: in his poisoning scene only opera singers could be so blind to what is happening in plain sight, and in one fine close-up Ivan's wife, his arch-enemy, and his treacherous best friend huddle their heads into the intimacy of one frame as they would never do in a court obsessed with intrigue and suspicion. Depriving himself of a good 99 per cent of all he believes in and is capable of as a cutter, Eisenstein nevertheless demonstrates what exquisiteness and power can be accomplished, even conventionally, by rhythm and series alone. The film is already famous for its lavish use of prodigious close-ups and of exorbitance in gesture and in facial expression, and I would like to make a particularly unprintable gesture

toward those who can feel that in his use of these one of the most sophisticated artists of the twentieth century has been naive.

I have only faintly suggested a few of the things about "Ivan," and behind it, which make the film fascinating to watch; but I will have to move along. Interesting as the film is, the longer I reflect on it the unhappier I feel about it. I can't remember a foot of it which doesn't give evidence of a first-rate creative intelligence at work; but there is hardly a foot in which that intelligence is working on anything anywhere near sufficiently worthy of it. The picture is

MANY THOUSANDS

of the regular editions of these books were sold at \$1.75

NOW AVAILABLE—

For economical gifts to your friends who have not yet read these two great books—

The New Low Priced

Pocket Editions

H. G. Wells, CRUX ANSATA:

An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church.



Pocket Edition . . . 50c
Five copies for \$2.00
Per Hundred, \$30.00

L. H. Lehmann; BEHIND THE DICTATORS; A Fully Documented Analysis of Vatican-Fascist Collaboration.



Pocket Edition . . . 50c
Five copies for \$2.00
Per Hundred, \$30.00

These New POCKET EDITIONS are complete in every respect and contain, word for word, the same text as in the higher priced cloth bound editions. The purpose behind these NEW POCKET EDITIONS, at these extraordinarily low prices, is to encourage OUR friends to distribute them to THEIR FRIENDS.

These books should be in the hands of every American. We at Agora have done our part toward making this possible. The next step is YOURS.

AGORA PUBLISHING CO.

Dept. 451NA

120 Liberty St., New York 6, N. Y.

P.S.—The Regular Cloth Bound Editions of both these books are still available for your library, at \$1.75 each, or \$3.00 for the two books. Combination prices do not apply to the POCKET EDITIONS.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50

☐ with Consumers Union . . . \$9.75 You Save \$1.25

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . .

and Consumers Union . \$12.25 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself

☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14

☐ SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$4 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS:

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed

☐ Bill me

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

4-26-47

splendid to look at; yet there is little that is superior to, or much different from, Russian operatic and theatrical mannerisms which must have been over-rich and over-digested a generation ago. It is as if Picasso were to spend several years crowding all the sophistication that would fit within the conventions of nineteenth-century chromos. And considering the illusion Eisenstein manages to create of expressing many complex ideas, densely and continuously, it is remarkable how little actually gets expressed, and how commonplace most of it is.

I even have to wonder whether Eisenstein perversely or perforce intended this doubleness. I wonder, for that matter, whether he may not be split between a compulsion to choose the most dangerous theme possible, and virtual paralysis in its development: a paralysis which might be a natural effect of being unable, on pain of death, to say honestly, or even surreptitiously, what you really believe. There is a kind of frozen, katatonic deadness about the particular intensity and rigidity of style developed for this film—as if the intelligence, great as it is, could liberate only a very little of itself in the actual images of the film. The kind of liberation I mean occurs just twice in this picture, in the opening, coronation scene; a deacon's hair-raising intonation of a royal benediction (and his wonderful face as he sings), and the moment at which Eisenstein cuts from the ritualistic pouring of gold coins over the new Czar to the faces of young women, watching the sleeting gold and the monarch's tumescent face through it and blossoming into smiles of sexual delight. In their suddenness, beauty, and wildness, and in their ability to enrich the film with whole new trains of ideas and reactions, these two moments are of a different order from any others in "Ivan." They would have been memorable in any of Eisenstein's early films; but there, ideas as good swarmed and coruscated upon his new-found, new-crowned poetry as abundantly as the anointing storm of gold itself.

For years, as everyone knows, Eisenstein has been working as if in a prison, under the supervision of jailers who are not only peculiarly dangerous and merciless but also as sudden to change their minds as minnows their direction. It goes without saying that this has interfered monstrously with his work. Just how, and just how much it has shaped his work and his mind, I see no use whatever in trying to guess, for I fear

is impossible to guess how much he agrees with his jailers, even in their treatment of him, and how much, quite aside from that, his own nature may have been predisposed to this sort of ordering and change. No mind and spirit stand still, least of all the mind and spirit of a great artist. Even disquieting outside pressures, there is no guaranty that the development will be for the better, and heaven knows they cannot be discounted in Eisenstein's case. Everything that is meant by creative genius and its performance, and everything that that signifies about freedom and potentiality in general, is crucified in Eisenstein, more meaningfully, and abominably, than in any other man I can think of. I hardly know which seems the more tragic: the possibility that he is still essentially a free man, in his own master, doing the best he can under annihilating difficulties; or the possibility that he accepts the crucifixion and has even helped drive such nails as, in that predicament, he could manage.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

VIRGIL THOMSON will have it that "Pierre Monteux, who conducted his own orchestra, the San Francisco Symphony, last night in Carnegie Hall, is one of the greatest among living conductors," but that the orchestra's imperfections were somewhat exaggerated . . . by the unfamiliarity of the layers with Carnegie Hall's rather special acoustics," with the result that all the animated passages sounded last night . . . in spite of Mr. Monteux's admirable tempos and careful phrasing, a little rowdy." But the orchestra wasn't playing by itself and obliged to adjust itself to Carnegie Hall without guidance; it was playing under a man who had conducted orchestras in that hall for thirty years; and a great conductor could have been one who—if there had been no time for a hall rehearsal—would have been able to exercise the control over the orchestra necessary to adjust it to the hall at the concert. Moreover, in addition to the raucous sound of the performance of Respighi's atrocious *intermezzo orchestrale* of the *Bach Passacaglia* there were unprecise phrasing and the same lack of sense for correct tempos individually and in relation to each other that I found in his recent recorded performance of Brahms's second and in his performance of Mo-

zart's "Haffner" with the Philadelphia Orchestra a couple of seasons ago.

What brought me to the concert was Messiaen's "Ascension," which he describes as four "symphonic meditations." Messiaen's music in general, according to Thomson, is "a convincing synthesis of musical modernism with devotional piety . . . new, powerful, and good," and this particular work, "though not by any means its author's masterpiece, is pleasant music, easy to listen to and . . . easy to understand." Thomson may be right about other works of Messiaen that I haven't heard; but in this one I found no relation between the musical substance and the religious meanings of titles and subtitles, except the literal use of trumpet and cymbals where these instruments were mentioned in the quoted texts, and the wholly conventional use of high strings for the "celestial" effects of the concluding "Prayer of Christ Ascending to His Father"; and the musical substance I found mostly unpleasant, feeble, and boring.

Monteux conducted Stravinsky's "Sacre du printemps" at its world premiere in Paris in 1913; but Stravinsky himself recorded the work for Columbia a few years ago; and if one listens to Monteux's performance with the San Francisco Symphony in the new Victor set (1052; \$4.85) one finds it competent and effective; but if one compares it with the other one discovers that it lacks the sharp clarity and force of Stravinsky's performance. Nor is this merely because of the cloudy recorded sound of the Monteux performance, the sharp and clear recorded sound of the Stravinsky. Unfortunately the sound that is sharp and clear is also unpleasantly false in the way orchestral sound is in the American Columbia recordings of six or seven years back, whereas what is cloudy in the Victor recording is the agreeably natural sound of an orchestra; and so choice is difficult (I prefer the more effective performance in spite of its false sound). The surfaces of the Victor set are noisy.

In the performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 13 ("Pathétique") that Artur Schnabel has recorded for Victor (Set 1102; \$2.85) he weakens the slow introduction with the punch-pulling decrescendos that I described last week in Horowitz's playing; but except for occasional traces of this mannered, sentimentalizing style the performance of the rest of the sonata is good. It is also well-recorded; but surfaces are not quiet. Schnabel's style is right for Liszt's charming "Valse oubliée," but not for Schumann's "Vogel als Prophet"

on the reverse side of the single disc (10-1272; \$.75), the surfaces of which are extremely noisy.

Columbia has issued Mozart's Quartet in E flat (K. 493) for piano and strings, played by George Szell and members of the Budapest Quartet (Set 669; \$4). Compared with some others—the string quintets, for example—it is a work of lesser stature, but quite lovely; and the performance is very good. But after all these years Columbia still cannot produce something better than the dull recorded sound of the performance on a limited-range machine, its unpleasantly coarse and harsh recorded sound and the noisy surfaces on a wide-range machine.

The Columbia volume "A Night at Carnegie Hall" (Set 676; \$4) offers some of the music from the film "Carnegie Hall." The best things in it are Pinza's performances of the Serenade from "Don Giovanni" and the aria *Il lacerato spirito* from "Simon Boccanegra" with orchestral accompaniments; the worst is his breathless and shapeless performance of *Finch' han del vino* from "Don Giovanni" with a miserably inadequate piano accompaniment. Rise Stevens contributes a tremolo-ridden performance of the Seguidilla from "Carmen" and a better one of *Mon coeur s'ouvre à ta voix* from "Samson et Dalila." And Lily Pons does a crystal-clear performance of the Bell Song from "Lakmé."

CONTRIBUTORS

W. H. AUDEN, English poet and critic, is the author of several books of poetry. His collected verse was published in 1945.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN is editing and translating the "Journals of André Gide" for Alfred A. Knopf.

M. W. FODOR is author of "Plot and Counter-Plot in Central Europe."

P. ALSTON WARING is the author, with Clinton S. Golden, of "Soil and Steel," recently published.

THE SCIENTIST IN ACTION

by W. H. FODOR

A SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HIS METHODS

This book is for those who need to do ORIGINAL thinking. CLEAR thinking. THINKING WITH A PURPOSE. Helps you to DISCOVER ideas, tells you how to DEVELOP them! Explains clearly METHODS OF WORKING to get RESULTS.

H. G. WELLS Writes To The Author: "... I took up your book about a quarter to eight. At nine my parlour maid came to ask if I wanted any dinner tonight. It is now close on to midnight. But I realize now that your book is of the UTMOST IMPORTANCE and I feel tremendously lit up by it..."

Most respectfully yours, H. G. Wells

CHOICE of both BRITISH and AMERICAN EDITIONS

354 Pages • Price \$3.00 • Postage from 3-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE At All Bookstores, or from

Emerson Books, Inc., Dept. 870-C, 251 W. 19th St., N. Y. 11

MOTION PICTURES

CORNEL WILDE
MAUREEN O'HARA
in
"HOMESTRETCH"
IN TECHNICOLOR

A Twentieth Century-Fox Film
— PLUS —
BIG STAGE SHOW
HAZEL SCOTT HENNY YOUNGMAN
CARL RAVAZZA

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

CHARLES CHAPLIN
in
"Monsieur Verdoux"

Featuring **MARTHA RAYE**
and **ISOBEL ELSOM • MARILYN NASH • ROBERT LEWIS**
Written and Directed by **CHARLES CHAPLIN**
Associate Directors Robert Florey and Wheeler Dryden
Released Through United Artists

Continuous Perf. • Popular Prices • Doors Open 9:30 a.m.
BROADWAY THEATRE at 53rd Street

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by **GARSON KANIN**
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4258
Evening 8:40 Matinee Wednesday 3:40 Saturday 2:40

"A completely satisfying and enjoyable comedy."

—Chapman,
News

MAX GORDON Presents
FREDRIC FLORENCE
MARCH ELDREDGE "YEARS AGO"

The New Smash Hit by **RUTH GORDON**
Directed by **Garson Kanin**
MANFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-8056
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present
In association with **JOSHUA LOGAN**

"A WELCOME HIT."—*Coleman, Mirror*
JOHN LOVES MARY
A New Comedy by **NORMAN KRASNA** Directed by **MR. LOGAN**
MUSIC BOX, 45th St. W. of B'way—Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"HIGH MERRIMENT."—*Barnes, Herald Tribune*

HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY
A New Comedy by **ANITA LOOS** Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
BROADHURST, 44th St. W. of B'way—Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A SENSATIONAL HIT."—*Richard Watts, Jr.*

ETHEL MERMAN ANNIE GET YOUR GUN
In the Musical Smash
Music & Lyrics by **IRVING BERLIN** Book by **HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS**
with **RAY MIDDLETON** Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
IMPERIAL, 45th St. W. of B'way—Eves. 8:30 sharp, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 sharp

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
11th ST.
58th ST.
Bot. Lax. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW
BETTY GRABLE
DICK HAYMES
'THE SHOCKING MISS PILGRIM'
— AND —
'NOTORIOUS GENTLEMAN'

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHEST
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN
BUCHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

DOUGLAS **FAIRBANKS, Jr.**
Maureen O'HARA • Walter **SLEZAK**
'Sinbad the Sailor'
— AND —
'BEAT THE BAND'

QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 42 St

ALAN LADD • GAIL RUSSELL
WILLIAM BENDIX

in
"CALCUTTA"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE
— IN PERSON —

DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS WORLD-
FAMOUS ORCHESTRA
Plus — COKE & POKE
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION
BUCK & BUBBLES

Now Times Square **PARAMOUNT** Midnight
Failure Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by *Wanda Rogers* • Sketches by *Arnold Auerbach* • Staged by *Robert Gordon*

New York: **NATIONAL THEA.**—with **Jane KEAN**
Detroit: **CASS THEATER**—with **Betty KEAN**

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT"—*Life Magazine*

"WOWS THE HOUSE DOWN."—*Newsweek.*

BERT LAHR
with **JEAN PARKER** in
BURLESQUE The FAMOUS
COMEDY
BELASCO THEA. 44th Street E. of B'way. BR 9-2067
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

74 CENTS A LINE (SIX WORDS)

minimum 3 lines

Classified Display \$7.39 per inch

Attractive discounts for multiple insertions

THE NATION

31 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
Barclay 7-1066

Letters to the Editors

You Can't Film That!

Dear Sirs: I have intended for some weeks to write you of my interest in your article, Catholics and Hollywood, in the February 15 *Nation*.

There is one aspect of the censorship you describe which you don't mention. Not only are books changed in order to meet Catholic censorship, but a number of books are never put into films because of a "hidden censorship." A recent book of mine, "The Peacock sheds His Tail," dealing with the Mexicans' struggle for democracy, mentioned in the latter chapters the connection of the Sinarquistas with fascist Spain. The book was bought by one of Hollywood's leading producers, but just before the contract was signed, Catholic pressure was evidently brought to bear. The matter was finally settled out of court with small payment to me.

ALICE TISDALE HOBART

Oakland, Cal., April 14

Advice on Tactics

Dear Sirs: What I say in criticism of your point of view is only tactical, not strategic.

Liberals must get busy in their own community, and their national organizations must help them to do this by seeing that they get plenty of ammunition for handling local issues in a timely manner. My conservative friends often know that what the people of this community are concerned about is their schools, their homes—in short, what affects them directly. I do not mean to argue that Franco is not connected directly with the local school situation. I know he is and so do you, but even the well-meaning liberals out here who are worked up into a lather about such issues as *The Nation* and *New Republic*—and now, God save the mark, by Sir Samuel Pare—do not know how Franco is connected with the fact that our teachers were getting only \$1,780 per annum in a community that is really very well off and boasts about it. And this is such I do know—from the hard experience of fighting it out in co-op organization, battling for higher wages for teachers, etc.: most liberals do not know how to think about action; we know how to feel, and even to generalize, but we always lose out because on specific issues we have not had enough information and we have too little experience

with the people we must influence, to know how this must be done.

Liberals then must get some sort of information when they need it for action. That is, when an issue is hot locally, the man who knows the answers gets things done, even if the answers and what he does are very bad. So, while discussion groups are very good things they should be used also as reporting centers to some higher headquarters so that these quarters will know what is really of importance to people on a local level and, more important, *how it is of importance*.

Liberals must learn that facts are only of value if they are related to action. When I talk to a group of local citizens and tell them just *what* salaries their teachers are being paid, and how this compares with other communities of the same kind, I have really accomplished something. Of course this is hard to find out—even when I have the resources of the University of Chicago for the asking I find it hard to get answers to these vulgar, specific questions.

We need organization, not of ideas, but on the low levels of ward politics. We should return to the American tradition in such matters. I know this is old stuff, but when even you write about the "progressive masses," I wonder if we shouldn't do what they do in city rooms, namely, post a list of don'ts. Certainly one of these is that there are no masses to an American, just as there is no lower class.

HUGH DUNCAN

Homewood, Ill., April 15

Race Fight Strategy

Dear Sirs: My high regard for the opinion of readers of *The Nation*, and for Carey McWilliams, impels me to comment on his largely enthusiastic review of my "Southern Exposure." This is no mere literary matter but one having to do with my principles.

To begin with, I would prefer being called a democratic American rather than a Southern liberal. But I really take issue with Mr. McWilliams when he says, "It is only in the next to final chapter that Kennedy's liberalism begins to falter." If Mr. McWilliams can convince me that there is a more radical strategy for achieving total racial equality than that which I have advanced, I for one will hasten to embrace it.

What he asks me to do is go beyond

Supreme Court decisions which uphold the constitutionality of segregation statutes per se. I quite agree with him that those decisions are "based upon a deliberately perverse construction of the history, meaning, and purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment." But until the court changes its position, as it has in regard to the white primary, we can only be realistic.

If Mr. McWilliams will reread the chapter, I am sure he will discover that I am very much in favor of a frontal attack on segregation in the South now. All I suggest is that the attack be made *apart from* the economic and political demands, and that Southern whites and Negroes and non-Southerners assume specialized functions in the entire process.

STETSON KENNEDY

Atlanta, April 4

A Ryder Biographer

Dear Sirs: I am at present working on a full-length biography of the great American painter, Albert Pinkham Ryder. This will be no academic study of his works but an attempt to portray the creative processes of an artist's mind as well as his life. Therefore I would deeply appreciate any letters, documents, or personal anecdotes which some of your readers may have. All material loaned to me will be promptly copied and returned. My address is 1914 Murray Avenue.

LLOYD MALLAN

Pittsburgh, April 9

12 BOOKLETS BY WILL DURANT AND 1 ABOUT HIM

Dr. Will Durant, who has a talent for popularizing problems in philosophy, has written 12 booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius, as follows:

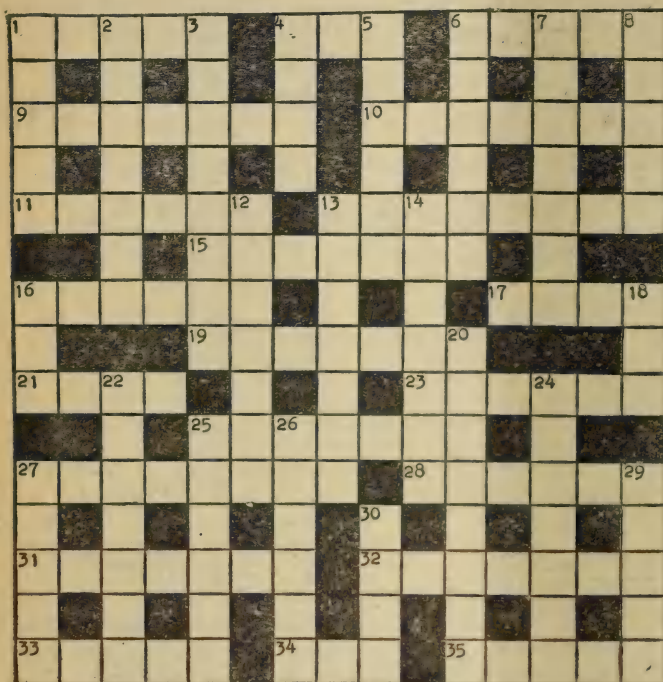
NITZSCHE'S PHILOSOPHY
ARISTOTLE'S PHILOSOPHY
PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY
BACON'S PHILOSOPHY
ARE WE MACHINES?
VOLTAIRE AND THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT
SPINOZA'S PHILOSOPHY
KANT'S PHILOSOPHY
SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY
CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHERS
TODAY'S AMERICAN PHILOSOPHERS
ANATOLE FRANCE: LAUGHING GYRIC

In addition we offer Booklet No. 13 which contains a long study, by Joseph McCabe, entitled "Will Durant's Story of Civilization." This appears in a volume (5 1/2 x 8 1/2 inches) that contains about 60,000 words. All 13 booklets offered for \$1.25, which includes all carriage, packing and handling charges. Ask for 13 WILL DURANT BOOKLETS. Address:

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS
Box D-1961 Girard, Kansas

Crossword Puzzle No. 209

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 We go back to bed
- 4 Petrified bird
- 6 An amusing fellow
- 9 Butler who was a duke—very Irish
- 10 Prolific fruit: a single tree may produce 20,000
- 11 Snuggle up
- 13 Seem dire (anag.) but do good
- 15 Between the entirely rubicund you are attracted
- 16 Go for a soldier, perhaps
- 17 Gray
- 19 Is as cheap as standing, said Swift (but not at spectator sports)
- 21 Perhaps an old-fashioned conception of the speed of light
- 23 Exclamation, perhaps, of a classical scholar on suddenly solving this clue
- 25 Make the first attack
- 27 Door curtain
- 28 Foreign fly
- 31 "Don't put - - - - - a point to your wit for fear it should get blunted" (3 & 4)
- 32 They are interested in lads and lasses, not moths
- 33 Worthless wench
- 34 Screw steamer with nothing amidships
- 35 Line from which heights and depths are measured

DOWN

- 1 Dark-complexioned
- 2 Some lad? (anag.). No, a girl
- 3 The sailor has a breeze with his young woman

- 4 Fume
- 5 Plant containing much of interest to Cupid
- 6 Longed for
- 7 Chattering birds
- 8 "Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddities now, his quillets, his - - - - - his tenures, and his tricks?"
- 12 American actor and New York theatre
- 13 A breach of the peace
- 14 Makes Nat seem humblest
- 16 Endear endlessly
- 18 Mister, let go of my ear!
- 20 Gets used (anag.)
- 22 So sure I am not funny
- 24 Pray for
- 25 Gaily
- 26 At least two vegetables?
- 27 It takes the place of the rent
- 29 Place famed for derbies and salts
- 30 We couldn't keep these birds out!

□-□-□-□-□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 208

ACROSS:—1 FORESTER; 5 AFFAIR; 10 LASSO; 11 HOUSEMAID; 12 ANDAMAN; 13 BOHEMIA; 14 ENTREE; 15 RUTHENE; 16 THEATRE; 21 SIT PAT; 24 CORDITE; 26 OVERLAY; 27 PLAYTHING; 28 TITAN; 29 TAMPER; 30 SNIPPERS.

DOWN:—1 FALLAL; 2 RESIDENCE; 3 STORMER; 4 ENJANCE; 6 FRESHET; 10 ALARM; 8 RED-FACED; 9 RUBBER; 16 EPAULETTE; 17 STOCKPOT; 19 THISTLE; 20 EYELID; 21 SLOE GIN; 22 TREE-TOP; 23 HYENAS; 25 REALM.

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling Economically

M. SCOTT—FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LONCAGRE 5-4917

MAIL ORDER—STOCKINGS

NYLONS FOR MOTHER'S DAY. Gift Mother all-nylon stockings (top to toe), 4 gauge, full-fashioned, guaranteed first-quality, Color Sunlure, beautiful shade. Price \$1.25 per pair. Minimum 3 pairs.

RAYON, full-fashioned, guaranteed first quality, popular color, sheer or service weight. Minimum 3 pairs for \$2.25, size 8½ to 10½, or have us send them to be with a lovely Mother's Day card in your name free. We pay all postage. Send check cash or money order. Write for free catalogue to LAUER'S MAIL ORDER CO 1528 49th St., Brooklyn 19, N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS

SWAP NECKTIES! (Satisfied swapper everywhere). Mail us one-to-six ties you're sick of. You'll receive pronto same number of handsomely cleaned different ties we got same way. Then you pay mailman \$1 plus postage. Far-away store labels wow demoiselles. TIESWAP, Box 547A, Wilmington, De

SITUATION WANTED—Male & Female

FOR THE SUMMER: MAN AND WIFE 28-30. Handyman • chauffeur. Registered nurse-secretary. Box 245, Back Bay, Boston 17, Mass.

WANTED—ROOM—APARTMENT

BUSINESS WOMAN desires quiet room with kitchen privileges, (or will share apt.) good transportation. Call LONCAGRE 5-6500 EXTENSION 16.

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE

Jersey City—Industrial site; railroad sidings plot land 136x123; about 15,000 sq. ft. corner Bay & Greene Sts., opposite Harsco Terminal, adjoining Hudson 6 Manhattan R. R. powerhouse. \$29,000 cash. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 563 Fifth Avenue, New York.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

BOOKS

"TECHNIQUE OF THE LOVE AFFAIR" by a Gentlewoman. Price—\$2.50 postpaid. Order promptly. DANIEL S. MEAD CO. 200 (NA) West 20th St., N. Y. C. 11.

RUSSIAN BOOKS, old and current. Send for list on your subject. George Telberg (Mail Address Only) 3569 Broadway, N.Y.C. 31.

LANGUAGES

SPANISH, RUSSIAN, FRENCH, 26 other phonograph language courses ALL MAKES sold bought, rented. Free catalogue. A. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, Murray Hill 3-1093.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 3, 1947

NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION BEFORE THE United Nations General Assembly, as we go to press, is the one raised by the Arab states whose delegates have arrived determined to press for an "independent Palestine now." Their plea, certainly accompanied by warm assurances of equal rights for all in the new state, is likely to appeal to many people whose minds are focused on the single fact of British dominance and who associate independence with peace and security. Unhappily the situation in the free Arab states already in existence gives no ground for such hopes. Everywhere in the Middle East religious and racial minorities are discriminated against and often subjected to massacre. If Palestine were given its independence now while Jews are in a minority, it would mean civil war and eventually the end of the whole Zionist development. Obviously this tragedy must be avoided, not only because the world cannot afford to lose one of its most hopeful experiments in social democracy, not only to fulfill the obligations to the Jews assumed after World War I by Britain, America, and the League of Nations, but also and even more urgently to save the lives of the Jews grimly awaiting rescue in Germany and Cyprus. The Arab states cannot be allowed to prevent appointment of the U. N. inquiry committee by pressing their intransigent demand. Doubtless they will be voted down eventually, but meanwhile valuable time may be lost and questions debated which should obviously be put off until the inquiry has been completed and its report brought in.

★

THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN TO DEFEAT inflation by "moral suasion" has won some minor successes, but the citadel of high prices shows little sign of willingness to surrender. What has mainly been achieved so far is a psychological impact on the minds of the public. Consumers, already displaying increasing sales resistance, have become still more allergic to high prices, and while the industrial sector as a whole affects indifference to this development, the retailers are showing signs of alarm. And well they may, for there is plenty of evidence that retail business is slipping. Department-store sales for the week ending April 19 were 6 per cent below those of a year ago, indicating a very much sharper decline in volume, since prices are so much higher than

they were in April, 1946. Such facts are stimulating drives by retailers to get prices down. However, stunts like the Newburyport Week—we use the term in no opprobrious sense—can hardly be more than one-shot promotion affairs unless the participating merchants can persuade their suppliers to cut prices also. A few manufacturers have done so. Lever Brothers announced a downward revision in soap prices which its competitors quickly followed; the California vintners have decided to try to reduce their overflowing inventories by cutting wholesale rates from 10 to 30 percent; a scattering of individual concerns have made cuts in such lines as copper cable and wire, shoes, electrical appliances, and lumber.

★

ON THE OTHER HAND, N. A. M. PRESIDENT Earl Bunting has come out with a statement that prices are bound to go higher as a result of the new round of wage increases. He asserted that if the 13,000,000 factory workers in this country all get 15 cents an hour more, it will cost industry \$4,058,000,000 as against net profits after taxes of \$4,500,000,000 in 1945, the last year, he said, for which complete figures are available. As Mr. Bunting should know, incomplete figures indicate that 1946 industrial profits were considerably higher than that. Moreover, it is absurd to deduct the cost of wage increases from net profits; obviously they are a charge against gross earnings, and the effect on net is much less severe than Mr. Bunting indicated. The same curious kind of accounting distinguished a statement by Eugene G. Grace, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, when he said that the new wage agreement would cost between \$5 and \$6 per common share. Because of this increase, he went on, there is "no prospect of cutting steel prices at this time. . . . Let even ten points drop from the current operating rates and see what will happen." We would respectfully suggest to Mr. Grace that a price cut might well prove the best insurance against this eventuality. Meanwhile we note that Bethlehem Steel earned \$4.84 per common share in the three months ending March 31—the best showing for a first quarter in its history. If it keeps this up, 1947 profits will be very close to those of the record year 1940, after making every allowance for the new wage increase. Bethlehem's experience is typical of that of other big industrial concerns.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

COVER

Cartoon by Oscar Berger

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 501
 What America Wants by Freda Kirchwey 504
 Back to McKinley 506

ARTICLES

- Where Do We Go from Moscow?
 by Alexander Werth 507
 Cartoon by Ezekiel Schloss 508
 Dixie in Black and White. IV. Under the Sign
 of the Flying Red Horse by A. G. Mezerik 509
 Mr. Dalton and Mr. Micawber
 by Aylmer Vallance 512
 Backstage in the Persian Theater
 by Andrew Roth 514
 Francisco Franco: Dictator-Regent
 by Del Vayo 517
 Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison 518

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- The Critical Year by Harrison Salisbury 519
 Le Corbusier, Revivalist by Albert Guérard 519
 Dissenting Opinion by Arthur J. Goldberg 520
 A Limited Device by Joan Griffiths 521
 A Founder of Contemporary Liberalism
 by Ernest Nagel 521
 Militants and Realists by Carey McWilliams 523
 The Disadvantages of Respectability
 by John Franklin Bardin 523
 Art by Clement Greenberg 525
 Records by B. H. Haggin 525

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 527

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 210 by Jack Barrett 527

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor
 J. King Gordon

Literary Editor
 Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart
 Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
 Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. Assistant Literary Editor:
 Caroline Whiting. Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A.
 by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.
 Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post
 Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Adver-
 tising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe:
 Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three
 years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of
 address, which cannot be made without the old address as well
 as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is Indexed in Readers' Guide
 to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor
 Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

For the record we set down a few profit figures culled
 from the spate of reports published in the past week:

Company	Period ending March 31	
	1947	1946
American Radiator	\$3,478,212	\$ 746,131
Acme Steel	2,055,118	679,329
National Gypsum	1,314,617	673,690
Texas Gulf Sulphur	4,512,978	2,952,734
National Biscuit	6,781,154	3,840,228

✱

GROWING PANICKY IN ITS SEARCH FOR ITEMS
 to excise from the President's budget, the House of Rep-
 resentatives last week, in carrying out the recommenda-
 tions of its Appropriations Committee, all but ripped the
 heart out of the country's power and reclamation pro-
 gram. Cutting the Department of the Interior's budget by
 47 per cent, the House followed the pattern of "econ-
 omizing" discussed in these pages last week. The budget
 of the Bonneville Power Administration was reduced
 by two-thirds. So little was allowed for new power and
 reclamation projects in the Central Valley of California,
 the Columbia Basin, and the Missouri River Valley that,
 unless the Senate repairs the damage, some of them can-
 not be completed for decades. Not satisfied with this
 blow at public-power projects, the House voted to curtail
 activities that the government has carried on for years.
 It refused funds for collecting statistics on bituminous
 coal, recommended the cessation of underground water
 surveys which the Geological Survey has been making
 for half a century, and eliminated all soil and moisture
 work on grazing lands. There is a good deal of method
 behind this superficial madness. The drive paves the way
 for tax cuts which can be distributed to the advantage of
 the wealthy if the Republican-sponsored tax bill is
 passed, and it provides an opportunity to cripple activi-
 ties long frowned on by "economic royalists." Some of
 these cuts may be restored in the Senate. Western Repub-
 licans are incensed, and cautious party leaders are
 aware that such tactics can make the West a gift to
 Truman in 1948. The budget-cutters, however, are trad-
 ing on the fact that the public is only dimly aware of
 the services the federal government performs for it and
 is likely to regard any form of economizing and tax
 reduction as desirable. Only an angry and audible reac-
 tion from the beneficiaries of government services will
 convince them otherwise.

✱

GREAT INTEREST WILL NOW BE CENTERED
 on the special elections in the state of Washington in
 June to fill the vacancy left in Congress by the death last
 week of Representative Fred Norman, Republican. It
 will be the first test of Congressional strength since last
 November. The Interior cuts will be the main issue, for
 this is the district that contains Bonneville.

ALTHOUGH YOUR NAME MAY BE GONZALES, the school authorities of California will no longer be able to segregate your children in the public schools. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has handed down a unanimous decision outlawing segregated schools in California. What distinguishes the decision from others upholding racial and ethnic democracy is the vigor of its language and the boldness of its conclusions. Justice William Denman, in a concurring opinion, went one step farther than his colleagues and suggested that the school authorities of Orange County should be indicted for their flagrant violation of the oath of office. "It is to such officials," Justice Denman caustically observed, "who so violate their oaths of office and openly break the state and federal law, and who set such an example to boys and girls, that these adolescents are intrusted to grow up in the American way of life." If Mexican youngsters could be segregated, he said, so could other groups; and thus "Hitler's anti-Semitism would have a long start in a country which gave its youth to aid in its destruction." If the school authorities appeal to the Supreme Court, which they are likely to do in order to escape possible indictment for past derelictions, the Westminster case may, indeed, make legal history in the nation.

✕

REMEMBER HAROLD RUTTENBERG? FOR TEN years he was the very able research director of Philip Murray's union of steelworkers, and while in that job he, with Clinton Golden, then the union's vice-president, wrote a book on the kind of America we could have. He also wrote articles on labor for *The Nation*. Last week Ruttenberg's latest literary effort appeared in *Life*. It was a letter to the editor which the journal featured prominently. Ruttenberg, now a budding industrialist, the vice-president of a small steel mill, has done a somersault. The former apostle of low prices in an economy of abundance now proclaims as his philosophy the great benefit to the public of high prices and high profits. He argues that the profits of the steel industry (see above) are not large enough to induce the industry to build the new plants whose products the world needs so desperately. Ruttenberg reaches his climax with a short and simple prescription for inducing the reluctant dragons who own the steel industry to build more mills. "We have four-cents-a-pound steel now," he says; "let's raise it to five cents." Ruttenberg discusses steel as you would a Hershey bar, neglecting to mention the fact that steel is bought and used, not by the pound, but by the ton, and on that unit his penny is multiplied two thousand times. Steel in its manifold uses accounts for 45 per cent of the total income of this country and for 40 per cent of the jobs. The present capacity of the steel industry is too small—85,000,000 tons. But even on that tonnage the penny a pound means an increased steel price of, hold your breath, \$1,750,000,000 annually, every cent of which, by the

Ruttenberg formula, would be extra profit for the steelmasters. What that increase, pyramided into buildings, automobiles, bridges, and kitchen sinks, would mean to our already inflated economy, and to the impoverished countries of the world, is something only a steel-plated tycoon could contemplate with pleasure.

✕

THE RULING OF ACTORS' EQUITY THAT IF the National Theater in Washington continues to deny admission to Negroes after May 31, 1948, members of Equity will not be allowed to appear on its stage is wonderfully simple, clear, and firm. It cuts through all the old rationalizations—that Washington is a Southern town, that Jim Crow is an old customer, that these delicate matters must be worked out gradually—and dramatizes the scandalous fact that eighty-four years after the Emancipation Proclamation colored Americans are forbidden to sit beside white Americans in a theater, ironically named the National, in the capital city of the United States. (Gradualism indeed—and whom *did* your sister marry?) The rationalizers will not down easily. Marcus Heiman, manager of the National, does not want his theater to be made a "guinea pig" in a fight against Jim Crow in Washington, and he is afraid patronage will fall off. A spokesman for the League of New York Theaters believes that the situation should be remedied by legislation—and no doubt it should. There will be further protests, excuses, and apologetics from individuals and groups with far less admirable motives. But we hope that Equity will stick to its guns, and we are sure it will. Theater people are likely to be regarded, say by a Southern politician, as light-minded and impractical—but they are not apt to be taken in by such an outworn belief, for instance, as the myth of white superiority. They have seen too many Bill Robinsons for that.

✕

IN THE CURIOUS FRED ALLEN AFFAIR, OUR professional concern for the under dog is canceled out by our equally professional zeal for the Four Freedoms. Vice-presidents, like mothers-in-law, have for generations been fair game for jokesters, and we might almost have enjoyed seeing one suddenly turn and bite a comedian. But apparently you can't give the vice-presidential under dogs of the National Broadcasting Company any such leeway. Allow one of them to bite Fred Allen and the whole pack goes wild, not only taking nips out of Bob Hope and Red Skelton but laying down high and mighty rules as to who may nip whom in the future. There was something inspiring, too, in the way the comedians closed ranks and thumbed a collective nose at their network bosses after Allen had been cut off the air for half a minute for joshing a v. p. In a spontaneous wave of sympathy, they taunted the vice-presidents and invited thirty-second-degree martyrdom until the network broke under the strain, recanted, and tried feebly to pass

the whole thing off as a gay jest. The vice-presidents have crept back, shamefaced, to their desks, and will probably take a worse mauling than ever. As for us, we shall waste no sympathy on underdogs-in-the-manger and wish only that the Shirers of radio had the solidarity of the Allens.

What America Wants

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

IT DOES NOT require the free-swinging imagination of an H. G. Wells to realize that mankind today is in the midst of one of the great movements of change that have punctuated its history. When Secretary Marshall and Henry Wallace landed in Washington the other day, one from a somewhat qualified defeat at Moscow, one from a rather ambiguous triumph in several European capitals, they represented something far more important than the events in which they took part. Each represented a tendency, a stream, in a swift and largely uncontrolled current. At present those tendencies cross one another, setting up a lively riddle. But Henry Wallace's thinking is not as far from George Marshall's as both men probably believe; they are moving together in the same general direction.

I have been trying, during these past days of deadlock in Moscow and vehement debate in Washington, to consider objectively the purpose this country's foreign policy is intended to defend, and then to appraise the policy itself as an instrument for that purpose. Little is gained by concentrating on individual eddies or tide-rips; they may be the daily business of journalism, but they will not be understood unless one understands as well the direction and force of the current. Nor is it enough to say that the Truman Doctrine, as applied today to Greece and Turkey, is a demonstration of "ruthless imperialism"; or to deny this charge and argue that our policy is intended to head off the imperialist drive of Soviet Russia. The purpose behind either intention, as also behind the German policy developed at Moscow by Mr. Marshall and the trade policy expounded by our representatives at Geneva, is what needs looking at: this purpose is the preservation, against immense threat, of the system of private capitalist enterprise upon which our country's whole development has been based.

This is not a small thing or a contemptible one; it is the essence of America—as socialism is the essence of Russia—and the fact that the system is giving way, bit by bit, in every continent but this one only increases the determination of those who believe in it to strengthen its defenses. For if free enterprise as a world system is crumbling, American free enterprise is not. This country

has resilience and natural wealth and a productive capacity never equaled in all history; the study of America's needs and resources issued last week by the Twentieth Century Fund reveals a sensational picture of present-day facts and future possibilities.

No social order gives up while it is still capable of self-defense. Even the Communists, when it happens to suit their purpose, recognize the vitality of the American system, and I noticed that their advertisement which appears on the back cover of this issue proclaims unqualified faith in political democracy and peaceful methods, with "socialism as an ultimate goal." These protestations should be taken seriously for one reason: they offer evidence that the Communist Party recognizes the irrelevance to the American situation of the traditional position that links its dogma and sympathies and methods to those of Soviet Russia. For American Communists to be honest revolutionaries today would not only threaten their survival; it would also be utopian. And modern Communist tactics are nothing if not practical.

The question Americans must answer, as they consider the impact of the Truman Doctrine on the rest of the world, is: Do we believe—assuming the United States will do its utmost to defend the free-enterprise system—that our present foreign policy is likely to accomplish this purpose?

In Greece we are not going to preserve democracy, since there is none to preserve; nor establish it, since we have promised the present regime military help to put down rebellion. We are aiming to stiffen the ability of one of the countries least able to sustain a capitalist economy to hold out on that basis against the threat of a revolution which might create, near the frontiers of Russia and the frontiers of our new oil empire in the Middle East, another Communist-controlled state.

In Turkey we aim to strengthen the country's resistance to Russian pressure; that, and nothing more.

After withdrawing our marines and apparently washing our hands of the Chinese mess, we are now about to send warships of various sorts as a gift to China's undemocratic but anti-Communist government. By helping the Kuomintang we not only hope to stymie Russia; we also help preserve the oppressive landlord system which the Chinese Communists have been wiping out in their areas.

In southern Korea we have been supporting reactionary political groups and putting down Communist ones and, along with the Communists, whatever democratic center groups may exist. More money and supplies will be put into this job; not because we are set on creating a democratic regime in southern Korea—we would have gone about the job very differently—but because we want to make the area a barricade against a northern Korea in which Russia has expropriated private property.

and is building a Communist-controlled Korean "people's army."

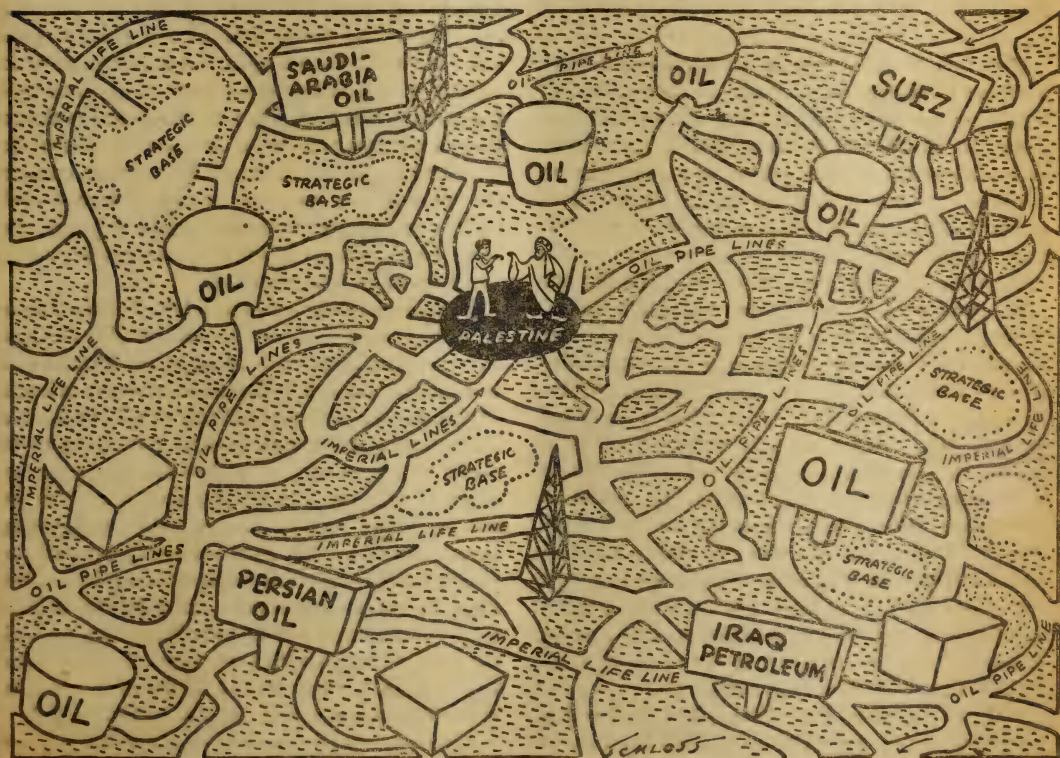
In Germany most Americans advocate, with Messrs. Dulles and Marshall, the restoration of a unified economic system under proper safeguards to prevent rearming or the revival of the great cartels. This idea dominated Secretary Marshall's policy in Moscow. Its object was not merely to save American dollars now being used to feed Germans, or to prevent Russia from getting the reparations Molotov demanded—though that turned out to be its practical effect. Its object was to create a Germany in which prosperity, or at least stability, might emerge from a revitalized system of finance and industry, strong enough to withstand the pull of the socialist economies and the Russian political power to the East.

It is very easy to say, as *The Nation* has sometimes said, that the way to offset Communist infection or pressure or outright threat is to make a country economically strong and prosperous. It has been suggested that in Greece, for instance, American money spent, not by a United States Economic Mission acting through a royalist regime, but through an internationally supervised commission acting for the United Nations, might rebuild the country to the point where democracy would reassert itself and put an end both to a corrupt oligarchy and to the danger of revolution and foreign control. Liberals have

also argued that in Germany we should use Socialists and trade unionists rather than the assorted rightists who more and more are taking over administrative functions. This, they believe, will put Germany's future in the hands of political groups which will resist both fascism and communism and lead Germany to some sort of a moderate social democracy.

Both liberals and conservatives count somehow on the power of American ideas and money to sweep back the revolutionary tide; the conservatives by "standing firm" or "getting tough," the liberals by yielding enough to the forces of change to placate and disarm them. The Marshalls want American efficiency and power to move to the peripheries of the non-Russian world and establish outposts of the system they identify with a decent civilization. The Wallaces want to go there, too, with tractors and TVA's and friendly agreements, to call off both the capitalist and the anti-capitalist drive. How realistic are the hopes of either? Do not both minimize the power of the revolutionary current?

In this process Russia is an aggressive force in a sense America so far is not. It believes, as this country does, that its system is somehow equated with civilization—with social justice and a superior variety of democracy. But it also believes that the American system is on the defensive—and so do we. This gives Russia a special dynamism in spite of its relative economic weakness.



Russia has in addition the invaluable aids of a faith and a communal spirit. With all its material success the American system has failed to evolve either one. On the other hand America has all the power that its greatly expanded industrial plant provides, together with an altogether new sense of urgency and mission, born of a sudden realization of the dangers ahead.

In face of this power Russia may halt and even appear to surrender; the American policy of toughness may seem successful. But I believe any such shift will be a temporary diversion, not a change of direction. The economic wastelands of the Eastern world cannot be turned into little Americas by dollars and soldiers. In Western Europe the revolutionary current is partly directed by conscious and more or less intelligent planning. A new order is taking form even while the process of crumbling goes on. Whether that form approximates Russia's will depend on a number of factors: the wealth of the area, the strength or weakness of the democratic tradition, the prevalence of political and financial corruption, the level of its industrial development, the vitality of its people. It is not necessary to believe that autocracy—socialist or otherwise—is the only alternative to capitalist democracy. But it is impossible to doubt that a planned and controlled—that is, a socialist—economy is necessary for the revival of Europe, or that an end of feudalism and upper-class oligarchy is necessary for Eastern Europe and the whole of Asia.

How long American capitalism can maintain its lusty health in a world where revolution is the condition of survival is something only a Henry Luce would dare guess. The Russians expect us to head into a series of depressions which will end in the collapse of the system; this is one reason why they may decide they can afford to relax their pressure in various parts of the world. Perhaps they underestimate the energy of the people and the solid resources available to cushion our falls. But one thing seems certain: we shall not successfully defend American capitalism by costly attempts to patch up the capitalism of Germany or Greece or by trying to perpetuate feudalism in the Balkans or the Middle East or China. By a paradox that seems to me a simple fact, peace and prosperity will be more secure in America if we accept the process of revolution in Europe and the East instead of subsidizing resistance to it. Our cherished capitalism itself might stand a better chance if we deliberately helped the peoples of the world to achieve socialism with a minimum of violence and repression: if we lent money to socialist states to get their state-owned industries working and their state-controlled trade flowing, to raise the standard of living of their hungry people and stabilize their debased currencies.

But this is a heresy that will not, I think, appeal to the inventors and apostles of the Truman Doctrine.

Back to McKinley

TO REPRESENTATIVE HARTLEY and Senator Taft the United States Steel Corporation and General Motors must seem models of ingratitude. The moment these statesmen launched their assault on collective bargaining was the very moment the two giant corporations chose to demonstrate the virtues of that procedure. And immediately following that demonstration, three other important companies—General Electric, Chrysler Corporation, and Jones and Laughlin—followed the lead of the two giants by reaching wage agreements based on an identical pattern. Given a reasonable balance of strength between the contending forces, these settlements showed, collective bargaining is not only an efficient institution but one that, preserving the dignity and self-respect of the contending parties, generates a good-will that is unknown where coercion is the rule.

It is this requirement of a reasonable balance of strength, we believe, that is crucial to any hope of industrial peace. In the very nature of a capitalist society, ownership starts off with a tremendous advantage. In an open-shop system it is a single controlled entity, holding the power to dictate the share which its individual and divided employees shall enjoy in a jointly made product, to say nothing of the conditions under which they work. The whole purpose of trade unionism has been to modify that original imbalance. This obvious point is rarely made in the halls of Congress; yet the extent to which equality of bargaining power exists in any industry is the extent to which stability may be expected in that industry's relations with labor. It is no coincidence that protracted strikes occur most rarely in those sections of the economy that are most strongly unionized—railroads, steel, garment manufacture, and shipping—coal being the conspicuous exception for reasons not entirely in the sphere of labor economics.

Between the dynamic stability that stems from a strong trade-union movement and the dead stability that rests on a complete suppression of organized labor there is only the troubled and costly and inconclusive industrial warfare that we have come to know so well. In this endless wrangling and frequent recourse to the strike are the proofs of immaturity, with labor too strong and too aware of its strength to accept a reversion to the economic tyranny of an earlier day and not yet strong enough to enjoy the status of an equal. Assuming that we do not want to remain longer than necessary in this intermediate stage, we can attempt to move either forward or backward. No society has ever succeeded in moving backward for any length of time or without the most violent repercussions. Yet that is precisely the spirit and intent of the legislation now being debated on Capitol Hill.

There are, as we have said in the past, abuses of power

in the trade unions. The fact that abuse is an almost inseparable companion of power does not justify it, and we do not oppose legislation designed to correct it. We believe, for example, that organized labor should have eliminated the jurisdictional strike long ago, and since it did not, we concede the need of government action. The same goes for certain types of secondary boycott. But such correctives are the smallest part of the legislation now offered in Congress. The Hartley bill in the House and the proposed Taft amendments in the Senate are designed not to protect the public from such abuses or to save innocent employees from unreasonable practices. Their purpose is to weaken labor's power in collective bargaining; in fact, to make bargaining all but impossible.

Taft has adopted an attitude of sweet reason on the floor of the Senate, where he talks of "equalizing" the bargaining power of labor and management, but before the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association he was more forthright. The Senate measure, he assured his audience, is "not a milk-toast bill," but covers about three-quarters of the objectives "pressed on us very strenuously by employers." And this is without the drastic amendments he proposes to insert and without reference to the far more punitive bill before the House.

As the Senate bill stands, it would, among other provisions, forbid the closed shop, list unfair union practices, permit the union shop only with modifications, exclude

foremen from protection of the Wagner act, make unions subject to suit, permit the National Labor Relations Act to enjoin jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts, and permit an employer to refuse to join in industry-wide bargaining. Taft would, in addition, give private employers injunctive relief on their own motion, put far more drastic curbs on industry-wide bargaining, and greatly restrict employer contributions to union welfare funds. The House bill, discussed in these pages two weeks ago, avoids even the pretense of "equalizing" bargaining power and would make trade unionism too meaningless to warrant the payment of dues.

Nothing could be more dangerous than the hallucination that the days of McKinley can be brought back by passing a law. The frenzy of the Congressional extremists has already brought the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. closer together than they have been in a decade, with Federation leaders all the more bitter against the Republican Party for the support they were foolish enough to give it last November. (Ironically, Hartley himself was among those specifically indorsed.) Something like sixteen million Americans belong to trade unions, and with their families they constitute a major and articulate part of the population. Since they will not and should not be reduced to economic impotence by Congressional fiat, it would be wiser to seek industrial peace by strengthening their hand in honest collective bargaining—and vastly more intelligent.

Where Do We Go from Moscow?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, April 25

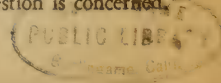
THIS time it is really over—after seven weeks. Bevin, on Friday morning, made a long statement to the British press which was meant to show that, despite appearances, it was a pretty good conference.

No one would say that it was a complete waste of time, but it certainly did not come up to expectations. Bevin, at any rate, went to Moscow with the idea that he would take back to London a new text of the Anglo-Soviet alliance and a complete Austrian treaty, and he got neither. "If anyone else tells me they've cleared away a lot of dead wood, I swear I'll strangle him," one man was heard to say at the Moskva Hotel a day or two before the end of the conference. He didn't strangle Bevin; yet the gist of Bevin's press conference was precisely that: we have come to understand each other's demands in the interval; it looks disappointing but was a very useful conference really; the unity of the Big Four is greater than it was before; and so forth and so forth.

Bevin has stuck to his guns. On the question of repara-

tions from current production, which is really the crux of the disagreement on Germany, Bevin has been tougher even than Marshall. Marshall produced a proposal which clearly was not adequate from the Russian viewpoint but which at least, as Vishinsky pointed out, recognized the principle of current reparations, and if the Marshall memorandum had been seriously discussed, one might have detected the beginnings of agreement.

In the British delegation, reactions to the Marshall proposal, with its principle of "compensation" (compensation from current production for capital reparations to which the Russians are entitled by Potsdam but which they will not get with the raising of the industry level), was of two kinds. Some thought it was inadequate even as a basis of discussion; others, representing the Bevin school of thought, were scared lest the Russians read into it more than was intended—and soon nothing more was heard of it. As a result, the deadlock with which the conference began remains wholly unresolved as far as this fundamental question is concerned.



The impression is that on the British and perhaps on the American side there was serious miscalculation from the start. Judging from various discourses about the conference during its early stages, there seems to have been an impression that the Russians would have given in, perhaps, because of the "appalling mess they're in in the Soviet zone of Germany." There, it was suggested, everything was going to ruin, and the Russians need steel so badly that they would waive current reparations and agree to economic unity without them.

This showed lack of understanding of Soviet psychology. If the Russians have a strongly desired objective—as reparations are—they will suffer far more inconveniences than anyone else would rather than give up trying. But since they have not subscribed to German economic unity, they are now obviously threatened with two other Anglo-American trumps. First, there is no guaranty that the industrial level will not be raised in western Germany, especially since the Russians, having accepted the principle of ten million tons of steel, cannot very well object to that amount on grounds of security (though the British and Americans say they would "prefer" not to act independently). Second, there is the danger to the Russians that they will fail to get, not merely reparations from current production, but even capital reparations, with the zonal system perpetuated.

The industry-level argument, if used, would of course be a quibble: if the Russians have agreed to a higher level, it is in order to receive part of the increased production in reparations. But Bevin's argument seems to be that the higher industry level, as seen by the British, has nothing to do with reparations, and that the eleven million tons of steel agreed to by the British government long ago was not intended to include reparations.

In addition, Bevin has now advanced the somewhat far-fetched claim that British and American loans to Germany, if not repaid, will, like the standstill agreements between the two wars, constitute a foundation for German rearmament. That is not the point. There is no idea in Russian minds of letting Britain and America finance Germany so that Germany can pay reparations to Russia. The Russian argument is that with the raising of the industry level there will be enough to balance German payments, repay Anglo-American post-war advances, and pay current reparations—if not immediately, at least after some time. To the question whether this is possible or not, Bevin has been giving nothing but the vaguest answers.

But no critical analysis of the problem has been made, and the French proposal that a committee of experts be created to investigate the whole matter has never been followed up. Instead Bevin repeats: "Our interpretation and the Russian interpretation of Potsdam do not agree."

No one who has followed this conference closely can be surprised that the Austrian treaty has not come off.

And it is extremely doubtful that the Vienna committee in which Bevin places such high hopes will be any more successful than the Foreign Ministers' conference. Russia knows how eager Britain and America are to see the Soviets get out of Austria. But the set-up of its occupation of Austria is one of Russia's few big trumps, one which it will not throw away for nothing. That the Soviets will consent to a peace treaty with Austria without the main lines of the German treaty being agreed upon is extremely doubtful. Austria may well be used as a means of obtaining a reparations settlement—at least such a settlement as may for some time be little more than a face-saving device but in the long run might approximate the ten billion dollars sought. Bevin's great eagerness to get Austria out of the way can only persuade the Russians to hang on to Austria at almost any price pending agreement on the main German economic problems.

There is also another Austrian angle—strategic and political. Austria is a Germanic wedge between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. With the evacuation of Austria Russia loses its communication lines through Rumania and Hungary. Austria is also the center of power politics between Russia and America. The Austrian government is notoriously anti-Russia, and in moments of indiscretion some high-placed Austrians have been saying: "Why worry about these German assets? Once we become an independent sovereign state we can pass laws which will reduce the values of Russian-held German factories and other assets to mighty little. For example, we can prohibit the export of such and such commodities, which will be the precise ones these plants are producing." Austria is politically and strategically so important that the Russians may well wait before departing and in the meantime study more closely the full implications of the Truman policy. There is an unhappy feeling on the part of Russia that, the Austrian government being what it is, Austria might be tempted to play the role of anti-Communist bulwark in Central Europe with American financial aid.

That such ideas are at the back of the Russians' minds is apparent from the seemingly unimportant discussions on whether the Austrian army must use home-made weapons or may import arms from abroad—Molotov insisting on home-made weapons only. In short, there is a persistent suspicion among observers of all nationalities that, even allowing for Austria's importance as a trump card in Russia's hands in relation to Germany, the Austrian treaty might still have materialized but for the Truman message on aid for democracies, which inevitably conjured up visions of Austria becoming another Turkey or Greece—and in a much more vital spot in Europe. My guess is that Russia will take certain precautions, such as putting Austria under the financial tutelage of the United Nations, before quitting.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

IV. Under the Sign of the Flying Red Horse

Houston, Texas

THERE is a new oil millionaire around. This one came up fast. He is in his thirties, and only a short while ago was a filling-station attendant. Now he is regarded as the probable heir to the mantle of Jesse Jones, who has for so long ruled the Houston roost. The new man is in the Texas "Regular" tradition. While his money came from oil, he has become a big builder and industrialist; in politics he is reactionary and fanatically anti-labor. He has the reputation of being a rough-and-ready fighter, and he fights hardest at the first sign of union organization among his employees. Union organizers often tell of their experiences with similar Texas millionaires. The union files charges of flagrant violations of the law with the National Labor Relations Board; the company's lawyers delay the hearings by every legal means; when the long-postponed day finally arrives, the union finds that its case has dissolved into thin air—the complainants have been bought up.

Houston, headquarters of the oil millionaires, is much like Detroit twenty-five years ago. New buildings are going up on every street; factories are humming; there are more jobs than men. And the talk is about the latest millionaire. My special millionaire's office, in this unmistakable boom-town atmosphere, is a cross between El Morocco's tiger-striped interior and a Hollywood producer's sanctum. I opened our interview with a question: "You are now a very rich man. You are still a young man. What plans have you for your state?" He thought my question curious, even silly. He wanted to talk about his plans for his companies. He had never thought very much about his state, but he felt sure that it was not only doing all right but was first in the world in every phase of human endeavor. There were only two evils, Communists and organized labor, and according to him they were synonymous—imported twin evils which should be destroyed.

I brought him back for a look at the Texas balance sheet. Texas is the first state in the Union in beef cattle—but in the control of pellagra, the disease of malnutri-

tion, Texas is forty-eighth and it has 19 per cent of the nation's pellagra. Texas is first in cotton—thirty-eighth in public-school systems; first in oil and gas—forty-seventh in public-library systems. On the long and proud list of Texas firsts are sulphur, pecans, and wool—but Texas is thirty-third in per capita income. "What does all that mean?" I asked. To him, the new Texas millionaire, the income figure, if true, which he doubted, meant that Negroes and Mexicans had been counted and therefore it was of no significance. He had never seen a white man, one not too lazy to work, that is, who wasn't doing fine.

The young millionaire's idea of bettering conditions in his state was to increase his own wealth. He wanted political power in order to make that job easier. The oil men team up politically with lawyers representing Northern corporations and with bankers. The three groups together are known as "Regulars." Under their domination the state government is the most reactionary political set-up in America. They stop at nothing. In 1944 they made an attempt to steal the election and to cast Texas's electoral-college votes against Roosevelt though the people of the state clearly wanted to reelect him. To gain their ends they seized control of the state Democratic convention. That they eventually failed is a tribute to the aroused citizens, who reacted in Texas as they did in Georgia this year when Herman Talmadge tried to usurp power. Leading attorneys joined with clubwomen, clergy, students, workers, and farmers to stop the Regulars. In the final round it was the farmers, up to 1944 not distinguished for political alertness, who won back the franchise for the people at a second convention.

Having failed to pervert the Democratic Party, the Regulars formed a political party of their own. They had but one aim, to defeat Franklin Roosevelt. They threw all their resources into the campaign. Their biggest gun was W. Lee O'Daniel, the once irresistible Pappy. Always willing to help his friends, the old king of the flour sacks stumped the state reviling Roosevelt. Pappy is tied in with the Houston tough guys in other ways. He is the best-known fellow-traveler of the Christian American group of fascists which heads up in Houston. One of the most violent of the city's rich reactionaries, the late John Henry Kirby, was among this group's earliest backers, and other Regulars have supported its activities—as, for the record, have various non-native sons, for example, John J. Raskob, Ogden Mills, and Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors.

That is the crowd for whom Senator W. Lee O'Daniel,

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," has spent the past several months making a new survey of the South. This is the fourth article of a series he is writing on current political and economic trends in various Southern states.

self-styled the people's choice, went to work. The people of Texas booed Pappy in Austin and in the oil men's stronghold, Houston; they were apathetic everywhere else. And Roosevelt got the votes. With the help of Pappy, two former governors, and the ineffable Martin Dies the Regulars garnered just 10 per cent of the total.

REGULARS VS. RAINEY

The Regulars went back into the Democratic Party. They knew that while they might not be able to run the national government they could still run the state and



Senator Lee O'Daniel

the state university. President Homer Rainey, had made an honest effort to give Texas a university comparable to North Carolina's Chapel Hill. Its buildings were modern. Its teaching staff was of high caliber. But the Regulars controlled seven of the nine regents, and they demanded President Rainey's scalp.

The regents set up an inquisition which concentrated largely on irrelevancies, the most spectacular being the presence of John Dos Passos's "U. S. A." on university reading lists and the teaching of the economic doctrines of John Maynard Keynes in university classrooms. Of such stuff as this the regents built their case. In November, 1944, Rainey was fired. The students rebelled, held mass-meetings, made a great outcry. The Regulars took notice and obtained an investigation by the state senate, which, as was expected, went down the line to whitewash the regents. The senate committee's big achievement was to call as witness Regent Orville C. Bullington, an O'Daniel appointee and one of the state's richest Republicans. Mr. Bullington testified at length. He had heard, he swore, that there were several homosexuals in the student body and the faculty. He felt, he said in ringing tones, that Dr. Rainey had not been diligent enough in weeding out this evil. The hearings ended with this as its biggest sensation.

The progressives, after defeating the attempted steal of the national election, had lost strength, and they could not prevent Dr. Rainey's ouster. But now Rainey became the focal point for a new challenge. He spoke regularly over the radio, rebuilding interest and organization. In 1946 he ran for the governorship. In the campaign he raised many issues besides that of the state's domination by the Regulars. He spoke of education, his own field, and pointed to the need of increased facilities.

He listed the many things wanted by a majority of the people and indicated a way to get them: a severance tax on the natural wealth taken out of the state would do the trick—the value of the exported oil, gas, and sulphur is truly fabulous. But Rainey knew that passage of a severance tax was blocked by the Regulars and their controlled Legislature, aided by an antiquated constitution.

The Texas constitution is a product of confused Reconstruction days. Negroes, carpetbaggers, and plantation owners were represented in the convention which drew it up, and no one of the three groups was strong enough to dominate the proceedings. As a result so many checks and balances were written into the final document that the Governor has little power and it is next to impossible to enact a law. That frequently makes it necessary to amend the constitution; more than 1,700 amendments have been proposed since its adoption. A new Texas constitution is therefore a prerequisite to progress.

It was on all these needs that Dr. Rainey built his program. The Regulars went into action against him at once, but the most formidable obstacle to his success, as to that of any progressive candidate, was probably the huge size of the state. The Gulf ports and the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth are industrial. In many other parts of Texas the dominant interest is cattle raising; in the east it is oil and cotton; the southern tip, the lush Rio Grande valley, concentrates on truck farming and citrus fruits. No candidate without access to the press and support from it can hope to make himself heard everywhere unless he has unlimited funds, which progressives seldom have.

Dr. Rainey was also confronted with a well-organized smear campaign. It was carried on like this. Two agents of the Regulars would drive into one of the many Texas hamlets and stop at a local store. While leisurely making a purchase, the visitors would pick up a conversation and quickly turn it toward the political campaign. One would say, "I was going to vote for Professor Rainey, but in justice to my family I can't. I have learned on good authority that Rainey is a homosexual," using, of course, a much more common and vulgar word. This smear went back to the unsupported but well-publicized charges made about the university, though not about Rainey, in the state senate hearings. As they drove through the country, the rumor-mongers worked on other prejudices too. With religious people they used the atheist argument. Where racial feeling was strong they said that Dr. Rainey's children were intimate with Negroes, or with Mexicans. Meanwhile the Texas press laid down a barrage of Regular propaganda.

Attacked on many fronts, Dr. Rainey was kept on the defensive and was defeated in the election. This time the victory of the Regulars was complete. Not one office was won by the progressives, though in the past they had often obtained that of attorney general or lieutenant governor.

The Texas press continues to stymie every progressive

movement. Among the worst offenders is the *Light*, the Hearst paper in San Antonio, a city one would not expect to tolerate such a loud-mouthed, ignorant sheet. For San Antonio has a magic which captivates the traveler and mellows the resident. The little San Antonio River meanders through the busy downtown section, bringing with it hints of old Mexico and the tropics. Along its bank is a walk bordered by palms and flowering bushes. Here and there are terraced dining-rooms serving Mexican food. At one point an open-air theater spans the river. The stage is on one bank, and the spectators sit facing it on the opposite bank. The enchanted visitor comes up a winding stairway from the river into La Vallita, a restored Mexican community, complete with plaza and adobe huts, in which craftsmen work pottery wheels and spin native fibers.

The home-owned press throughout the state is controlled by very rich men who share all the prejudices of their friends the Houston oil millionaires. Their papers print little relevant information about what goes on in the Capitol. This denial of information to the people is made easy by the one-party system; no opposition is strong enough to expose the boys in power. The editorials of this press deal only in generalities, and any reference to labor or progressives is derogatory. Almost all papers praise the Texas Regulars. The numerous and important weeklies are like the dailies in serving reaction. A recent thirty-day survey found that fifty-two papers, almost all of them weeklies, were using undiluted handouts from the National Association of Manufacturers. This is hardly surprising, for the big corporations composing the N. A. M. have a strangle-hold on Texas.

EASTERN MONOPOLIES CONTROL TEXAN WEALTH

An expert estimates that one-half of all the industrial and mineral wealth of the state is owned and directly controlled by outsiders. Sixty per cent of the rest, he maintains, is indirectly controlled by them—through mortgages held by the big Hartford and New York insurance companies. Every major telephone, gas, and electric company operating in Texas is owned by Eastern holding corporations. Two New York corporations own almost all of the sulphur and thus have a perfect monopoly, for the Texas deposits are the largest in the world. Each year the East tightens its hold on every department of Texas life. Forty per cent of the ranch and farm land, settled and worked by the pioneers, is now mortgaged or owned in the East—which perhaps explains the large number of tenant farmers in the state.

The two legs on which Texas stands are agriculture and oil. But its oil will not last forever. Eminent geologists estimate that at the present rate of depletion Texas's oil reserve will be exhausted in twenty-five to fifty years. Only tiny fields have been discovered lately though the state has been thoroughly prospected. Meanwhile the

enormous profits from existing wells go East. The oil industry is closely integrated and tightly controlled. Twenty big companies, with interlocking directorates and combined assets of more than \$9,000,000,000, own and control over 60 per cent of the total investment in the oil industry. In 1939 these twenty companies produced over 52 per cent of all the United States crude oil and owned nearly 93 per cent of all crude-oil stocks. Control extends through the distribution system. The Interstate Commerce Commission estimated that in 1938 fourteen of the major companies owned 85 per cent of all the crude-oil pipe lines. The majors also dominate the refining of oil. In 1938 they owned 85 per cent of the cracking plants where gasoline is made.

These figures do not by any means reveal the present extent of monopoly control, which was growing even before Pearl Harbor and was materially increased by the war. When the great East Texas oil field was discovered in 1930, local people were in the picture. Independents had built 155 refineries by 1938. Then the inevitable happened. By 1941 the majors had forced out or purchased every one of them, with three exceptions.

Apologists for the oil companies like to tell Texans that they share in administering the oil industry through stock ownership. This does not hold up under scrutiny. The 100 largest stockholders of the Shell Oil Corporation owned nearly 90 per cent of the common stock in 1938. In the Sun Oil Company the figure was almost 85 per cent. Shell is owned by interests in Holland, England, and New York. Sun Oil is owned by the Pew family of Pennsylvania. Various well-known families, none of them Texan, have key holdings in other companies. The Harkness, Flagler, and Rockefeller families, for instance, have substantial interests in the six majors

of the Standard Oil group; the Mellon family controls Gulf.

Even most of the so-called independents, though they still bear the names given them by their Texan founders, are now owned by out-of-state interests. Humble, the outstanding one, is a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, which owns 71 per cent of its common stock. Magnolia is owned by



Caricature by Seligson
Homer Rainey

Standard of New York. The Texas Company has its headquarters in the Chrysler Building in New York. Most of its stockholders live outside the state of Texas.

Oil exerts worldwide political influence; it is therefore

not surprising that in Texas politics oil is the most important single power. The Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Pews, and the other oil kings keep a close watch on their Texas province. If the state could get out of the clutches of the monopolists and their Regular henchmen and could levy an equitable tax on oil and other resources taken out of its soil, it could make life very different for its citizens. It could build and maintain the finest schools in the world. It could have modern hospitals in every county, fine highways and farm-to-market roads, parks, playgrounds, museums, and cultural centers. It might become first among the states instead of nearly the last in caring for its old people and its dependent children. The fight against the tyranny of monopoly is the fight for all this. The Rainey forces lost one battle in the war, but there are others who carry on.

The influence of labor, particularly of the C. I. O., is

becoming stronger in East Texas. The middle classes are being stimulated by Minnie Fisher Cunningham, a leading Democrat, and her People's Legislative Committee, using the slogan "All Hands, Man Your Battle Stations." The students, particularly at the University of Texas, are engaging in vigorous political and social action, and the faculty, despite the onslaughts of the Regulars, has kept up its morale. Augmenting these progressive groups are able politicians, many of them young, and a growing number of business men.

These forces of the future face a tough job, which is symbolized in Dallas by the sign of the Flying Red Horse. Come into Dallas from any point of the compass, and you find that Standard Oil's team of flying red horses, revolving on top of the city's highest building, dominates the scene. Dallas and Texas live under that sign—literally.

Mr. Dalton and Mr. Micawber

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, April 18

THE British version of your Gallup Poll has just published the results of one of its periodical checks on the standing of Mr. Attlee and his government. The figures, in comparison with those of last December, are rather sensational. The proportion of the canvassed sample expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Attlee's personal performance as Prime Minister has risen to 45 per cent, and the proportion dissatisfied with the record of the government in general has increased to 54 per cent. This represents a rise of 15 per cent and 12 per cent respectively in the adverse replies to the two questions asked. Since the poll was taken before the Conscription bill came up, the figures suggest a continuing and sizable swing against the government among the "floating" voters, who are so far not unduly impressed by the government's plans to get the country out of its economic mess, are not at all clear where Mr. Bevin's foreign policy is leading us, and are certain only that the cost of living—apart from subsidized basic food-stuffs—is rising disagreeably. For this they unreflectively blame the government.

It is questionable whether Mr. Dalton's second budget has increased the government's popularity. In his long speech in Parliament the Chancellor rather overdid his gratification at achieving a balanced budget so quickly

after the war. The patient British taxpayer is indeed putting up a remarkable performance; and though the Treasury this year will be borrowing £460,000,000 to cover non-recurrent expenditure not charged against revenue—thus rather more than offsetting the nominal £270,000,000 surplus in the budget proper—Mr. Dalton is fairly entitled to claim that the nation is "out of the red" so far as its domestic finances, as distinct from its balance of foreign payments, are concerned. But this solvency is being achieved only by the continuance of a terrific impost on personal incomes.

It is true that increased income-tax allowances will somewhat relieve the burden on wage-earners and middle-bracket salaried employees. But offsetting this for the large proportion of the population addicted to nicotine is the punitive increase in the tobacco duties, which will cost every household continuing to smoke thirty cigarettes a day approximately £27 a year in extra taxation irrespective of their income. Here, say Mr. Dalton's critics, is regressive taxation with a vengeance; and though they freely grant that it is imperative for Britain to cut down dollar expenditure on tobacco, quite a few M. P.'s whose constituencies are in working-class areas feel that it would have been more equitable to impose a rationing system on cigarettes along the lines of that already in force for sweets. While this might have led to a black market in non-smokers' unused ration cards, the objections in principle to "rationing by the purse" are still weightier.

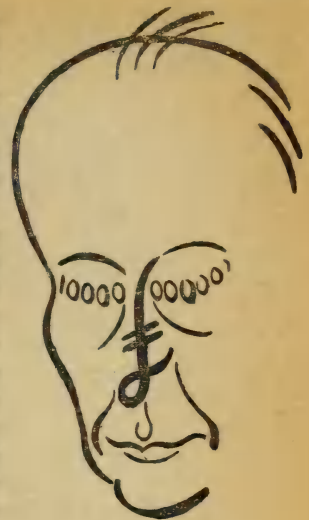
Certainly the current grumbles from smokers in the

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's London correspondent and a staff contributor.

lower-income brackets are loud and are likely to be lasting. All except the well-to-do will probably have to cut down smoking drastically, and the penalizing of a pleasure which has become for many people an ingrained habit is bound to be unpopular. Among Labor M. P.'s, too, there is an uneasy feeling that though Mr. Dalton has shown no evidence of being disconcerted by the immense expenditure on defense, he is inclined to yield a little to the clamor of the opposition for economy in a direction which will hit the working class hardest. In the parliamentary debate which followed the presentation of the budget, Tory ex-Chancellor Sir John Anderson crystallized the view of the "men of property" by demanding not only a reduction in the taxation of large incomes but, even more emphatically, the curtailment of the subsidies—now costing £400,000,000 a year—spent in stabilizing the retail cost of certain basic foodstuffs. It is unlikely that Mr. Dalton will make any wholesale inroad into the subsidies, for if he did the resulting rise in the cost of living would lead immediately to a barrage of inconvenient claims by the trade unions for higher wages. There is a fear, however, that the government may intend to do a bit of financial juggling at the expense of the working-class larder. The present out-of-date cost-of-living index is to be replaced by a new one based upon typical working-class expenditure in 1938. But no attempt, apparently, is to be made to link the new index statistically with the old; and speaking of the food subsidies, Mr. Dalton held out hopes of saving a bit for the Treasury while still exercising what he described, somewhat vaguely, as "a strong stabilizing influence." How far this will differ from the maintenance of absolute stability remains to be seen.

In the "general public," then, there is a mental atmosphere of slightly uneasy disquiet which recalls in some ways that of the phony war in the winter of 1939-40. In that period, though Hitler's triumphant drive through the Low Countries and France was not foreseen with exactitude, an uncomfortable feeling prevailed that something unpleasant was going to happen some day. Today, though the man in the street has a very vague idea of the pattern events will take when the dollar loan runs out, he has an uncomfortable sense that the Maginot Line of his personal standard of living is not going to hold, and that disagreeable surprises are in store for him. He wishes that the government's steps toward meeting the crisis were less hesitant. He is not greatly impressed with this week's Cabinet reshuffle, the net effect of which is that the venerable Lord Pethick-Lawrence retires from the India Office on the eve of that department's final liquidation and the Cabinet is reinforced by the importation of a Liberal peer whose chief claim to fame is that he successfully organized the collection of charitable funds for Charing Cross Hospital and was a buddy of the late Lord Southwood of the *Daily Herald*. He observes, too,

somewhat cynically, that when it comes to the practical difficulties of eliminating the present wasteful employment of a great deal of our limited labor force, the governmental action is cautious to the point of timidity. In a recent broadcast the Prime Minister urged individuals who felt that their present jobs were of poor economic service to the community to look for more productive work, a counsel of perfection which few people are in a position to follow. It had been hoped at least that the government would revive the war-time order to prevent employers recruiting additional labor for non-essential industry, but this is apparently not to be reenacted even in such a glaring case as that of the immense betting industry. It was announced this week that the government had simply sought and obtained a voluntary agreement with the managements of the football pools whereby they undertook not to engage further personnel unless recruits had been offered and had refused factory work.



An Impression by Oscar Berger
Hugh Dalton

What of the actual *Rassemblement des Gauches*—if one may borrow from France a political label which fits very well the congeries of radical trade-unionists, Social Democrats, and Marxists of which the British Labor movement is composed? Here the swing against Mr. Attlee and his government disclosed by the Gallup Poll is not manifest. The rank and file of the movement may be suffering a little from disenchantment, but if there were a general election this year, it would repeat its 1945 vote. Even the "rebels" in the Parliamentary Labor Party are still insistent that they want to bend, not break, the present Cabinet. Heartened by their success in inducing the government to make a hasty retreat on the Conscription bill and to shorten the period of compulsory service from eighteen months to twelve—a modification which will involve a considerable scaling down of British garrisons abroad—the left has found great encouragement in the enthusiastic reception given to the visit of Henry Wallace. His talks, cheered by immense audiences in London, Manchester, and Liverpool and given generous time on the air by the B. B. C., are regarded as having "put on the map" the cardinal idea of

Richard Crossman and his parliamentary followers that Britain's role in foreign policy is to be an unaggressive foundation member of a One World club which the United States and Russia may join or not as they please.

Starry-eyed? Perhaps. Certainly the official British approval of the Truman Doctrine scarcely suggests that the Cabinet is at all disposed to follow the Wallace line. Moreover, the British Foreign Secretary is seen here as having been even more eager than Mr. Marshall at Moscow to "put the squeeze" on Russia. Such an impeccably anti-Communist journal as the *Economist* has been constrained to observe that the Anglo-American terms for agreement on the economic unity of the Reich—no reparations until Germany was self-supporting and had repaid the Western Allies' occupation costs—were bound to lead to deadlock at the conference.

British Socialists, however, are by no means dismayed by the fact that they have not yet weaned the Cabinet away from a foreign policy which may be described as one of "vassalliance" to the American Axis, or even by the slow formulation of a plan on positive Socialist lines to deal with the economic crisis. Hard facts, they think, will force the government's hand. Having no expectation that the Geneva conference will lead to any such expan-

sion of multilateral foreign trade as would solve Britain's peculiar difficulties, they believe that shortage of dollars will compel the government willy-nilly to regulate Britain's foreign commerce increasingly through state control agencies, bulk purchase, and bilateral agreements with countries outside the dollar area. Equally, Socialists expect that stringency of external resources will act more forcibly than critical speeches in the House of Commons to restrain Mr. Bevin's imperialist proclivities. The only doubt felt is whether the Cabinet, without a substantial infiltration of new blood, will realize quickly enough that being unable to afford to do certain things constitutes only the negative side of policy: there are positive things to be done as well. It is not enough simply to require smokers to economize in dollars or even to decline the cost of active cooperation with American policies abroad; and it is certainly not enough to ask the British people vaguely to work harder under the threat of undefined, unpleasant consequences if they do not. Micawber, of course, could always claim that he had a policy; but if the really formidable task of reequipping Britain's industries and maintaining British standards of consumption is to be carried out, something much more resolute is required than the Micawber touch.

Backstage in the Persian Theater

BY ANDREW ROTH

Teheran, April 3

MOST of the spectators have left the Persian theater. On my way here I met reporters who had decided it was not worth while to stay after the pro-Soviet Azerbaijan autonomists collapsed under the pressure exerted by the central government backed by the British and Americans. They regarded me as someone arriving after the third-act curtain, but it is clear now that they left during an intermission.

World attention has been focused so intently on the acting of the major powers that little attention has been paid to the scenery or the Persian supernumeraries. Persia is equal in geographical extent to Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy together; it is rich in land and oil resources; and it has only 15,000,000 inhabitants. The people are stuck deep in the muck of a feudal decay which offends even nostrils accustomed to the East. On top is a small handful of wealthy, educated, pleasure-loving aristocrats, usually absentee landlords owning scores of villages. Then comes a thin layer of

middle-class tradesmen. Below are the illiterate, ragged, diseased, near-starving masses. Three-fourths of the Persian people are landless peasants living in villages which have scarcely changed in a thousand years; four-fifths of their crop goes to the landlord. Less than one village in fifty has a school, and almost none have any sanitary or medical facilities. The country as a whole is over 90 per cent illiterate.

Even Teheran, the showpiece of Persia, shocks the most hardened traveler. It has some fine public buildings, but the misery and degradation of its slums would tax the pen of a Gorki. A city of 700,000 inhabitants, Teheran has no water or sewage system. The well-to-do buy their water; others rely on that flowing through the open gutters, or *jubes*, along the pavement. My second day here I saw one man urinating in the *jube* while a short distance downstream another was washing his face in it. Little wonder that so many faces are scarred by "Bagdad boils" and other infectious diseases.

The few signs of modernization in Persia are largely the handiwork of the late Reza Shah, a nationalist general who overthrew the Qajar dynasty with British help in 1923, established his own family on the throne, and tried to bring the country up to date by brute force. He

ANDREW ROTH, on a roving commission for The Nation, has been in the Middle East for some months.

expanded rail, air, and road communications, started factories, and erected public buildings. He unified the country by disarming the tribesmen and jailing or poisoning many of their chiefs. As an assertion of nationalism he replaced the upstart name of Persia, an innovation dating back to 538 B.C., with the still older name of Iran. The new Shah's cupidity and despotism were revealed at every step. The land of whole provinces came into his possession. Thousands of liberals were jailed. At one time special police were stationed at every postal box, and it was illegal to mail a letter unless its contents were approved by the police.

But the curtain was rung down on Reza Shah's activities in 1941. When he lined up with the Axis, both the Russians and the British marched in, announcing it was only for the duration. Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, the present Shah, and died in exile.

THE TUDEH PARTY

The war and the Allied occupation accelerated the decay of Persian feudalism. Use of the country as the great supply route to Russia brought immense wealth to a few contractors, work for many laborers, and soaring business for merchants, though the majority of villagers suffered from shortages and skyrocketing prices. The influx of thousands of American, British, and Soviet soldiers made the people acquainted with mechanical equipment and Western living standards, gave them movies and magazines. Other forces for change were released when the ten thousand or so political prisoners were freed by the Allies. The most important of these prisoners were known as "the Fifty-three," an underground discussion group of professors and university students arrested in 1938. After obtaining their freedom, the Fifty-three founded the Tudeh (People's or Mass) Party. Even today the leadership of the party is drawn largely from socially conscious intellectuals of the middle and upper classes, many of them educated in France; only a minority are Marxist or Communist in outlook.

As the only pro-Allied group in a country whose upper classes were strongly pro-Nazi, Tudeh was at first encouraged not only by the Soviets but by the British, who supplied its organ, *Mardom*, with newsprint and other aid. But when the victories at El Alamein and Stalingrad dispelled the fear of a Nazi drive to the Middle East the British again made the safety of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which is 52.51 per cent owned by the British government, their first consideration. The Abadan refinery, one of the biggest in the world, is the chief source of the British navy's fuel and the only producer of 120-octane fuel for British fighter planes. Thus when Tudeh-sponsored trade unions began organizing the workers, they met with strong opposition.

As the war wore on, Tudeh made increasing inroads

among the educated youth, including army officers, and engaged in propaganda and health activities all over the country. To combat it General Arfa, the pro-British Chief of Staff, organized a fascistic "National Movement" ("God, King, and Country") with secret cells in the army. The government periodically banned Tudeh papers and dispersed party demonstrations. Political instability was so great that no Cabinet lasted more than four months.

At the end of the war the fluid political situation in Persia engaged the attention of both Russia and Britain. Kremlin policy called for encouragement for Tudeh generally and active support for the rebellious Kurds and Azerbaijani on the Soviet border. These minorities had longstanding complaints against the Persian central government and were expected to be useful to the Soviets if they received autonomy with Soviet help. The existence of an "advanced" pro-Soviet enclave, the Kremlin apparently believed, would be a radical force in Persian politics. In addition, the Kurds had kinsmen in Iraq and Turkey, and a pro-Soviet Kurdish national movement would strengthen Soviet influence throughout the Middle East. The Kremlin was probably misled as to the degree and character of pro-Soviet and nationalist feeling in the Soviet-occupied area by over-eager political officers on the spot—most of them Armenians, Kurds, and Azerbaijani from the Soviet side of the Caucasus border—who failed to discern that their informants were following the usual Middle Eastern tradition of saying what the listener wants to hear.

In August, 1945, Tudeh groups in Azerbaijan were absorbed into the broader Azerbaijan Democratic Party, and with active Soviet assistance a fast-moving campaign to organize autonomist sentiment was initiated. In November the Democrats began to seize military control. The occupying Soviet troops blocked reinforcements to the central-government garrisons, and most of them surrendered without resistance. By December 7 the Democrats had secured Tabriz. In January, 1946, the Kurds of western Azerbaijan set up a Kurdish People's Republic. The pro-British Hakimi government referred the problem to the U. N. and collapsed.

A PERSIAN MACHIAVELLI

Now a new and amazingly skilful Persian actor appeared on the stage. The wily Ahmad Qavam was a seventy-year-old aristocrat and rich landlord, but he was regarded kindly by Tudeh because he was anti-Shah, anti-militarist, and anti-British, and promised political tolerance. With Tudeh's help he scraped up enough votes to make him Premier. Once in office he jailed the pro-British ultra-rightists General Arfa and Saed Zia, allowed Tudeh to operate fairly freely, and entered into negotiations with Moscow. The British began to worry about their control of the Abadan oil fields.

Qavam was soon involved in a Machiavellian intrigue. While he played up to the Soviets and Tudeh, his ambassador, Hussein Ala, played up to the United States and the United Nations. His assistant, Prince Firooz, asserted Persia's undying friendship for Russia; Ambassador Ala denounced Soviet expansionism. When Qavam went to Moscow, his resistance to Soviet pressure was reinforced by Ala's statement that "in case Premier Qavam yields to Russian demands he will be forced to resign after his return from Moscow." And although Secretary Byrnes, and the Soviets too, cursed the Persians for their shiftiness, the game—known variously as *le double jeu* or "working both sides of the street"—succeeded: world opinion was mobilized, and the Soviets were forced to repair their incredible blunder in not withdrawing as promised. Furthermore, the United States had been drawn into the Persian tangle, giving Qavam a possible base of support against both the Russians and the British.

But although the Soviets had been pushed out and discredited, the Azerbaijani and Kurds were consolidating and demanding autonomy, and Tudeh was growing rapidly. Soon it reached a high of 200,000 members—1,000 students joined at one time—with over 300,000 in the Tudeh-linked trade unions. Almost 100,000 men, a third of the city's adult males, marched in last year's May Day parade in Teheran; in Abadan a Tudeh-supported union appeared above ground after having enrolled 80 per cent of the oil workers. When the strike broke out in the Abadan oil fields, British-supported tribal chieftains discussed the separation of the oil-bearing Khuzistan region from Iran. It appeared for the moment as if the country was disintegrating, with the north drawing into the Soviet sphere and the south into the British, as in the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907.

Qavam bent with the wind. He compromised with the Azerbaijani by giving them a considerable measure of autonomy, pacified the British by getting the workers to return and later banning the union, and mollified Tudeh by taking it into the Cabinet. At the same time he began to build a platform for independent action. American advisers were attached to the army, police, and health and finance departments; Iranian Airways was organized with American army pilots; a \$250,000,000 loan was requested.

Last fall Qavam began organizing his Democratic Party with the effectiveness of a Farley and the staging of a Goldwyn. He gave it a program much like Tudeh's and formed affiliated unions. Only party supporters could get government jobs—a weighty argument in a country with a population on the edge of starvation. Workers in government-owned factories were threatened with dismissal unless they tore up their Tudeh union cards and joined the new union sponsored by the Democrats. The Ministry of Propaganda and the state-owned radio were

at the Democrats' disposal. A uniformed force, the "Liberation Guards," made street fighting and wrecking Tudeh headquarters its chief work. Once it became clear that the police and economic power of the state were against Tudeh and for the Democrats, the venal and the economically vulnerable changed band-wagons. By October Qavam felt strong enough to force the Tudeh members out of his Cabinet and to announce that elections would be held throughout the country.

Under the pretext of supervising the elections Qavam mobilized central-government troops on the border of Azerbaijan but did not dare move them in until he was sure of strong Anglo-American support and that the Soviets would not intervene. Mr. Molotov apparently promised Mr. Byrnes in New York to take no action, and the Soviet ambassador in Teheran demanded only that Mr. Qavam stick to his pledge to solve the problem "amicably." The Soviets evidently advised the Azerbaijani and Kurds not to fight. The Iranian army marched in unresisted and for two months carried on lootings and reprisals, including the sacking of twenty-five Assyrian Christian villages.

Elections were then held "according to plan." The methods of ballot-box stuffing were as intricate as a Persian carpet but as effective as Jersey City's best. In Teheran unknown party hacks were elected and well-known independents kept out. The first major task of the rubberstamp Parliament will be to consider the Soviet-Iranian oil agreement negotiated last April. Premier Qavam favors its ratification but, in line with American suggestions, so amended that the Soviets cannot use the concession as a base for political infiltration.

THE INTERMISSION

At the moment Premier Qavam is well upstage, surrounded by his Democratic Party henchmen and supported by the very able American ambassador. Somewhat to the right is the ambitious Shah, bracketed with the British ambassador. In the background Tudeh is licking its wounds and regretting its overdependence on Soviet assistance. A brilliant young Tudeh leader said to me, "Until December any free election would have put Tudeh in power legally. And with even a tenth of the support the Soviets gave the Azerbaijani, we could have taken power by force had we wanted to. But now we have to plan, organize, and educate our members to be ready even if it takes ten years."

A few days later I learned that a young Tudeh leader who had been arrested the week before was walking about freely. He had so successfully indoctrinated his poorly paid jailers that without any bribes they allowed him to leave jail whenever he pleased. With such a persuasive leadership, and with the condition of the people so wretched, it seems likely that Tudeh will be the chief force in Persia in less than a decade.

Francisco Franco: Dictator-Regent

IGNORING the protests of the Spanish Pretender, General Franco is going ahead with his plan to transform his Axis-spawned government into a permanent "kingdom" for Spain. The Bill of Succession which he recently submitted to the Cortes is the most cynical document of its kind in modern history. Compared with "Regent" Franco, Admiral Horthy, the former regent of Hungary, was an amateur. Under this unprecedented decree Franco can remain in power as long as he wishes, enjoying all the prerogatives of a king and dictator; should he decide to take a protracted vacation, he can name a prince of his own choosing to occupy his post for a few years.

The Council of the Kingdom, which is to "assist" him in putting across this fantastic comedy, will also be designated by the Caudillo; it will include the Cardinal Primate, or the leading Archbishop in case the Primacy is vacant; the general who heads the High General Staff, or, if there is none, the ranking officer of the Chiefs of Staff of the Land, Air, and Sea Forces; and half a dozen assorted functionaries and members of Parliament. Were he still alive Ramón del Valle-Inclán, who was famous for his satires on the Bourbon king and the generals, could surely find material here for one of his most biting *esperpentos*.

But however ridiculous the plan may sound, its political significance should not be minimized. Obviously it means that Franco intends to consolidate the Falangist dictatorship and stay in office for the rest of his life. Still more important, it indicates that the Spanish ruler is fully convinced that he can rely on the continued support of Great Britain and the United States. In Paris I talked with a Latin American diplomat who had been in Madrid since 1945. He told me that if in the past two years Britain and America had once given a sign that they really wanted Franco out, the generals would have forced his resignation overnight without a fight. But the army was convinced that Anglo-American policy favored keeping him in the saddle, an impression that has become all the stronger with the new turn in American foreign policy.

Americans who have any doubts on this score need only read the comment made the other day in Lisbon by Gil Robles, exiled leader of the Spanish clerical fascists. Commenting on the succession bill, he said: "After President Truman's speech, Franco saw that his moment had arrived. He interpreted the speech as a sign that the Anglo-Saxon countries have seen the force and reason of General Franco's policy during his spell of power." Otherwise, it is evident, Franco would never have dared advance a plan which is an out-and-out mockery of the resolution adopted by the United Nations Assembly.

The Spanish dictator is justified in assuming that London and Washington have no objection to his holding the reins of power indefinitely. The announcement of the new decree provoked only mild disapproval from the Foreign Office and the State Department. And Britain's gentle rebuke was more than counterbalanced by the signing of a monetary agree-

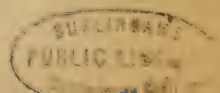
ment with Spain that will, the London *Observer* predicts, "clear the decks for brisk Anglo-Spanish trade." Moreover, American firms which a year ago were being cautioned semi-officially against dealing with Spain on the ground of the regime's instability have now been given the green light. As for the reaction of the Spanish people to the Christian General's new trade deals, Dr. Francis B. McMahon, the liberal Catholic writer who was recently expelled from Spain, reported in the *New York Post* on April 21: "They [the Spaniards] accuse Anglo-Saxon business men and financiers of profiteering at the expense of their misery. They contrast this with the fact that whatever else Russia may be doing, at least it is not doing business with the Franco regime today. They are beginning to wonder just who is the friend and who is the enemy."

Francisco's latest move has had its repercussions in Republican quarters. If there was any excuse last February for choosing Señor Llopiés to head the new government in exile, it was the assumption of certain Spanish Republicans—an assumption I never shared—that the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Prietist faction which Llopiés represented had a greater chance of success with Bevin than the Giral Cabinet, labeled "red" the moment Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania recognized it. On the invitation of the British Labor Party Señor Llopiés undertook a visit to London a few weeks ago, only to find himself in the embarrassing position of seeing the new monetary agreement with Franco signed almost under his very nose. He returned to Paris extremely irritated, and an official statement issued after a pathetic Cabinet meeting complained that "those who had encouraged us by their words disappointed us by their deeds."

To those of us who have always maintained that only combined internal and external pressure will oust Franco, the latest developments have come as no surprise. We have never believed in the ability of the royalist clique to force concessions from the Dictator. Perhaps the Bill of Succession will serve a useful purpose after all, if only in demonstrating to the outside world the weakness of the Spanish monarchists. If Don Juan's followers had any mass influence, Franco would have thought twice before launching his new scheme. As for Prieto's policy of watchful waiting, in the expectation of an Anglo-American Badoglio solution, it no longer has a leg to stand on; two years of praying for a miracle from London have served only to strengthen Franco's hand and to sow confusion and demoralization in the Republican ranks.

But the Resistance reacted quickly against these defeatist maneuvers. On the very day after Llopiés named his "Cabinet of Liquidation" a group of Spanish Republicans in Paris formed *España Combatiente*—Fighting Spain—for the purpose of rallying Spaniards of all parties who are prepared to continue the struggle for the liberation of Spain and the reconstitution of the Republic. The new organization is growing fast and is bringing together Republicans in Spain, in France, and in Latin America.

DEL VAYO





EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

"Fair Trade" for Whom?

THE New York *Herald Tribune*, telling the story of Newburyport's anti-inflation campaign, wrote: "The prices of everything, from food and clothing to luxuries, were slashed here. *The only exception were items whose prices are fixed by fair-trade regulations.*" I have italicized the sentence which seems to me to stick out in the story like a sore thumb, just as the price labels on those "fair-traded" goods must have stuck out in the Newburyport stores. It is a reminder of the way the anti-monopoly laws have been undermined in recent years by laws in forty-five states which allow manufacturers to fix and maintain the resale prices of their products and by the federal Miller-Tydings act, which exempts from anti-trust prosecution price-maintenance agreements made in conformity with such state legislation.

The so-called fair-trade laws now apply throughout the country except in Texas, Missouri, Vermont, and the District of Columbia. While varying in details, they provide in general (a) that protected merchandise must be trade-marked and in free and open competition with commodities of the same character, (b) that distributors who do not themselves contract to charge designated resale prices are nevertheless bound to conform if duly notified that the article in question has been covered in their state by a price-maintenance agreement. A contract between the manufacturer and a single merchant is enough to bind all in the trade.

As repeated efforts to reach by telephone the American Fair Trade Council—an organization of manufacturers who maintain "fair-trade prices"—have been unsuccessful, I am unable to give up-to-the-minute data on the range of commodities covered by these laws. The latest issue of the council's journal, the *Fair Trader*, points with pride, however, to the fact that in New York State some 85 per cent of all drugs, cosmetics, and allied drugstore products—35,000 items in all—are protected. This probably is the branch of business in which "fair-trading" has made most headway. It is, of course, also a branch of business in which prices frequently have little relation to costs and in which retail margins are often very large. Consequently, before the passage of the fair-trade laws it was very attractive to cut-price concerns.

The economist for a large department store tells me that of the whole range of merchandise in which his firm deals probably not more than 10 per cent is subject to price-maintenance contracts. The proportion is high, however, in such lines as household equipment, photographic apparatus, and liquor. But new products are constantly being added to the list, and the approach of a "buyers' market" is accelerating the trend. Last year membership of the American Fair Trade Council tripled, and according to the *Wall Street Journal*,

a week after President Truman's price-decontrol speech on November 9 it received inquiries from fifty manufacturers who wanted to get in position to head off future price-cutting at the retail level. The *Journal of Commerce* of April 23, in the midst of all the news about efforts to reduce prices, reported that "Ohio's food industry will seek to cushion the impact of a return to sharply competitive sales at the retail level through a revival and broadening of the fair-trade program" (my italics). An even choicer example of fair-trade semantics was supplied by John W. Anderson, president of the Fair Trade Council, in an interview with *Printers' Ink* last fall. Price-maintenance contracts, he said, "provide fortifications against such temporary fluctuations in the buying psychology of the public as the buyers' strike now predicted in so many quarters." I wonder when Mr. Anderson and his friends are going to awaken to the fact that consumers' resistance to high prices is neither temporary nor temperamental; it is due to the hard economic fact of reduced purchasing power.

I would not deny that there is a case to be made for protecting retailers from destructive price competition. Undoubtedly under a free pricing system unscrupulous merchants sometimes attempt to knock out their competitors by under-cutting and so establish a monopoly. Occasionally the reputation of a manufacturer's product is seriously damaged when retailers sell it below cost as a "loss leader" and give the public the impression that it is worth much less than its normal price. But the fair-traders spoil their case by violently overstating it. They take no notice of the fact that efficient and alert retailers may be able to make savings in their overheads which they can pass on to the public by trimming prices a little. The fair-traders attack all competition at the retail level as "unrestrained price war" and accuse all price-cutters of aiming at "monopoly." (Incidentally, they don't use the term "price-cutting," because it has a favorable connotation for the consumer; instead, they have coined the word "price-baiting" in the hope of convincing housewives that when they fall for a bargain they are really being lured to destruction.)

The lengths to which the fair-traders carry their propaganda is illustrated by a speech delivered by Mr. Anderson on November 26, 1946, when he sought to identify the opposition to fair trade with communism. Considering that the fair-trade laws have been criticized by the N. A. M., the heads of many of our largest retail businesses, and the *Wall Street Journal*—just to mention a few "old Bolsheviks"—this may seem merely funny.

It is rather horrifying, though, that the spokesman for an organization of reputable business men should rely on cheap rhetorical tricks instead of attempting to meet soberly the arguments against fair-trade laws. Is it or is it not the case that such legislation makes for rigidities in the price system and so tends to lessen the efficiency of the free market which is the foundation of free enterprise? Is it or is it not true that in a period like the present fair-trade laws make for frozen inventories and so help to slow down trade generally? Is it or is it not true, as Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge has alleged, that the fair-trade laws have proved "a cloak for price-fixing activities between competitors"? These are questions which deserve an answer.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Critical Year

THE YEAR OF STALINGRAD. By Alexander Werth. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.

THE historians who ultimately work out the explanation of why Adolf Hitler's Russian gamble failed will owe a heavy debt to Alexander Werth. Again and again they will return to the sensitive, thoughtful, and revealing record which Werth has kept of the war years in Russia.

Better contemporary records of what happened inside Russia between June 22, 1941, and the victory over Germany may exist. It may well be that the Politburo, for example, has kept stenographic reports of all its deliberations. An official reporter may have jotted down notes of all the meetings of the Russian high command and the Supreme Defense Council. What used to be known as the Council of People's Commissars may have kept a verbatim journal of its proceedings. But such revealing documents are not likely to see the light of day in our time.

Until they are available Werth's journals will remain a primary source of material as to what actually happened in Russia during World War II—what the people thought about the cataclysmic events which enveloped them, what official propaganda lines were adopted by the government to meet the frequently surprising developments, how the Red Army shaped itself in the crucible of battle, and what actually happened in the most stupendous military encounters of our time.

Werth's most recent volume, "The Year of Stalingrad," covers the period from May, 1942, to February, 1943, roughly speaking the second most critical period of the war—the most critical obviously was the autumn of 1941, when the Germans got their tanks into the suburbs of Moscow.

"The Year of Stalingrad" is an amorphous work, almost literally a hodgepodge. Werth has tried to do three things at the same time: to present a record of the intricate and most revealing

shifts in the government propaganda line, to tell how the plain people of Russia reacted both to the propaganda and to the war developments, and, most important, to set down a fairly definitive military history of the war.

The burden of these tasks is too much. What he presents is the working draft of a study rather than a finished product. No one with editorial instincts can read "The Year of Stalingrad" without reaching for a pencil. But the very elements which make the book formidable for the general reader make it a joy to the student. Where else would you find notes about the effects of the loss of Rostov upon the programs of the Soviet ballet juxtaposed to careful interviews with Soviet military students on the successful strategy employed at Stalingrad?

Appropriately Werth concentrates his efforts on Stalingrad. He provides a wealth of detail and analysis of this epic battle which never before has been available, publicly, even in Moscow. In addition to translating restricted Soviet studies of the battle he has interviewed personally some of the chief Soviet military students of the campaign. In the field of both tactics and strategy Werth has obtained remarkable material, none possibly more revealing than that concerning the lightning transformation of the Red Army in July, 1942, after the loss of Rostov.

Rostov's fall, Werth is convinced, was as much due to panic among Red Army commanders and Soviet executives as to German military genius. It was not the first such event in the Russo-German war. Panic, he makes plain, hit Moscow itself on October 16, 1941, and almost resulted in the fall of the Soviet capital—an event which might well have turned the course of the war. And although he does not mention it, there had been panic in the Ukraine and, what was equally bad, faulty tactics as well, which led to the fall of Kiev and the virtual destruction of the southern group of Russian armies.

But Rostov was the critical example. Werth has not been able to get all the

facts, but he is able to report that there was a thoroughgoing purge of the Soviet officer corps. Soon the institution of the political commissars was abolished. Heavy emphasis was laid on discipline, respect for the superior officer, obedience to orders. At the same time there were vigorous attacks on outmoded tactics derived from the civil war and perpetuated by stupid leadership. The Russians faced the challenge presented by the realization that ineptitude, backwardness, and fear had cost them Rostov and allowed the Germans to enter the Caucasus and Kuban. And they met the challenge by forging the victory of Stalingrad, which finally convinced the average Russian that Germany could be beaten.

For anyone interested in going beyond the headlines, in knowing what really happened in Russia during a critical year of the war, this book by Mr. Werth, who is, of course, no stranger to readers of *The Nation*, is indispensable. HARRISON SALISBURY

Le Corbusier, Revivalist

WHEN THE CATHEDRALS WERE WHITE. By Le Corbusier. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

AS THOUGH the world had shaken off the rags of its antiquity, to clothe itself anew with a white mantle of churches. . . . The glorious words of Raoul Glaber (*circa* 1050) are the keynote of Le Corbusier's message. The Renaissance of the eleventh century was the major one. Men of burning faith feel the same exhilaration today. This could be, and in spite of our tragic confusion this *is*, one of the springtimes of the world.

This hope and this joy Le Corbusier translates into architectural and city-planning terms, since fate, unfortunately perhaps, has made him an architect. He is the declared enemy of the schools and academies, guardians of conformity, good taste, tradition. And he came to America as to the land of promise, where men, unhampered, dared to live in the twentieth century.

His verdict is qualified. New York at first enchanted him: the skyscrapers because they were "romantic," the gridiron plan because it was stark, logical, functional. Disappointment did not destroy his sympathy. He is no Duhamel. He is indulgent even for our College Gothic. He does not rub it in that the Grand Central is Beaux Arts and the Pennsylvania Roman. He likes us. But he fumes because we are not American enough. The skyscrapers are too small. The Americans are timid people.

It is faint-heartedness that hampers us, not the profit motive—although he denounces that roundly enough. Enlightened selfishness would tear down the whole of Manhattan and rebuild it at a profit, for six million people. While the population of the island would be nearly tripled, the free area would be 88 per cent. We might even say 100 per cent, since the buildings would be raised on pillars.

I doubt whether six million people living in Manhattan would be a remedy for overcrowding. Even if well-spaced skyscrapers were an improvement upon our present chaos, it would be merely a palliative to the incurable disease called New York. A society as intelligent as Le Corbusier would simply not have any such macropolis as New York or Chicago.

The one great hymn of praise in the book is to Negro music. Le Corbusier might be defined as a revivalist with a jazz band. His conception of culture is "folklore and the machine." An admirable formula for barbarism. It is Hitler's: the folk soul and robot bombs. Those people would drive me back to Garnier's Opéra. But the book is ardent, shrewd, and witty—Le Corbusier's best, and the most tonic for us. As a prophet, he is stirring. As a city planner, he gave himself two permanent black eyes with his Voisin Plan for Paris: the ruthless destruction of all historical values. The great builders in Glaber's time were not nihilists. As Le Corbusier himself notes, they worked in the Romanesque, a bold and free handling of the Roman tradition; from the Romanesque of Caen or Vezelay to the Gothic of St. Denis or Paris there was a gradual evolution. "When the cathedrals were white," they implied no break with the past.

Le Corbusier is a stirring preacher: as an architect, he remains a dogmatist.

His buildings are angry fists shaken in the face of the Beaux Arts: in this particular respect they are highly functional. But they are devoid of either charm or power: he is no Saarinen, no Frank Lloyd Wright. Still, the book is delightful. It deserves a wider audience than Ayn Rand's; for it has all the "philosophy" of "The Fountainhead" without the melodrama and eroticism.

ALBERT GUERARD

Dissenting Opinion

SECRET MISSIONS. The Story of an Intelligence Officer. By Ellis M. Zacharias. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.75.

CAPTAIN ZACHARIAS is probably the navy's outstanding intelligence officer and certainly its foremost authority on psychological warfare. His book is important because of the evidence he adduces and the conclusions he comes to in his discussion of two much-debated issues—the predictability of the attack on Pearl Harbor and the imminence of the Japanese surrender when the decision was made to use the atom bomb.

His candor is refreshing and surprising, considering that Captain Zacharias is no psychological warrior or socialite G-2 or O. N. I. reserve officer but a regular from Annapolis, and that while his principal service interest has been Intelligence, he has had numerous line assignments, including, among others, the command of the heavy cruiser Salt Lake City, one of the little task force which, under Admiral Halsey, raided the Gilberts and Marshalls in our first major offensive against the Japanese.

Captain Zacharias's views on Pearl Harbor are, in part, known from his testimony before the Congressional committee investigating this disaster. Behind the tragedy of Pearl Harbor, he says, was the inadequacy of our Intelligence Service, the proverbial stepchild of both the army and the navy. The immediate reason was the failure of the local commander, Admiral Kimmel, to evaluate the intelligence available, and the similar failure of the high command in Washington to issue specific instructions based on this intelligence. Captain Zacharias further bluntly charges that both the local and high command failed to consult the opinion of those best

qualified to know what the Japanese might do under the circumstances. This charge has occasioned some criticism of the author as lacking in modesty, since it is apparent that Captain Zacharias regards himself as one of those who should have been consulted. The answer to this criticism is to be found not only in the fact that the subject is not one for false modesty, but also in the circumstance that Captain Zacharias's record undoubtedly qualifies him to speak as an expert in Japanese psychology and tactics.

He was first sent to Japan in 1920 by the Office of Naval Intelligence, at a time when only one officer of the entire navy could speak Japanese. Since then, and until the closing days of the war, when he broadcast in Japanese to Japan as the official spokesman of our government, he has made a specialty of matters Japanese. Not the least impressive evidence of his extraordinary capacities in this field is the fact that in March, 1941, several months prior to the outbreak of the war, he personally warned Admiral Kimmel at fleet headquarters in Hawaii of his "conviction that if Japan decided on war with us, she would open hostilities with an air attack on our fleet without a declaration of war, on a week-end, and probably on a Sunday morning, by launching planes from carriers. . . ."

Perhaps more debatable is his second thesis that Japan was ready to surrender unconditionally before the dropping of the two atom bombs. It is his feeling that we should have given Japan a little more time to consider and respond to the Potsdam Declaration, since the Japanese habitually require time to arrive at decisions. Here, too, he charges in effect that people like himself who were experts in Japanese psychology were not consulted. Considering the moral problem involved in the dropping of the two bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this is a very serious statement indeed, and one which must be evaluated in the light of the recent declaration by former Secretary Stimson that the dropping of the bombs was necessary in order to insure the surrender of Japan, avoid an invasion, and save countless American lives.

Captain Zacharias was recently retired with the rank of Rear Admiral. It seems strange, in view of our present pressing

need for an adequate intelligence system as a guide to our foreign policy in the troubled post-war world, that both he and General Donovan, our two foremost intelligence officers, should be put out to pasture. One suspects, without knowing, that in both cases Barkis is willing.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

A Limited Device

GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT. By Laura Z. Hobson. Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

IN THIS novel concerning a writer, Philip Schuyler Green, who lays aside his unimpeachable Episcopalian antecedents to become for a time a Jew the whole question of art and propaganda again rears its tired head. Green's fiancée, Kathy, hears his voice reproaching her condescending pity toward two Jewesses: "... if they'd been two Irish Catholic girls, all you'd have thought would have been how vulgar all that make-up is in sport clothes." If Mrs. Hobson's book were concerned with any less frightening theme than anti-Semitism, there would be no reason for a serious consideration of this piece of journalistic enterprise.

For Phil Green is a typical *Ladies' Home Journal* hero—tall, lean, with a touch of gray at the temples and a sensitive reserve concealing his true virility—a vigor represented in bed as well as at the typewriter, his creator carefully points out. With its 3,000,000 circulation and serialized fiction dealing in "countesses, young dukes, and American society folk" *Smith's Weekly Magazine* bears no resemblance to any liberal periodical extant or defunct. The series of articles based on this "journalistic stunt"—Green's own term on one occasion—is sensationally entitled in the best true-confessions tradition "I Was Jewish for Eight Weeks." In these gaucheries, in the conventionally unconventional love affair, in the ingenious "happy ending," commercial fiction is typified.

But one cannot deny to "Gentleman's Agreement" its status as an exposé. Philip Green is motivated by an indignation intensified through the brutal insults he suffers as a Jew. The crassness of prejudice faces him when a restricted hotel refuses him a room; the anguish of his own impotence strikes him when

his child is savagely tormented. The more insidious aspects of anti-Semitism are reflected in the latent philistinism of Elaine Wales, born Estelle Walovsky. Yet it is the emaculated liberalism of Kathy's genteel distaste for fanaticism, directed against or in behalf of the Jew, which is most excoriated.

Mrs. Hobson's treatment is, of course, a delimitation of the problem. The situation is not quite comparable to that of the miners and California Okies with whom Green has earlier identified himself. In the latter cases the issue is primarily one of economic injustice; in the former it is essentially a question of a chaotic moral order obsessed with an infantile need for reassurance, conscious of an inner weakness which must manifest itself in a perverted assertion of power. It is here that one finds the whole ethical basis of this novel questionable. Perhaps one can in the terms of propaganda consider the topical and the circumstantial. One can scarcely explore human nature and human values within the dimensions of an illustrated pamphlet. To make such an attempt is to distort and to cheapen—especially when the means is so contrived a device as Philip Green's masquerade.

JOAN GRIFFITHS

A Founder of Contemporary Liberalism

AN INTRODUCTION TO PEIRCE'S PHILOSOPHY, INTERPRETED AS A SYSTEM. By James Feibleman. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

CHARLES S. PEIRCE has often been judged perhaps the most original philosophical mind this country has produced. There can certainly be no doubt that Peirce's thought must receive prominent mention in any competent account of the origins of contemporary liberalism. Influential thinkers like William James and John Dewey, whose ideas have entered into the substance of current convictions, have called attention to the heavy intellectual debt they owe him. Yet Peirce was hardly more than a name to most of his contemporaries—he died in 1914 at the age of seventy-five—little read even by professional philosophers; and only relatively recently, subsequent to the publication of the first six volumes of his "Collected

Timely Treatment of Urgent Topics

SOIL and STEEL

Exploring the Common Interests of Farmers and Wage Earners

By P. Alston Waring

Co-author, *Roots in the Earth*

and Clinton S. Golden

Co-author, *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*

Never before has the vital problem of co-operative political and economic relations between farmers and industrial workers been so constructively examined as in this timely volume. It explores the common purpose and interests of these two groups and develops a much-needed workable program for their increased cooperation and mutual benefit. "You have made a fine contribution toward understanding a most important problem."—HENRY WALLACE

\$3.00

AMERICAN PLANNING

Past, Present, Future

By Cleveland Rodgers

Author, *New York Plans for the Future*, etc.

Member, *New York City Planning Commission*

Here at last is a lucid, appealing, vigorous overview of the what, why and how of America's historic efforts at national planning. In absorbing style a qualified expert rescues this necessary, statesmanlike idea from the faddists, showing its roots in the works of the early leaders of the Republic, and demonstrates the present needs and the approaches to the social and economic foresight which are essential for our nation's sound growth.

\$3.00

TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY

Through Industrial and Agricultural Development and Expansion

Edited by Mordecai Ezekiel

Economic Advisor, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture

This book is an answer to the urgent demand for authoritative information on the opportunities for economic expansion in every continent today. More than twenty experts contribute to the study of the conditions and prospects for industry and agriculture in individual countries, treating the problems of reconstruction as well as new development.

\$5.50

REFUGEES in AMERICA

Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe

By Maurice R. Davie

Department of Sociology, Yale University

Here is the first thorough and comprehensive study of the thousands of refugees who have recently streamed into our current of our national life. A complete record of their status, their occupations, and their important contribution to American life, as well as their problems of adjustment. "Orderly, readable and authentic... a book without which nobody can understand the situation... needed by every socially and morally responsible American."—DOUGLASS CANFIELD

\$4.50

At your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16

Papers" some dozen years ago, has he begun to receive the notice that he undoubtedly merits.

There are many reasons for the comparative neglect Peirce has suffered. The essays he published during his life, though some of them are eminently readable and were the inspiration for significant developments in philosophy, were chiefly concerned with apparently remote issues in logic and scientific method. They were also mere fragments from a comprehensive philosophical system with whose articulation Peirce was endlessly engaged; but he was unable, whether because of temperament or circumstance, to present his ideas in a coherent, intelligible form. His views on many fundamental questions were not always conspicuous for their clarity, nor were they always easily reconcilable with one another; and he himself admitted that no human being, not even himself, could put together his voluminous unpublished writings into a consistent whole. Except for a brief period Peirce was never connected with a university, in large measure because his marital affairs shocked the academic conventions of his day: he was thus denied the security and the discipline to organize his ideas so as to make them available to ordinary men. He was an intellectual maverick, and the isolation that was forced upon him accentuated his tendency to express his thought in unfamiliar ways. He therefore appeared to be more revolutionary in his philosophy than he actually was, and to be simply wilful in rejecting the hallowed dogmas of what passed for sound philosophy. A thinker operating under such handicaps is usually doomed to utter oblivion; Peirce was fortunately saved from such a fate.

Peirce's greatest influence, and in the judgment of many competent students his most substantial contribution, has been in the fields of logic and the philosophy of science. His papers in mathematical logic were an important stimulus to the development of a branch of formal studies at present undergoing in-

tensive cultivation; and they were also instrumental in liberating prominent thinkers from the conception of nature associated with the traditional doctrine of the syllogism. However, Peirce's concern with formal principles of reasoning was only a part of his attempt to develop a theory of knowledge that would be adequate to the requirements of modern experimental science. He attacked vigorously the use of authority, revelation, and appeals to self-evidence as ways for establishing responsible beliefs. He espoused the method of science for resolving problems in all domains of human concern, and he was eager to defend this method against all adversaries, like a knight his fair lady whom he has chosen from all the world. Nevertheless, he recognized that even the best method for obtaining genuine knowledge does not yield infallible conclusions: he viewed science not as a body of fixed dogmas but as the exercise of a method which constantly criticizes and corrects its own findings.

Peirce attempted to bridge the traditional chasm that isolated human reason from the rest of nature. He repeatedly called attention to the continuities that exist between intellectual and physical operations, and he spared no pains in exhibiting the objective basis upon which valid reasoning rests. Long before the current interest in semantic analysis became a fashion, he recognized the central role that symbols play in the life of man. Indeed, few recent writings on semantics are as rewarding reading as Peirce's discussion of the ways in which our language and our ideas may be made clear. According to him, the meaning of any symbol consists in the practical effects which the object of the symbol may have; and in consequence, the import of our ideas and actions must be viewed in the light of their effects upon the community of mankind. Peirce was thus a founder of pragmatism and a forerunner of contemporary positivism, but he also helped to forge the logical tools for a liberal social philosophy that is not committed to the preconceptions of nineteenth-century atomic individualism.

Peirce's general philosophy was inclusive enough to embrace an evolutionary cosmology. He had the requisite knowledge as well as daring to challenge the deterministic conception of

nature that was the orthodoxy of his day, maintaining that the laws which the sciences discover express only statistical regularities. Absolute chance and spontaneous variation were thus taken by him as irreducible features of the world. However, he rejected the view that general laws are nothing but convenient mental fictions, useful bookkeeping devices for bringing into order our sense impressions. On the contrary, he regarded general laws as formulations of the habits that things had acquired in the process of growth and development from an original chaos characterized by protean variety. The reality of chance, the tendency in things to form more or less fixed habits, and the progressive subjection of the primal chaos to general laws are thus the three central themes around which all of Peirce's thought revolves. He wrote philosophy in the grand manner, and there is much in him that makes him akin to Plotinus, Schelling, and Hegel. But although he is almost always suggestive and provocative, his speculative flights are of doubtful permanent value. On these as well as on other matters he wrote with assurance, but he also wrote cryptically; so that he can often be read to mean everything to all men.

Mr. Feibleman's volume is the first large-scale attempt to exhibit Peirce's ideas in systematic form, and to interpret all phases of Peirce's thought in terms of the latter's grandiose metaphysics. The chief value of the book consists in its bringing together, largely through quotations and paraphrases, Peirce's views on all the subjects upon which he had reflected. There is no attempt to evaluate critically Peirce's contributions, and as much space is devoted to expounding what is at best Peirce's fanciful speculations as his unquestionably substantial analyses. Mr. Feibleman's exposition is controlled by the assumption that Peirce was a consistent thinker and that his writings can be given an unambiguous interpretation. Mr. Feibleman is something less than successful in establishing this assumption, and indeed a more critical reading of Peirce than Mr. Feibleman has apparently made shows why he was foredoomed to failure. He writes in the conviction that the salvation of modern society depends on the adoption of a sound philosophy, and he does not con-

GIFT PACKAGE

Attractively wrapped gift package consisting of current best-selling novel, 11 ounce tin of imported candies, and pack of fine quality playing cards—ideal gift for convalescent, birthday or any occasion. Saves shopping—lasts longer than flowers. Sent postpaid anywhere in U. S. for \$5 with appropriate gift card bearing your name. Order now. Specially Assortment 9.

Mary Hunter, 1310 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill.

veal his belief that such a philosophy must be a species of Platonic realism. It is perhaps for this reason that he shows little understanding for features in Peirce's thought that cannot be made compatible with an extreme realism. Attempts such as Mr. Feibleman's to win assent to Peirce's philosophy in an all-or-nothing fashion, and to rivet everything in Peirce to his speculative metaphysics, are not doing service to what is vital and permanently valuable in Peirce's thought.

ERNEST NAGEL

Militants and Realists

ACTION FOR UNITY. By Goodwin Watson. Harper and Brothers, \$2.

SINCE the race riots of midsummer, 1943, a bewildering variety of organizations with a bewildering variety of programs have been established to improve group relations in the United States. Incoherent and unorganized as this movement has been, it nevertheless represents the most significant attempt to apply the democratic process in group relations that has yet arisen in this country. Goodwin Watson has performed, therefore, a real public service in this first effort to describe and evaluate what has actually been happening. He describes the particular approach of each action pattern, appraises its effectiveness, suggests possible limitations, and indicates the need for further research. Clear, precise, compact, his study is most skillfully organized. Of primary interest to persons working in the field of race relations, it also has a larger interest as a study of democracy in action. No one who has attempted to invoke the democratic process in even the most simple form of community organization can fail to appreciate his pointed discussion of some of the major problems involved. The basic need in all such efforts is to induce the "action" people and the "prestige" people to work together. While Dr. Watson does not offer a definite solution of this perennial difficulty, he has a clear recognition of the importance of militancy. "A handful of militants can win more publicity and arouse more apprehension in public officials than the 90 per cent who go along smoothly enough with what ever is or is not done." As one who has been bruised and battered in

the endless fighting between "militants" and "realists," I read Dr. Watson's comments on this issue with the avidity of a veteran reading an account of the engagements in which he has participated.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

The Disadvantages of Respectability

FATHER OF THE MAN. How Your Child Gets His Personality. By W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

THIS book is a discussion, on a popular level, of the personality differences and maladjustments of children, especially siblings. The authors are two University of Chicago sociologists who are primarily concerned with comparing the effects of varying cultural requirements on the character development of young children in different segments of our society. The role of the subconscious in determining personality, while not wholly evaded, is generally relegated to a subordinate position. (Dr. Helen Ross, an analyst, contributes a brief chapter on the child's necessity for identification with one parent, and an even briefer appendix that describes her use of play therapy as a research method.) Care is taken at every point to mention the importance of "emotional relationships" in the shaping of character; yet emphasis is laid at all times on the significance of "social relations" and cultural pressures exerted on the child to adapt himself to the habits and institu-

tions of the social stratum into which he is born.

Four children of two families are examined in detail, although the authors' conclusions are based on case studies of more than two hundred families. All the children are girls; two are Negroes belonging to the lowest income group, two are daughters of a professional man with a relatively high income. The ages of the worker's children are six and eight years; the upper-middle-class girls are both adolescents. This disparity is contrived to demonstrate the advantages and disadvantages of two opposing sets of familial and societal restraints within a single culture in terms of growth of personality. As might be expected, the children belonging to the highest income group show the greatest respect for property and the canons of respectability, and this integration is achieved at the cost of extensive ego-frustration. Middle-class mothers breast-feed their babies too seldom, wean and toilet-train them too soon, thwart their explorative tendencies with pens and walkers. Slum children are trained less rigorously, have greater freedom, more chance for self-expression. This comparison is used as a device to make the reader aware of the deficiencies of middle-class child rearing. However, a serious synthesis of cultural and psychological factors in child growth is not attempted. More case histories, a less episodic treatment of the cases presented, a choice of children at the same age level, a greater sampling of equivalent institutions in a primitive culture would have made a better book.

JOHN FRANKLIN BARDIN

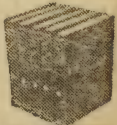
ALL THE WEEK'S NEWS IN 25 MINUTES!

"INDISPENSABLE!"

Says

William L. Shirer

"INDISPENSABLE... for those who want to get the confusing facts of contemporary history straight."



\$45 yearly subscription. Bound volumes 1941-1946 \$20 each.

FACTS ON FILE

- Completely indexed
- Find any fact of the fact 7 years in seconds
- Edited weekly
- Presents facts only — without bias
- Covers 70 newspapers, 10 magazines and hundreds of news releases
- Only 25 minutes a week to read all the domestic and international news.

The only news service which grows into an encyclopedia. This unique news service digests and cross indexes without bias all the important news of 70 newspapers, 10 magazines and hundreds of Government releases into just 25 minutes of reading a week. At a glance you can tell what happened in every important international situation, you can read the facts of every industrial, political and domestic news event.

FACTS ON FILE cross indexes every major topic for future reference and grows into an annual encyclopedia of news history. You can keep informed without stacks of magazines and news clippings. Bound volumes are also available from 1941 through 1946. Write for fully descriptive free booklet today!

FACTS ON FILE

Dept. 105, 516 Fifth Ave., New York 18, N. Y.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
ODISEUM
8th ST.
9th ST.
10th ST.
11th St. & 3rd
HAMILTON
12th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW

**JOAN CRAWFORD
JOHN GARFIELD**
'HUMORESQUE'
with OSCAR LEVANT
— AND —
'CRIMINAL COURT'

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCK.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BROOKWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

**BETTY GRABLE
DICK HAYMES**
'The Shocking Miss Pilgrim'
— AND —
'NOTORIOUS GENTLEMAN'

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kath's
FLUSHING
Kath's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

**ALAN LADD • GAIL RUSSELL
WILLIAM BENDIX**

"CALCUTTA"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— IN PERSON —

DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS WORLD-
FAMOUS ORCHESTRA

Plus — COKE & POKE

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

BUCK & BUBBLES

Doors Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny
play, brilliantly
written, acted
and staged."
—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEAT., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40 Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"937 LAUGHS."—Walter Winchell

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A NEW HIT."—Morehouse, Sun

**HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY**

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinee Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—Barnes, Her. Trib.

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Music by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Theat., 45th St., West of B'way
Even. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

SAY YOU SAW IT ADVERTISED
IN THE NATION!

MOTION PICTURES

CHARLES CHAPLIN
IN
"Monsieur Verdoux"
BROADWAY THEATRE

BROADWAY at 53rd STREET

CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCES • POPULAR PRICES

Doors Open 9:30 a. m.

For maximum enjoyment, see this picture from the beginning.

10:05 a.m., 12:25, 2:40, 4:55, 7:15, 9:35, 11:50

WEEKDAYS 70¢ to 1 p.m.—\$1.00 to 6 p.m.—\$1.25 to closing

SATURDAY 70¢ to 1 p.m.—\$1.25 to 6 p.m.—\$1.50 to closing
SUNDAY \$1.00 to 3 p.m.—\$1.25 to 6 p.m.—\$1.50 to closing (tax incl.)

UNLESS WE ACT

1 IN 8

Will Die of

CANCER

No One Is Safe From

CANCER

GIVE to help win mankind's great
war—the fight against cancer.

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY

47 BEAVER STREET

NEW YORK CITY

PLANNING TO ADVERTISE IN

THE NATION?

HERE ARE SOME VITAL STATISTICS!

General Advertising - - - - - \$200 per page

Publishers & Local - - - - - 240 per page

(EVEN FRACTIONS THEREOF ON A PRO RATA BASIS)

Classified Display - - - - - \$7.39 per inch

Classified - - - - - 74c a line (six words)

MINIMUM THREE LINES

Call or write today for additional data on
deadlines and discounts!

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

Twenty Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

BARELAY 7-1066

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

DECIDEDLY, painting is now in a situation that forces it to live on accumulated reserves. Not a single important new impulse has manifested itself since cubism and abstract post-cubist art, Kandinsky, Klee, and Mondrian laid down positions almost thirty years ago that ambitious painting today has not succeeded in extending save in isolated and therefore minor instances. Painting has had in the interim to content itself with intensifying its occupation of territory conquered long since.

Marc Chagall, one of the best results if not prime movers of the revolution that is the School of Paris, is a case in point. The substance of his art has shrunk progressively during the last twenty-five years. After becoming one of the most pungent and personal of all twentieth-century artists between 1910 and 1920, he has failed almost absolutely since then to add anything to himself beyond Frenchified refinement and a more hedonistic sensuousness. Not that he does not still betray twinges of ambition, but these very twinges serve now only to disorganize his work. Chagall's recent show at the Matisse Gallery makes it clear that today he has to keep his aims modest in order to produce successful pictures—compromised though these successes may be by their lack of seriousness or weight. Some of the thirteen gouaches Chagall has turned out as illustrations for "A Thousand and One Nights" are felicitous, but it is the felicity of prettiness. And his oils, which are quieter and more fulfilled than most of his recent ones, escape prettiness not because of the heavier medium but simply because of his permanent difficulty in unifying his canvases—present even in such obviously well-painted works as "The Red Rooster," the "Resurrection," and the "Madonna of the Village." (It is curious how Chagall's original *gaucherie* persists no matter how syrupy his painting becomes.)

In the final analysis this art lacks an extreme, even the extreme of control. Chagall has no longer enough to say to fill out his style, which is left without strains or tensions. He was never an independent, self-fructifying master like Matisse, and the present deliquescence of his art reflects, precisely, the decay of the movement that quickened and nourished him in the beginning. It is

Chagall's tragedy that he has never had much more than his genius.

The latest annual show of the American Abstract Artists makes in its own quite different way the same point as Chagall. Here the hand of the past descends more heavily because none of the thirty-seven artists represented can quite boast a temperament. Some of them have an abundance of vitality, at least of a mechanical kind, but nowhere does it break through the canonical modes of the School of Paris to assert a new independent personality—or an idea. Witness only the show of fruitless energy made by such painters as Judith Rothschild and Perle Fine. Of all the people present Fannie Hillsmith and Maurice Golubov, both of whom used to take from Klee but now appear to have parted company with him, demonstrate the most valid native talent, grasp the identity of a picture most instinctively, but both confine themselves to slight effects, effects they get without forcing. And the same can be said of the other painters who show respectable works at this show: Maurice Berezov, Eleanor de Laitre, Irving Lehman, A. D. Reinhardt, Max Spivak, and the sculptor Harold Krisel. Not one is bold, extravagant, pertinacious, or obsessed. Like American poets and critics, they are mortally afraid of making fools of themselves. Politeness covers all.

The League of Present Day Artists, whose thirty-odd members showed recently at the Argent Galleries, are not so polite by half, but small good it does them. If the A. A. A. are like the *Kenyon* and *Sewanee Reviews*, the league is like Kenneth Patchen and Henry Miller in his so frequent off moments (I assume my readers are more familiar with literature than with art). Nothing sinks so low as revolt for the sake of revolt—especially when the opposition has succumbed decades ago. The A. A. A. takes off at least from cubism, whereas the League of Present Day Artists begins from—Vlaminck, Rouault, Franz Marc, *Schwärmeri*. This is the lamentable backwash—refuse-laden and inexplicable, talentless, pointless—of the expressionism that flowed past the point where we are now standing twenty-five years ago. One wonders how these artists deceive themselves—can't they see how much better-packaged this tripe is at any Whitney Annual? I would like, however, to save the names of Pennerton West, a painter, and Harvey S. Weiss, a sculptor, from the morass that surrounds them. Compromised as they are

by their company, they have enough innate talent to keep their heads above the general muck.

Ivan Mestrovic, the Yugoslav sculptor and, according to the release of the Metropolitan Museum, where his latest work is now being shown (through June 1), "one of the world's most famous artists," hardly belongs in any discussion of modern art—and will, eventually, belong in the discussion of no art whatsoever. Mestrovic may have been a better sculptor in the past; his bronze pieces have at least a sort of cuteness. But his stuff is also one of the sources of that awful archaeological, archaic, stylized, ornamental, decorative nonsense which is the bane of contemporary stone and bronze sculpture. A lot of modeler's talent has been put into the expressive distortions and simplifications of Mestrovic's bronze studies for his "Job," but it is just so much talent invested to keep Madame Tussaud's Waxworks going. Anybody from Rockport or Provincetown could show him how to make it "art."

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ON THE additional London Decca records that I have heard are several familiar works: Strauss's "Don Juan," performed by the National Symphony under Sidney Beer (Set ED-15; \$5); Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite, performed by the same orchestra under Stanford Robinson (Set ED-9; \$7); and Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" Symphony, performed by the same orchestra under

FOOD SHIPPED OVERSEAS

Send food any place in the world to your friends and relatives. Delivery guaranteed. Your name marked on parcels as sender. Certificate of mailing sent you for each package. All merchandise guaranteed highest quality obtainable.

Honey, 1 lb. tin

Milk Chocolate, 1 lb.
(12 bars 1½ oz. each)

Tea, ½ lb.

Cheese, 1 lb.

Bacon, 1½ lb.

sliced in tins

Lard, 1 lb. 6 oz.
vacuum tin

One can opener

Coffee, 1 lb.
vacuum tin

COMPLETE COST \$8.95

ASK FOR PARCEL "A"

Send check or money order to

ACE MAIL ORDER CO.

EAST ORANGE 1, NEW JERSEY

Albert Coates (Set ED-21; \$13). These are works I enjoy; and the performances of "Don Juan" and the "Nutcracker" Suite are good; but the one of the "Pathétique" is very bad. On a wide-range phonograph their recorded sound has the spaciousness and remarkable depth and roundness in space of the first English Deccas that I discussed—the "Don Juan" being especially fine; but the sound is also brash, with the violins veiled and sharp-edged—this also being especially true of the "Don Juan." On a limited-range machine (4000-5000 cycles) the sound lacks the brightness it should have, but is richly sonorous and pleasantly smooth.

Among the unfamiliar works are Benjamin Britten's Introduction and Rondo alla Burlesca Opus 23 No. 1 and his Mazurka Elegiaca Opus 23 No. 2 for two pianos, played by the composer and Clifford Curzon (Set ED-17; \$5). The first of these is, for me, noisily pretentious and uninteresting; the second, in its quiet way, more impressive. They are well-performed and excellently recorded.

Franck's "Le Chasseur maudit" is excellently described by a reader as "a symphonic poem that might almost be by Saint-Saëns if Saint-Saëns had taken it into his head to copy Franck's harmonic mannerisms—something he was doubtless quite capable of." In other words, a work of little consequence, which is well-performed by the London Philharmonic under Franz André (Set ED-20; \$5). No more consequential are Tchaikovsky's "Opritchnik" Overture, well-performed by the National Symphony under Fistoulari (K-1291; \$2), with a good performance of Bellini's Overture to "Norma" on the reverse side; Schubert's Overture in Italian style Opus 170, well-performed by the same orchestra under Unger (K-1327; \$2); and Mendelssohn's Capriccio Brilliant Opus 22 for piano and orchestra, well-performed by Moura Lympny with the same orchestra under Boyd Neel (K-1191; \$2). The recorded sound of all these is like that of the other orchestral works—with the violins clearer and sweeter in the Franck piece than in the others on a wide-range machine, and with the "Norma" and "Opritchnik" overtures confused at times by reverberation.

A reader who agrees with me about the beautiful sound of the English recording of "The Messiah" recently issued here by Columbia adds: "Don't the American record people listen to what they import and repress? Are they

deaf? Don't they know that if they turn this stuff loose here the American public will have a standard of judgment?" All rhetorical questions, of course, to which he provides the answer: "They probably count (and probably correctly) on the fact that the American public will turn the treble control down to the bottom and the bass control up to the top, and will never know the difference between good and bad."

I still get occasional inquiries about the unreleased recordings of Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 111 and Opus 109 that Schnabel made for Victor in 1942, and that I mentioned in the 1943 edition of my "Music on Records"; and a few readers have passed on to me Victor's reply to their inquiries: that the "records in question were never approved by the artist nor by this Company," and that "there are a number of reasons, which we are not at liberty to discuss at this time, why the recordings . . . have not been released." That the recordings were not approved is true; but it is only part of the truth and gives an incorrect impression. The complete truth is that, as usually happens, certain sides had turned out unsatisfactory, and that approval was withheld until these sides could be, as such sides normally are, recorded again by the artist. In September 1942, when I heard the test-pressings, the man then at Victor who was handling the Schnabel recordings expected the unsatisfactory sides to be remade as soon as the Petrillo ban was ended, and the recordings then to be released. And what "we are not at liberty to discuss at this time" is the reason why, when after two and a half years the Petrillo ban was ended, the new people at Victor decided not to do anything more with those Schnabel recordings.

The conclusion I reached about the reason was that these people had no regard for and interest in Schnabel's playing (if I appreciated Toscanini, one of them said to me, I should appreciate the same things in Horowitz's playing). This was hotly denied: the reason, it was contended, was the pressure on Victor's recording-time and equipment from its own artists who had waited for recording to be resumed, and the fact that Schnabel was under contract not to Victor but to H. M. V.—which led Victor to decide to let him make recordings in England which it would, as in the past, then press and issue here. But only people with no interest in his playing would have made this decision, in disregard of his age, of the years that

already had been lost, and of the fact that in 1945 he still had no prospect of getting to England. And the fact is that although Schnabel did finally record for H. M. V. last summer, and imported pressings of at least one of the recordings—of Mozart's A minor Rondo—have reached this country, Victor still hasn't given any sign of pressing and issuing them here. (The recording of the Mozart Rondo was broadcast by WQXR recently: it seemed to me a beautiful performance of this marvelous work. As for the new recording that Schnabel made in England of Beethoven's G major Piano Concerto—presumably because of justified dissatisfaction with the performance he recorded for Victor in 1942—I should not be surprised if we never hear it—if, that is, Victor not only doesn't press it here but prevents its importation.)

In September 1942 Victor also expected the unsatisfactory sides of the recordings that Toscanini had made with the Philadelphia Orchestra to be remade, since he was to work with the orchestra again that year. But in 1945 he was no longer working with it; and the decision was to make a new start with the N. B. C. Symphony. This has given us some fine things; but the loss of those wonderful performances with the Philadelphia is something to mourn over, especially since their imperfections are negligible by the side of the defects of some of the recordings Victor has released—the Beethoven Piano Concerto No. 3, for example.

CONTRIBUTORS

HARRISON SALISBURY spent some time in Russia as correspondent for the United Press.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "The Future of Paris," a book on city planning.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, a Chicago lawyer, served as a major in the OSS during the war.

JOAN GRIFFITHS is a member of the English department of Smith College.

ERNEST NAGEL is professor of philosophy at Columbia University.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation*, is the author of "Southern California Country," "Brothers Under the Skin," and other books.

Letters to the Editors

Can't Deny It

Dear Sirs: I thank you for sending me an advance copy of the March 15 issue of *The Nation*, with its editorial, The Lewis Case.

I regret deeply that none of the members of the editorial staff of *The Nation* ever worked in a coal mine.

JOHN L. LEWIS

Washington, April 15

Anyway . . .

Dear Sirs: The University of Southern California announces its second summer Workshop in Intercultural Education from June 23 to August 1. The staff will include Dr. Harvey S. Locke, sociologist; Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey, Negro educator, Philadelphia Public Schools; Mrs. Sybil Richardson, psychologist, Los Angeles County Schools; Mrs. Afton Nance, supervisor, Riverside County Schools; Mrs. Beatrice Krone, music education; Dr. Glen Lukens, art education, the University of Southern California.

The Workshop carries six units of graduate credit. Membership in the Workshop is limited to forty. Application should be made to Mrs. Jane Hood, School of Education, the University of Southern California, Los Angeles 7, California, not later than May 15.

JANE HOOD

Director of Workshop

Los Angeles, April 7

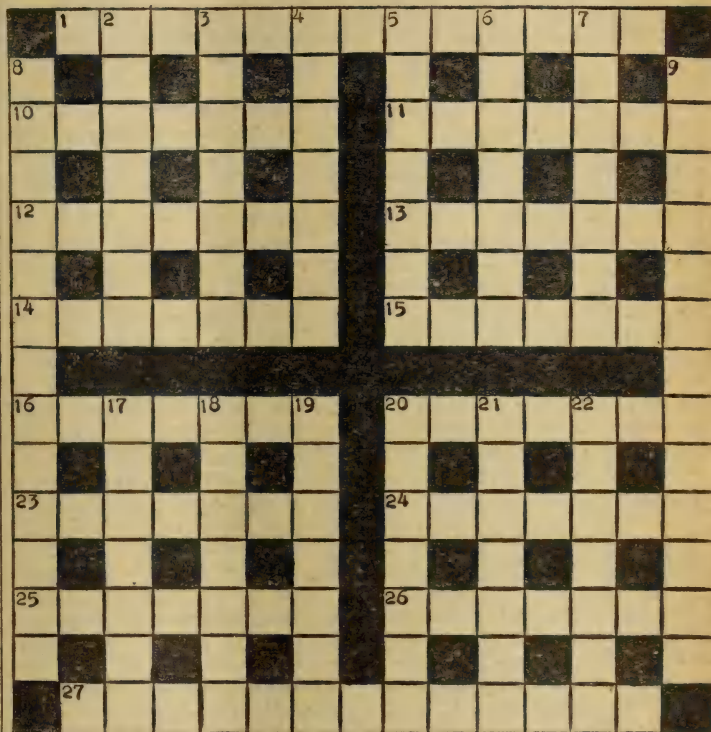
. . . You Can't Lose

Dear Sirs: The University of California at Los Angeles, the San Diego State College, San Diego City Schools, San Diego County Schools, and the Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education announce a joint summer workshop from June 23 to August 1, on the San Diego State College campus. Graduate school credit, six units.

Members of the staff include Dr. Stewart G. Cole, director of the Pacific Coast Council and of the workshop; Dr. Leslie Pinkney Hill, distinguished Negro leader and president of State Teachers College, Cheney, Pa.; Dr. Mildred J. Wiese, president of the California Association of Adult Education; Mrs. Ruth D. Tuck, author of "Not with the Fist," consultant on Mexican American problems; Dr. Peter Lee, consultant on Chinese and Japanese Ameri-

Crossword Puzzle No. 210

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 What Balaam must have felt when his ass broke into light conversation
- 10 Let the little chap travel to get better
- 11 Frozen water en bloc, so to speak (3 & 4)
- 12 A blow—with the end of it perhaps (slang)
- 13 Useful thing for the painter to have on hand
- 14 Deprived of some right
- 15 French encyclopedist
- 16 Floor covering ruined for the sake of Art?
- 20 Wipe out—with the aid of water possibly
- 23 The stupid fellow starts to soften
- 24 Though hard hit by the price rise, he still has what it takes to pay the landlord
- 25 Infuriated
- 26 Concluding musical movement which particularly interested Beethoven (3 & 4)
- 27 Outcome of crisis in building (9 & 4)

DOWN

- 2 *Beauty and the Beast*, say, in a Parisian theater?
- 3 A Somerset Maugham short story (4 & 3)
- 4 Doe Celt (anag.) is voted into office
- 5 Held fast

- 6 Something for the tobogganist has in it something for the golfer. That's hard
- 7 Not the situation in which the Poles find themselves
- 8 He does his best to give one a bright outlook (6 & 7)
- 9 By no means a simple Simon (5, 3, 5)
- 17 Pet remedy with a rum base
- 18 He discounts money
- 19 Related (anag.)
- 20 The returning tar is embraced by Eric
- 21 Albino infection (4 & 3)
- 22 Town in Kenya Colony

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 209

ACROSS—1 BEDREW; 4 ROC; 6 COMIC; 8 ORMONDE; 10 ORANGES; 11 NESTLE; 13 REMEDIES; 15 ALLURED; 16 ENLIST; 17 ASHY; 19 SITTING; 21 RUSH; 23 EUREKA; 25 AGGRESS; 27 PORTIERE; 28 TSETSE; 31 TOO FINE; 32 MOTHERS; 33 HUSSY; 34 SOS; 35 DATUM.

DOWN—1 BROWN; 2 DAMOSEL; 3 WINDLASS; 4 REEK; 5 CLOVER; 6 CRAVED; 7 MAGPIES; 8 CASHES; 12 RYTINGE; 13 RUPTURE; 14 MEANEST; 16 BAR; 18 YEA; 20 GUSSETED; 22 SERIOUS; 24 ENTREAT; 25 AIRILY; 28 GREENS; 27 PATCH; 29 EPSOM; 30 EMUS.

can affairs; Dr. William J. Stone, director of the Intercultural Education Experiment, San Diego City Schools.

A number of fellowships and scholarships are available. Application should be made to Dr. Stewart G. Cole, Room 262, Chamber of Commerce Building, Los Angeles 15, California.

STEWART G. COLE

Los Angeles, April 16

A Request for Letters

Dear Sirs: I am at work upon a Letter-Book of American Jewish History, which is to include letters written by American Jews from the period 1654 to 1924. I should be very happy to hear from any of your readers who may have such material which they would be willing to lend me. I will take good care of what is sent me, use nothing unless authorized, and return the material as speedily as possible. My address is: The Hebrew Union College, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati 20, Ohio.

JACOB R. MARCUS

Cincinnati, April 13

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The address of the Committees of Correspondence, inadvertently omitted from the Letters column of *The Nation* in the issue of April 12, is 1 West Eighty-fifth Street, New York. The cost of annual membership is \$1.]

ADVERTISEMENTS

SITUATION WANTED (FEMALE)

SECRETARY-STENOGRAPHER, prefer Labor or Civil Organization. Experienced. Phone CHelsea 3-8321 or write Box 1705, c/o The Nation.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

BEST BUYS at BEST PRICES

REMINGTON FOURLINE SHAVERS
Reg. \$19.50..... \$17.55
SUNBEAM IRONMASTER, Reg. \$12.95 \$11.65
NESCO PRESSURE COOKER
Reg. \$12.95..... \$11.65
JUICE KING K30 (White or Red)
Reg. \$6.95..... \$6.25

Record changers, Floor Polishers, Soundmirrors, Sunlamps, and other Home Appliances at liberal discounts. Inquiries invited.

Send check or money order. Postpaid

MIRO'S 385 OCEAN AVENUE
Jersey City 5, N. J.

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
Longore 5-4917

MISCELLANEOUS

SWAP NECKTIES! (Satisfied swappers everywhere). Mail us one-to-six ties you're sick of. You'll receive pronto same number of handsomely cleaned different ties we got same way. Then you pay mailman \$1 plus postage. Far-away store labels wow demoiselles! TIESWAP, Box 547A, Wilmington, Del.

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE

Jersey City—Industrial site; railroad sidings; plot land 136x123; about 15,000 sq. ft., corner Bay & Greene Sts., opposite Harborside Terminal, adjoining Hudson & Manhattan R. R. powerhouse. \$29,000 cash. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass.-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

SUMMER BUNGALOWS

FOR RENT: Summer Bungalows, Dutchess County, all improvements 2 or 3 rooms. Call between 9—4, FORDHAM 7-2665.

BOOKS

"TECHNIQUE OF THE LOVE AFFAIR" by a Gentlewoman. Price—\$2.50 postpaid. Order promptly. DANIEL S. MEAD CO., 200 (NA) West 20th St., N. Y. C. 11.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA., Free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

RESORT

45 Miles from New York City

Zindorest

★ **Park** **Monroe**
N. Y.

Telephone 4421

A Resort for Adults Only

Exclusive location. 150 acres of unusual beauty. All sports. Lake and Pool on premises. Delicious food, relaxing atmosphere, dancing, horseback riding on premises, modern accommodations. Greyhound, Adirondack Trailway and Short Line Buses stop at our Entrance. ★

TRAVEL

EUROPE THIS SUMMER

Sightseeing plus Insight
"SOCIAL CHANGE UNDER
LABOR GOVERNMENTS"

Leader: Professor Colston Warner
ADULT GROUP—COMMUNITY
LEADERS—VISITING
ENGLAND, FRANCE,
HOLLAND, SWEDEN,
and (behind alleged "Iron Curtain")
POLAND

June 20-Sept. 9 (80 days)
ALL EXPENSES—\$1,595

Also lower-cost student tours

WORLD STUDYTOURS

417 West 121st Street, New York 27

ADLER EXPEDITION

FOR TEENAGERS



Co-Educational—14 to 18 year
Exploration — Travel
Northeastern U. S. & Canada
Fun — Excitement — Education
Safe — Reliable — Supervised
Write for Details
120 Boylston St., Boston 16, Mass.

LET'S TOUR AMERICA

HOW DOES THIS SOUND TO YOU ? ?

An ideal vacation tour of the U. S. by auto for boys, 12-16. To outstanding points of interest and scenic beauty: Washington, D. C., Mammoth Cave, Petrified Forest, Grand Canyon, Yosemite, Redwoods, Yellowstone and Niagara are a few of the places. Write: O. Flech, 1626 Madison Place, Brooklyn 20, N. Y., or phone Nightingale 5-6750.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Shaker Village Work Camp

TEEN-AGE CO-ED SUMMER CAMP
Full recreation and athletic program. • We provide complete farmstead, construction, all the crafts. • Fine arts, folk-music and dances. • Music program includes Tanglewood Festival. Camp occupies original historic buildings. For brochure 285 Madison Avenue, New York CA 5-21

WALTELL HOUSE

ON FRANKEL FARM

MT. BETHEL, PA.

VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm. Rates:—Adults \$85 Week — Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-388

SAW YOU SAW IT ADVERTISED
IN THE NATION!

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 10, 1947

NUMBER 19

The Shape of Things

IT IS DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW THE MENTAL processes of the large House majority which passed the foreign-relief bill only after cutting down the original appropriation of \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000 and adding a lot of restrictive amendments which will tend to defeat the purposes of the bill. In some quarters the vote is cited as evidence of a resurgence of "isolationism." However, many of those who voted for reduced relief are expected to approve the bill for aid to Greece and Turkey—hardly an isolationist measure, whatever else may be said against it. So perhaps we must accept Arthur Krock's explanation that the legislators acted (a) from motives of economy, and (b) from a desire to protest against the "inconsistency" of the Administration when at one and the same time it gets tough with Russia and offers aid to Russian-dominated countries. On this point it seems to us that the logic of the State Department is better than that of the Congressional Republicans. The denial of relief to Poland or Hungary on the ground that it would indirectly serve to bolster the Soviet economy appears a sure way of reinforcing Soviet propaganda in such countries. On the other hand, expenditures to relieve suffering should prove, as the *New York Herald Tribune* has put it, "powerful missionary arguments in precisely those areas where we most want to make good our case." As for economy, Congressmen should know that the policy of checking the western advance of communism, which we have adopted, cannot be carried out cheaply. We shall get more for our money, however, if we spend it in ways that promote economic recovery than if we invest it in arms for corrupt and inefficient governments.

✱

FOR A MAN AS COOL IN TEMPERAMENT AS he is reputed to be, Senator Robert A. Taft is behaving with surprising rashness. His dogged efforts to make the labor bill as punitive as the Senatorial traffic will bear may look to him like a good risk, but his arrogance toward the American Federation of Labor seems more like self-indulgence than smart politics. Federation leaders thought they had an understanding with Taft last fall whereby they would have a measure of influence in the framing of a moderate measure. Pained over the apparent double-cross, they called on Taft last week and

were told in effect that the Senator was delighted to have their opposition. He hoped that, in their anger over the draconian House bill, the A. F. of L. men would not fail to train a gun or two on his own slightly milder proposals. Taft's tactics, if they are calculated at all, are hard to understand. Last November the Republican Party enjoyed considerable labor support, without which it would certainly have lost in a good number of the industrial districts its candidates carried. Taft and his colleagues appear to be under a strange compulsion to kick this support away in exchange for nothing at all, the anti-labor vote being theirs almost by definition. A measure of Taft's folly is the mournful reaction of William L. Hutcheson, conservative president of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the man who headed the G. O. P.'s labor committee in the Hoover and Landon campaigns. Hutcheson is said to have complained in private: "It's getting so a labor man can hardly vote Republican any more."

✱

SENTIMENTS LIKE MR. HUTCHESON'S GIVE more than a passing news value to the strained but none the less dramatic get-together of Federation and C. I. O. leaders. What John L. Lewis likes to call "accouplement" may still be far in the offing, although, with industrial unionism an accepted principle in the A. F. of L., there are fewer obstacles today than in previous attempts. But thanks to Senator Taft, the conference had other implications. Aside from confronting the vengeful lawmakers—and we do not apply the adjective to those who would honestly correct admitted abuses—with an unprecedented labor solidarity, the meeting suggested some interesting political possibilities. It is no secret that a sizable proportion of the A. F. of L. vote went to Thomas E. Dewey in New York last fall. Will an effort be made now to smoke out the Governor—or will he be allowed to sit back and let his rivals for the G. O. P. nomination take the risks while he enjoys the fruits in non-committal silence? Some of the Federation men who called on Taft last week are almost duty bound now to pay a visit to Albany. Then, too, should an all-out joint campaign against the combined Taft-Hartley bill be climaxed by a Presidential veto, old wounds might magically be healed. It is worth noting that while Lewis has cried "Murder!" at Secretary of the Interior

• IN THIS ISSUE •

COVER

H. M. King Abdul Aziz Ibn Abdul Rahman
Al Faisal Al Saud by *Oscar Berger*

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 529
Remember Mr. Hoover by *R. V. C.* 532
A Working Plan for Palestine 533

ARTICLES

Arabian Nights in Flushing
by *J. Alvarez del Vayo* 534
Civil Rights—Fresh Start by *Robert Bendiner* 536
In the Wind 538
The Tragedy of De Gaulle by *Léon Blum* 539
Cartoon by *Ezekiel Schloss* 539
Who Should Rule the Sudan?
by *Robert Henriques* 540
Election Day in Santo Domingo
by *Albert C. Hicks* 543
Everybody's Business by *Keith Hutchison* 545

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way by *Margaret Marshall* 546
Apologia for the White Paper
by *Bartley C. Crum* 549
Shakespeare as Theater by *Arthur Mizener* 549
Prescription for Doctors by *Michael M. Davis* 560
All Done with Words by *Ruthven Todd* 551
Films by *James Agee* 551
Records by *B. H. Haggin* 553

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 554

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 211 by *Jack Barrett* 555

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors: Robert Bendiner, Maxwell S. Stewart

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside *Assistant Literary Editor:*

Caroline Whiting *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The *Nation* is indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, *Book Review Digest*, *Index to Labor Articles*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, *Dramatic Index*.

Krug, he has so far cautiously refrained from making villain of the President.

★

AS OUR WISCONSIN READERS WILL SURELY point out, we were wrong last week in citing the forthcoming special election in the state of Washington as "the first test of Congressional strength since last November." Just after going to press we learned the results of the special election in Wisconsin's Second District, where Democratic candidate Carl Thompson lost to Republican Glenn Davis by the exceedingly narrow margin of 84 votes. Thompson's remarkable showing is doubly significant. It represents, first, a notable shift in the political wind since last fall. The Democratic candidate at the time polled only 36 per cent of the vote; Davis won 45 per cent. Second, it underscores the blunder of the La Follette in seeking a haven for their following in the Republican Party. Thompson, a rising leader of the Progressive Party, refused to go along on this suicidal policy. He has been proved right. Whereas the G. O. P. denies the Senatorial nomination to Bob La Follette, the Democrats have made Wisconsin liberals like Thompson very much at home. He was induced to run in the first place by a Democratic national committeeman, and his excellent showing is credited to the party's willingness to work with cooperatives, trade unions, and Americans for Democratic Action, which sent an organizer into the district. The combination promises to restore to Wisconsin politics the dignity it has lost under the thumb of Republican boss Tom Coleman.

★

WHILE THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE Geneva Trade Conference is trying to sell the world on the need for fewer trade barriers, Congress is busy adding new bricks to the American tariff wall. The Senate recently rushed through a bill, introduced by Senator Robertson, a Wyoming sheep rancher, providing for continued support of domestic wool prices by government purchases and for sales of Commodity Credit Corporation wool stocks at the market, even though losses are incurred. But this plan for transferring some \$75,000,000 of taxpayers' money to the sheep herders seems insufficiently generous to the House Agriculture Committee, which is proposing to amend the Robertson bill by adding to it authorization for the imposition of a 50 per cent *ad valorem* "fee" on imported wool and wool products. This charge will be, of course, in addition to present tariff duties, which in the case of raw wool amount to about 34 per cent on the finer grades and in respect to woolen and worsted fabrics, range upward of 50 per cent. The bill, if it becomes law, will add heavily to the cost of clothes and blankets, and on that ground alone it ought to be rejected. But even worse is its likely effect on the Geneva conference. For how can our delegates hope to convince other nations that we are sincere

in our proposals for freer trade in the face of such Congressional actions? How, in particular, can America hope to persuade the British Empire, the world's chief producer of raw wool, to moderate its preferential tariff system? If the Administration does not take immediate steps to challenge this iniquitous bill, the Geneva conference seems doomed to smother in Western wool.

✱

PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN OF MEXICO WAS greeted in Washington last week by the biggest crowds to turn out in the capital since the visit of General Eisenhower or the British royal family. His visit, of course, followed hard on President Truman's trip to Mexico City, where public enthusiasm made a pretty picture in the newsreels and any adverse comment failed to reach the public prints. Behind the fanfare is a hard-headed Washington calculation of which Mexico is taking full advantage. In policy-making circles in Mexico City, just before Alemán's departure, what was being freely discussed was not Mexico's leadership in the hemisphere-defense program, to which both countries are committed, but just how much the United States can be made to pay for it. Exact figures are not available but in Washington \$40,000,000 was mentioned as a possible contribution from the Treasury's Stabilization Fund to bolster the peso, with another \$50,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank. Mexican estimates go as high as \$100,000,000 for industrialization, \$50,000,000 for highways, and \$25,000,000 for tourist facilities. In general, the present Mexican government would prefer United States government money to private loans, although the latter are not ruled out. Mexico has become shy of foreign capital partly because of old, unhappy memories of Standard Oil imperialism and partly because of a natural reluctance to become involved in the United States business crash which Mexicans confidently expect.

✱

MEXICO'S WAR-TIME SPENDING SPREE LEFT the country in confusion. Little of the profits went to the government. The present administration contains an overwhelming number of comparatively young business men and is going all out for efficiency and public-works construction. Just before Alemán left Mexico City he got blank-check support from Vincente Lombardo Toledano's labor movement, in spite of the fact that Lombardo has been the most vocal opponent in Latin America of the Truman plan for hemisphere defense and the Clayton plan for low-tariff multilateral trade. The grounds for Toledano's present support are that Alemán is "carrying through the bourgeois democratic revolution" and that his program is, therefore, broadly progressive. Both the government and the left are frightened by the growing strength of the frankly reactionary right, mainly of the highly organized National Action Party (P. A. N.),

with its strong Catholic ideology. P. A. N., with some aid from Chambers of Commerce and the Synarchists, has been able to unseat four state governors in eighteen months. Against this right-wing threat the government Party of Revolutionary Institutions and the labor movement are comparatively weak and divided. In this situation the "bourgeois democratic revolutionary" government must carry out its ambitious schemes for industrialization even if it is not too enthusiastic about the source of funds. Washington, at the same time, is so anxious to clinch Mexico's support for its new plan for a Pan-American arsenal of democracy that it is prepared to give substantial support to Alemán's "progressive" schemes for industrialization.

✱

FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE BALTIMORE AND Ohio Railroad filed a petition in bankruptcy as a preliminary to its financial reorganization and the extension of a large loan from the RFC, a vice-president named Snodgrass wrote the following letter to Arthur H. Dean, a partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, who served as special counsel for the B. and O. for its re-financing program:

I am inclosing a copy of a plant and of the bud which was grafted on it with a view to producing a flower, lily white in color, bold in design, and seductive in fragrance, instead of the burrs and beggars' lice which the plant was intended to bear.

When Mr. Snodgrass was called before the Senate Banking Committee—it is investigating what one reporter called "the railroad's affairs with the RFC" but what sounds to us more like an affair with Jesse Jones—he said and said again that he just didn't know what he had meant by the plant and the bud, the lily and the lice. Since Mr. Snodgrass seems to have no idea of the meaning of his flight of fancy, perhaps a more prosaic witness should be called to figure it out. We suggest that the committee subpoena Mortimer Snerd. Meanwhile we are trying vainly to recall—our memory, like Snodgrass's, has gone to seed—the name of that soap which is supposed to be good for a malaise of which the name escapes us, except that it contains the letters B and O.

✱

NAPOLEON AND UNCLE ELBY HAVE RECENTLY been involved by their creator, comic-strip cartoonist Clifford McBride, in a most distressing experience. It seems that a neighbor, Bessie Bigotry, has succeeded in restricting the neighborhood against occupancy by mongrel dogs, a classification which she insists includes Napoleon. When a notice is tacked on the kennel that Napoleon must go, Uncle Elby at first resorts to subterfuge and attempts to hide the crestfallen mongrel under his ample coat-tails. But Bessie Bigotry is not the type of lady to be put off by such a clumsy stratagem and the

sheriff is promptly summoned. But, lo! Napoleon has been painted with lovely black spots and is now a pedigreed thoroughbred Dalmatian, entitled to reside in a restricted neighborhood. When rains wash away Napoleon's aristocratic spots, Bessie Bigotry is, once again, aroused to take action in the name of the Anti-Mongrel Neighborhood Association. But when she reappears with the sheriff, the ingenious Uncle Elby has prepared a pedigree certifying that Napoleon is not of mongrel blood. "A pedigree," opines Uncle Elby, "is, after all, merely an exercise in penmanship." While Bessie Bigotry has been frustrated for a moment in her efforts to drive Napoleon from his kennel, who knows what diabolical devices she may yet invent in her fight to rid the neighborhood of mongrels? Whatever she does, however, one may rest assured that Clifford McBride will not permit either Uncle Elby or Napoleon to be caught offside.

✱

IN ORPHAN ANNIE, BY THE WAY, HAROLD Gray's cheerless and timeless strip in the *Daily News*, the plot currently involves a couple of plug-uglies who are stealing atom bomb secrets and who go around saying "Da" instead of "Yes." This is known as more fun for the kiddies.

Remember Mr. Hoover!

Washington, May 1

THE program, the handouts, the press releases, all proclaimed the event to be the thirty-fifth—not the fifteenth—annual meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The dates all read 1947—not 1927. Yet at times it seemed there must have been a mistake somewhere, somehow.

There was, for instance, Dr. Rufus S. Tucker, economist of General Motors, with his resurrection of the "trickle-down" theory of prosperity. "Mere money in the hands of consumers—whether wage earners or others—does not give rise to production but only to price inflation," said Dr. Tucker. The problem of distributing the product of expanding industry opens up three choices. You can pass on the increased benefits in the form of higher wages—a bad choice since it would just increase prices, "prevent innovating business men from increasing their profits by hiring more labor," and, indeed, cause them to discharge workers and create unemployment. The second choice is price reduction. This, Dr. Tucker conceded, is more equitable "and would increase sales but not profits and therefore not employment. It would also discourage further innovations." The third choice represents the real "road to ever-expanding prosperity": Let the benefits of higher production "accrue in the first instance to the management and stockholders."

This is an incentive to progress and expansion, would create a greater demand for labor and higher wages, and, as competitors adopt the new methods, lower prices. "In a few years the benefits are wholly passed on to labor and to consumers." Meantime, business men and investors have been cheered by the good profits and encouraged to continue innovating.

Well, what was good enough for Hoover and Mellon is good enough for Rufus S. Tucker.

President Truman's appeal to business men to reduce prices captured No. 1 place in the C. of C. Stink Parade. The delegates responded with a resolution that demonstrated that when bigger bushes are better beaten about, the United States Chamber will still be champion. The resolution agreed that there was at present an opportunity to apply the formula of more goods at lower prices, but it should be applied to everyone, not just business men. The latter would cut prices "where and when business costs permit." Applying to the price situation Dr. Tucker's argument against raising wages, price reductions "cannot be taken out of profits because profits are too small."

One by one they lined up to take a poke at the Truman proposal. William S. Street, chairman of the chamber's Committee on Economic Policy, asked with a rhetorical smirk: "Is the President's suggestion that in order to avoid a recession now all we have to do is to raise wages moderately and reduce prices generally an adequate solution of this problem?" Busy at the chamber's foresighted game of building an alibi in advance, Street asked two more leading questions: "Because of a widespread fear of declining prices, could the President's request to reduce prices result in a withdrawal of purchasing power and a wholesale cancelation of forward plans of American business as well as the consumer? Could this, if so, lead us into a greater downward spiral than anticipated and could it bring on the very thing the remedy is designed to prevent—namely, a recession?"

Yes, sir, look what that Truman has gone and done—talked us right into a recession.

Earl O. Shreve, the chamber's new president, recognizing a good line when he heard it, picked it up in his inaugural speech: "Talk alone will not bring prices down, nor will the American people be fooled by attempts to make business men scapegoats and to blame business alone for the wage-price spiral."

The chamber zipped through its list of resolutions—including one on labor policy that paralleled the Hartley bill on every point. They displayed admirable dispatch and unanimity until they hit the resolution on displaced persons. It was harmless enough, favoring American membership in the International Refugee Organization and then, along with a monumental string of hedging reservations, suggesting that just for a few years America

make "temporary adjustments in our quota allotments" to permit acceptance in this country of a reasonable number of displaced persons.

But even this was too much for James S. Kemper, one-time president of the chamber, a great reader of the *Chicago Tribune*, the man who in 1940 doubted "that the United States should trouble itself about anything except North America and the Panama Canal" and in April, 1941, deplored the "hysterical derangement of our normal production" in order to speed up defense. Using a tactic said to be a favorite with groups he presumably loathes, Kemper waited until most delegates had gone to lunch and then persuaded the rest to send the resolution back to committee, where it will languish until next year.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill took a beating from delegate Norman P. Mason, president of the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association. He took time to explain why residential building had fallen off so badly in the first three months of this year. It seems that government propaganda was mainly to blame. The results of the slogans: "Don't build now. Don't take essential building materials away from the veteran. Costs of building are too high," were "exactly what might have been expected. People who could afford to build have been talked out of it."

But something even more sinister is involved. "Thoughtful people in our industry," said Mason, "are beginning to ask to what extent this propaganda may have emanated from sources interested in overturning the established living habits of the American public. It has frequently been said that persons with foreign ideologies have gazed longingly at the control of housing as the first step in controlling the economy of the nation. Can it be that they have hoped, through hamstringing the private building industry in its efforts to provide housing, to produce a crisis giving them an opportunity to gain this control with a program of publicly built and operated housing? Can it be that the policy of forcing these new higher-priced houses upon the veterans, while permitting the stay-at-home war worker to continue to rent an apartment at 1940 prices, was done with the full knowledge that this situation would sooner or later result in bankrupting those vet-

erans and bringing another crisis—another chance to overturn the government?"

Can it be, indeed? I mean, can it be 1947?

R. V. C.

A Working Plan for Palestine

THE events of last week at Flushing Meadows are discussed on another page of this issue. Their significance is not to be found in the inevitable pulling and hauling among the conflicting interests represented there, nor in the long wrangle over the question whether the debate should be limited to the original question—the appointment of a committee to investigate the Palestine problem and report to the regular session in September—or be extended to include the Arab demand for the immediate independence of Palestine. What was more important than these detailed disputes was the sense, underlying the whole discussion, that the hour of final decision has arrived. Out of the proceedings of the General Assembly now and in September must come a solution for Palestine.

In no other issue that has been presented to the United Nations are the interests at stake so immense or the decisions to be reached of such consequence to the peace of the world. As usual in such debates, this struggle for power was lightly veiled with innumerable expressions of lofty principle. Human rights rather than oil or empire were the overt subjects of concern. But the real issue involved several much more concrete questions: Will Britain continue to hold the balance of power in the Middle East, and the fate of the Jews and Arabs continue to be subject to the varying dictates of British foreign policy? Or is the United States now to take over the defense of Western interests; and if it does, will it apply new methods to the old job, making full use of the energies and progressive ideas represented in the Zionist development in Palestine, or will it revert to the British tactic of subverting reaction and curbing Jewish settlement and enterprise? Or will the Arab case win out, will British rule give way to a "democratic" Arab state in Palestine in which a new feudal oligarchy will provide another area for great-power intrigue and rivalry? It is perhaps not necessary to say that the chief loser in such a situation would be the Jews; the chief gainer, Russia. Jewish institutions and even Jewish lives would be under constant threat; Jewish immigration into Palestine would end. And a depressed economy would offer to the adherents of the Communist system an irresistible invitation to stir up the miserable population against its rulers. Luckily the Arab solution is not likely to be ac-

Coming in *The Nation*

HOW CLOSE IS ATOMIC POWER?

by Leonard Engel

NEXT STEP IN CHINA

by Maxwell Stewart

AS EUROPEANS SEE US

by Reinhold Niebuhr

BIG PUSH AGAINST THE VALLEY

by A. G. Mezerik

cepted in its pure form, for the West can hardly be imagined subsidizing Russian interests so generously.

There is one other solution, which would meet, in part, Arab demands for independence, Jewish demands for a National Home, and even the legitimate demands of the big powers. This is the creation in Palestine of independent Jewish and Arab states. *The Nation* has advocated partition many times as the one available plan, admittedly a compromise, which might bring peace to Palestine and provide at least an approximation of the freedom and control both peoples demand.

Which of the possible solutions will emerge from the inquiry the United Nations is about to launch we cannot even guess; at this stage we want only to urge the most careful consideration of the idea of partition. At least it would have the immense virtue, if carried out intelligently, of preserving the Jewish institutions, permitting Jewish immigration into a Jewish state, and at the same time giving the Arabs, within an agreed area, a similar opportunity to pursue their own way of life in freedom. While this system was being established, the interests of both communities as well as those of the British should be guarded by the United Nations, which should assume temporarily the responsibility of maintaining order and supervising the territorial and political reorganization of the country.

It may be asked how the conflict of power in Palestine is to be solved or avoided through this solution. The answer is that partition would at least reduce the area of internal intrigue by satisfying the minimum demands of the two peoples involved, while at the same time giving scope for the progressive enterprise of the Jews. It

would, or should, also mitigate international tension by eliminating the control of a single interested power and substituting the authority of the United Nations. British rule should be eliminated from the start; otherwise the plan would be rejected by Palestinians of both persuasions.

Partition, to be successful, would have to be linked to a broad program of regional development which would benefit both states and adjoining areas as well. Such a program should be carried through under the U. N., which should also, as a condition of granting membership to the new states, assume responsibility for the protection of religious and national minorities in both—a protection which should, in fact, be extended to include the whole Arab world if considerations of sovereignty were not an obstacle.

Last week the Nation Associates submitted to the United Nations a memorandum outlining the problem and the point of view we favor and at the same time providing the factual material necessary for an informed decision. The document was signed by a group of representative Americans who share our concern and our ideas about Palestine: Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of the Church Peace Union; Raymond Swing; James G. Patton, president of the Farmers Educational and Co-operative Union; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the advisory council of the Nation Associates; and Frank Kingdon, co-chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America. In the next issue of *The Nation*, an abridged version of the memorandum will appear as a supplement. Interested readers will, we believe, find it a valuable handbook as well as a statement of policy.

Arabian Nights in Flushing

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadows, May 5

ONE week is not enough to prove the United Nations a failure on Palestine. A problem so old and so suffused in the politics of oil and strategic bases could hardly have been tackled at the outset with that determination and clarity of purpose the situation required. Those who, out of impatience with the evident maneuvers going on, spoke of "farce" and "bankruptcy" rendered no service either to the United Nations or to their own cause. But a week of deliberations has offered a preview of the attitude of the powers; and a sober analysis of their behavior so far provides an inkling as to whether or not in handling this important issue they will measure up to their responsibilities.

What must be avoided is the self-deception practiced at Geneva which ended in the downfall of the League.

At Geneva on innumerable occasions the very people responsible for ruining the League spoke of it as of a strange lady in whose immoralities the pure gentlemen of the Council and the Assembly had no part. There never was an abstract League of Nations. There was only the League as it was fashioned by the Britain of Sir Samuel Hoare and Neville Chamberlain, by the France of Pierre Laval and Georges Bonnet. To recall these names is to realize that shame and failure were inevitable.

The same with the United Nations. It is not the institution itself, not the Flushing Meadows in their spring-time beauty, not Mr. Lie or his secretariat, which can be held to account for the mistakes which may be made. What will count are the nations themselves and above all, in the present situation, the big powers.

The most disturbing thing last week was to see the

greatest of the big powers apparently unable to make effective use of its greatness. It was not that the United States for one reason or another preferred to remain in the background. On the contrary, the United States showed in every one of its acts a desire to assume leadership—but only to demonstrate that it could not lead.



Dr. Charles Malik
of Lebanon

The performance of the American delegation was the more incomprehensible in view of the almost clear record of the United States on the Palestine question and Senator Austin's warm sympathy for the Jewish case.

If there is one question on which every Administration has been agreed since 1917, it is the question of Palestine. From Wilson to Truman, every President and every political party has subscribed to the Balfour Declaration and its purposes. Since the end of the war the successive demands of President Truman for the admission into Palestine of 100,000 Jewish refugees have been among the most popular moves of the Administration. Between the two major political parties there was perfect agreement on the question of Palestine; President Truman and Governor Dewey agreed on it; even PM and the *Daily News* agreed on it. And just at the moment when the United States had a chance to render the greatest possible service to the Jews, the American delegation chose to range itself on the side of Great Britain in a battle which nearly succeeded in pushing the Jewish Agency out of the present discussions. This despite the fact that five Arab states had already made more than a dozen speeches attacking the Zionist position.

In the lobbies on the opening day one heard some caustic comments on the presence of the State Department's oil expert, Haydn Raynor. This not very discreet appearance was countered, however, by private assurances to the Jewish Agency from members of the American delegation. The test of these assurances came when the Americans took the lead in opposing a motion by the Czech and Polish delegations to admit the Jewish Agency in a consultative capacity to the plenary session of the Assembly.

A reversal of the roles previously played by the American and Soviet delegations developed in the course of the week. In the past the British have defended their

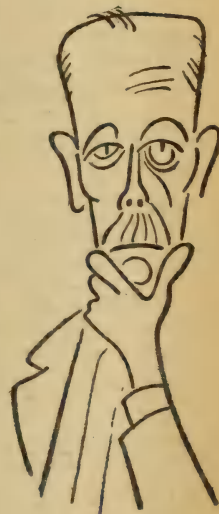
course in Palestine, even against American criticism, as necessary to appease the Arabs. Last week it was the Americans who played to the Arab gallery. And last week, to the discomfiture of those who insisted that the Soviet Union was tied to the Arabs in a secret deal, the Russians emerged as the outstanding champion of the Jewish Agency and of its appearance before the General Assembly.

The fact that the Czech-Polish resolution was defeated in the General Committee and again in the Assembly is only half the story. Without the initiative of the Czech and Polish delegations and the support of Russia the admission of the Jewish Agency even to the Political Committee could not have been accomplished. History has a way of repeating itself. As in the case of Spain, the United States came around to a democratic position only after the initiative had been seized by others.

It is not difficult to guess why the Americans did not wish to have the Agency appear in the Assembly, despite its professions of sympathy. Probably the reasons were two: first, fear lest the appearance of the Agency would precipitate the whole discussion they had tried to avoid; second, fear of creating a precedent which at some later time might permit the appearance of the Chinese Communists in an eventual discussion on China, or of Korean opposition groups were Korea to come before the United Nations. Just why the fears of the American delegation should be diminished by the appearance of the Jewish Agency before the Political Committee, which is really a committee of the whole, is hard to understand.

The appearance of the Jewish Agency before the Political Committee now seems assured, although the American resolution is studiously vague about the status the Agency representatives would have if allowed to express their views on the Palestine question.

It is expected, however, that they will have full opportunity to be heard on all questions relating to the terms of reference of the commission of inquiry and its composition. If there were no other more fundamental reasons to justify the participation of the Agency, the behavior of the representatives of the Arab states in the United Nations makes its appearance imperative. In the meetings of the Political Committee and on the floor of the Assembly



Sir Alexander Cadogan

Sketches made from life
by Oscar Berger

itself the Arab states have abused their privileged position by their endless harangues and their demands for the immediate establishment of an independent Palestine, which is to say, an Arab Palestine. At first they gave the impression of an able, if prejudiced team. Very soon, however, they overplayed their hand, and by the time the acute president of the Assembly, Oswaldo Aranha, called them to order, everyone had been surfeited with Arab protestations.

Now the stage seems to be set for another exposition of the Arab case, this time by representatives of the Palestine Arabs. In order to balance the appearance of the Jewish Agency, the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine may also be summoned, although it has no similar international status.

The British maneuver that brought this about was not a very subtle one. Just after the introduction of the American resolution which would have referred to the General Committee all requests for representation, one of Sir Alexander Cadogan's staff went over to the Arab delegation and inquired whether the Arab Higher Committee had asked to be heard. When he learned that no request had yet been presented, Sir Alexander promptly

introduced an amendment to the American resolution providing that the General Committee should consider not only applications already received, but similar applications received at any time during the session. This amendment was amiably accepted by the American delegation. Other maneuvers by other delegations in the day to come are likely to play still more directly into the hands of a group of men whose chief claim to attention is their unblemished record of pro-Axis intrigue—a record that should have sent them to Nürnberg rather than to Flushing.

In fact, it would be only mildly surprising, once an invitation to the Arab Higher Committee is approved to find the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem appearing on the rostrum of the United Nations as the newest spokesman of democracy. Or if his democratic credentials be questioned, Haj Amin el-Husseini could at least qualify as an expert in methods of liquidating the Jewish problem. Thus the Mufti, or his nephew Jamal Husseini, both former accomplices of Hitler, could by their appearance give to the United Nations that quality of "universality" which was so earnestly invoked when fascist Argentina was voted in at San Francisco.

Civil Rights—Fresh Start

BY ROBERT BENDINER

NINE months have passed since a band of Georgians stopped a car on a country road forty miles from Atlanta, dragged out two Negroes and their wives, and riddled all four with a volley of rifle bullets and gunshot. The country was properly shocked, as it always is over such demonstrative savagery, but its reaction followed a time-worn and futile pattern. Editorials blazed up, even in the most conservative papers, urging federal action if Georgia failed to do its duty. Georgia failed. Northern members of Congress redoubled their efforts to put through an anti-lynching bill. They lost. Justice Department officials sent agents down from Washington to see what could be done. They doubted that the civil-rights statutes applied. So far not one of the twenty-five or thirty killers has been arrested. What is worse, the whole gang could be rounded up tomorrow, with almost no chance that anyone would go to jail, much less pay the usual penalty for murder. With a few exceptions the country forgot the whole affair.

One of these exceptions was Tom Clark, a Southerner himself and not the most vigorous prosecutor who ever sat at the Attorney General's desk, but a man completely sold on civil liberties. Genuinely concerned over the frustrating limitations of federal law in this field, Clark

went to the President and urged action. Truman was receptive, and early in December a White House release announced the creation of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Accompanying the appointment was a strong—and little-appreciated—statement acknowledging that "all parts of our population are not equally free from fear"; that "in some places, from time to time, the local enforcement of law and order has broken down, and individuals—sometimes ex-service men, even women—have been killed, maimed, or intimidated." The Constitution, President Truman argued, places on the federal government "the duty to act when state or local authorities abridge or fail to protect" constitutional guarantees, but the government "is hampered by inadequate civil-rights statutes." It must be provided "with the tools to do the job."

The committee charged with designing the tools, and with broader approaches to the problem as well, was selected with skill and an eye to pertinent sectors of the population. Referred to by the irreverent as Noah's Ark, it includes two corporation heads and two labor representatives; two Jews, two Catholics, and two Protestants, (in each case one clergyman and one prominent layman); two college presidents; and two Negroes. Fif-

enth and odd man in the group is Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Meeting early in the year for its first session, the committee was sent on its way by the President with a ringing denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan and its imitators. The problem would grow worse, he told the members, if unemployment developed. They were to go as far as necessary in their inquiry and could count on complete cooperation from the Executive department. Concrete results were wanted.

Impressed by the President's obviously deep feeling, the group proceeded to divide itself into three subcommittees, following the three chosen lines of attack. The first of these is charged with making a study of existing federal law and bringing in recommendations for new legislation. Its members are the Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding bishop of the Episcopal church; Francis P. Matthews, former Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus and a Papal Chamberlain; Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and formerly a member of the War Labor Board; John S. Dickey, president of Dartmouth College; and Mrs. Sadie T. Alexander, assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia, a director of the National Urban League, and a member of the Inter-Racial Committee of that city.

The second subcommittee, whose job it is to "consider the broader social, economic, and educational aspects of promoting the cause of civil liberty," is composed of Charles Luckman, the dynamic head of Lever Brothers Soap Company; the Most Reverend Francis J. Haas, Catholic bishop of Grand Rapids and once chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee; James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the C. I. O.; Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and prominent Negro leader; and Rabbi Roland G. Gittelsohn, holder of the navy commendation medal for his services as Jewish chaplain with the marines at Iwo Jima.

The purpose of the third subdivision is to look into the work of private organizations whose activities affect vital civil rights. In this group are Morris L. Ernst, lawyer, author of "The First Freedom" and professional civil libertarian; Mrs. M. E. Tilley, active in social-relations work for the Methodist church in Atlanta, Georgia; Boris Shishkin, economist for the A. F. of L.; and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., chairman of the Housing Committee of the American Veterans' Committee. Ex-officio members of all three groups are Charles E. Wilson, General Electric, who is chairman of the entire committee, and Robert K. Carr, its executive secretary. Carr is particularly well chosen. Chairman of the Department of Government at Dartmouth, he has spent the last two years on a grant-supported leave studying the whole problem of civil rights and particularly the role of the Department of Justice. So much for personnel.

NEW DIRECTIONS

The committee has just settled down to work, and it is much too early to predict with assurance the line of its recommendations, but new directions may be looked for. As one of the members insistently points out, there has been no new "social engineering" in this field for generations. Reliance has been placed on the criminal law, which is technically inadequate, as I intend to show, and impotent in any case where local *mores* make jury convictions improbable. New ideas are in the air.

In the field of discrimination itself—which is a social rather than a legal problem—several fresh approaches are sure to come up. One of these is recourse to the government's taxing power. Suppose, this theory runs, the Treasury were empowered to rule that contributions to organizations would in the future be deductible only if such money were to be spent without discrimination as to race, color, or creed? This would not seem to be far-fetched, since every such deduction is in a sense a burden on all taxpayers.

Similarly, the spending power of the government might be used as an indirect method of discouraging Jim Crow distinctions. This would apply to hospitals, to colleges now receiving G. I. funds, and to all other institutions that get occasional shots in the arm from Washington. The federal government would merely be saying in effect that the institutions of, say, Mississippi were free to indulge their beloved *mores* to the limit—but not with the aid of the national treasury. At least one member of the committee feels that this pocket-book method, vigorously and uniformly applied, would be far neater and more effective than resort to the criminal law, besides circumventing the whole messy issue of states' rights. In the same indirect pattern is the proposal, agitated in some quarters for a number of years, that printed matter sent through the mails be required to bear full disclosure as to its source, and as to its financing as well. Advocates of this approach believe that the worst of the crackpot organizations could not long survive this regulation, since fascist-minded millionaires have a delicate reticence that generally keeps them from taking public credit for the support of shady operations.

Almost certain to be recommended will be a set of local ordinances banning Jim Crow from the District of Columbia. The thought here is that the capital of the nation might well be made into a model for the rest of the country—no doubt in the hope that the contagion would spread. Well-disposed Congressional committees on the District in both House and Senate could go far in this direction, forbidding segregation in theaters, restaurants, and concert halls, and otherwise promulgating policy intended for emulation elsewhere. The peculiar attractiveness of this approach is that in no way could the argument be muddled by the moth-eaten appeal to states' rights.

It is not to be supposed, of course, that any or all of these novel devices for encouraging respect for civil liberties could take the place of an adequate law to protect minorities from violent outrage or to insure them a fair economic opportunity and their full political rights. To these ends the committee is certain to review at length the prospects of getting anti-lynch, anti-poll-tax, and FEPC legislation past the Senate of the United States. But I gather that even in the matter of legislation new ways will be tried. Particularly, an effort is likely to be made to blanket as much as possible under one large and general statute, on the theory that such a measure can more readily be dramatized and would stand a better chance of passing.

The President's recent order calling for machinery to probe the loyalty of government workers is not on the committee's agenda, disturbed as some of its members may be over the dangerously loose nature of that document. The issues involved in the proposed loyalty investigation are considerably removed from the committee's chief concern, and it is naturally unwilling to jeopardize its chances of success by plunging into a controversy so highly charged with politics.

STATUTORY FOSSILS

The group's main line of attack is likely to be directed against Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code, the two archaic and loosely drawn statutes on which the Department of Justice has been forced to rely in civil-rights cases. These are the pitiful remnant of what was once a whole series of civil-rights acts, passed with more enthusiasm than legal astuteness in the days of Reconstruction. All the rest have perished either by repeal or at the hands of the Supreme Court.

To understand why Tom Clark's men would be unable to do much about the lynchers of the four Georgians even if they managed to get witnesses to testify against them, it is necessary only to glance at these curious laws. Section 51, stripped of its legalisms, provides penalties "if two or more persons conspire" to bar a citizen from the enjoyment of his constitutional rights. Thus no one member of a mob can be convicted unless conspiracy is proved, which is always difficult. The committee will very likely recommend placing responsibility more directly on the individual. Note, too, that this law protects only citizens, and that their rights are not enumerated, which leaves far too much margin for interpretation. And, finally, the penalty is so drastic—ten years and/or a \$5,000 fine—that jury convictions are all but impossible to get.

Section 52 is directed against state officials who "under color of any law . . . wilfully" deprive a person of his constitutional rights or impose on him punishments different from those provided. This was obviously designed to get at police officials who administer extra-

curricular penal treatment to prisoners, especially where a difference in race is involved. But the catch is in the word "wilfully." The outstanding example of the weakness of this statute was the case of *Screws vs. United States*, a matter involving the fatal beating of a handcuffed Negro prisoner by a Georgia sheriff and two of his deputies. The officers, *mirabile dictu*, were convicted by Georgia juries, only to be freed by the Supreme Court. The decision took seven months, and came in the form of four separate opinions, totaling some 25,000 words; but the crux of the matter was that the trial judge had failed to instruct the jury on this point of wilfulness. The jurymen should have been told that in order to convict they would have to find that the slugging officers not only had "a generally bad purpose" but specifically "had the purpose to deprive the prisoner of a constitutional right, for example, the right to be tried by a court rather than by ordeal." Three of the justices—Roberts, Frankfurter, and Jackson—referred to Section 52 as "a dead letter" and even thought it unconstitutional.

It is apparent that these existing legal reeds are far too frail to lean on. And while no one on the committee would suggest such a thing, this is politically a good time to replace them with stronger ones. A Republican Congress—for both geographic and historical reasons the G. O. P. is generally more sympathetic to such legislation than the Democrats—might feel the need to push for much-needed reforms in a pre-election year, the season when minorities are traditionally cultivated.

In the Wind

SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH on Luzon, Robert S. Johnstone, Jr., of Downingtown, Pennsylvania, wrote a fox-hole will bequeathing his \$10,000 government-insurance benefits to a fund promoting better relations between the white and yellow races. A former member of the Japanese kamikaze corps will enter Lafayette College in the fall as the first beneficiary of Johnstone's legacy.

KATE SMITH has been rebuked, in the Lutheran Research Society's *Letter*, for being "definitely a radical."

THE BITUMINOUS COAL INSTITUTE has just put out a handsome two-color, twenty-four-page booklet on "Mining Towns—a Pictorial Story of Their Progress." Scattered through it are gleaming pictures captioned "Healthful, Modern Kentucky Coal Town," and the like. This booklet arrived in the morning mail on the day the papers carried news of the Centralia, Illinois, mine disaster.

VITTORIO MUSSOLINI, says the Associated Press, arrived "clandestinely" in Argentina a month ago and has been offered a job by a wholesale butcher. No italics necessary.

GOOD-NEWS DEPARTMENT: The army has abandoned the caste system—according to a directive of the Secretary of War—in military cemeteries.

The Tragedy of De Gaulle

BY LEON BLUM

Paris, April 29

ONE day in April, 1946, I was in Canada. I held a press conference at Ottawa. I explained to the journalists present, to the best of my ability, the state of our industrial equipment, our need for coal, our commercial balance. One of the reporters asked me point-blank: "What future do you see for General de Gaulle in the political life of your country? Does he consider his retirement final?"

I was embarrassed, and my first reaction was to avoid the question. I could have done so: it was quite off my subject, outside my mandate. Then I said to myself, Why this embarrassment? Why should I remain silent? I am here in the country which of all the world feels perhaps closest to France. I need not hide what I think of General de Gaulle—past, present, or future. And so I answered my interrogator.

I have not saved the text of that reply, but I remember the sense of it very precisely. I said to my indiscreet confrère that in my opinion General de Gaulle did not consider his job finished, that the post-war world was difficult and uncertain, that the General could, without great effort, imagine a perilous situation arising in which the nation would instinctively rally around him. I did not believe, I went on to say, that such a chain of thought would be foreign to him, but that was pure hypothesis, and if I was not sure of what he *would* do, at least I believed I was sure of what he *would not* do. He hopes, I said, to remain a national figure, a symbol of the unity of the nation: he will thus deny himself any step which might make him the head of one party opposed to other parties, and most particularly the head of reactionary

parties opposed to the parties of popular democracy.

A Gaullist party, however, now exists. General de Gaulle has become head of a party opposed to other parties. What are the forces which have rallied to his name, to his person? All the forces of reaction—of political reaction and social reaction. It is these which con-

stitute the bulk of the army, its only stable and disciplined element. The Radicals quickly recognized their mistake; how could they conceal from themselves any longer that the undertaking was bound to lead to personal power? The M. R. P. (Mouvement Républicain Populaire), precisely because it has no republican traditions, cannot allow itself to be absorbed into a coalition in which it would inevitably lose all the distinctive characteristics which are its *raison d'être*. If its refusal causes the defection of certain elements, they will be the elements of the extreme right, which it has been trying to screen out for a long time.* Thus, sooner or later, General de Gaulle will have no organized forces behind him except those of the right.

And whom will he be against? Against all the living forces of democracy.

What is now happening is exactly that which, in my innocence, I believed impossible. What could have caused such a change? What counsels, what compulsions could have acted upon General de Gaulle to bring about his metamorphosis into a different man? Loving his country to the point of wishing to incarnate it in himself, why did he resolve to embroil it in an era of dissension, of struggle, of suspicion, which will not easily be ended, alas—and this makes the situation so serious—by vote of the Assembly, or by referendum, or by elections?

General de Gaulle's effort will fail; of that I am convinced. But the failure will leave in its wake a divi-



LEON BLUM, twice Premier of France before the war and again at the turn of 1946, is the leader of the French Socialist Party.

*The Socialists and Communists of course opposed De Gaulle from the beginning. On April 27 the M. R. P. also announced its opposition to the De Gaulle movement.

sion, a sickness, a menace, which will continue to trouble and obstruct public affairs. It is impossible that a mind like his has not foreseen this consequence. How can he accept it with an easy conscience or, in any case, as a lesser evil?

I do not believe he is easily influenced, and I for one do not impute to him any self-interested or sordid motives. I am certain that neither ambition nor wounded pride has played a part in his decision. The only explanation I can think of is that General de Gaulle, with his pessimistic view of the international situation, sees France in such extreme peril that the concentration of

authority in a strong hand has become a matter of life or death.

But all the dictatorships in history have attempted to justify themselves with this argument of *le salut public*. Moreover, I myself do not believe that catastrophe is inevitable. I am convinced that it can be avoided. I am convinced that it will be warded off. If the danger does exist, our duty is that much greater to maintain the civil and moral unity of the country by preserving our free institutions. To throw France into discord just so it may better meet an uncertain peril is like throwing oneself into the river to save oneself from a storm.

Who Should Rule the Sudan?

BY ROBERT HENRIQUES

FOR the last forty-eight years a patchwork area of eastern and central Africa has been called the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is now the subject of an appeal by Egypt to the Security Council. The problem is complex, but the real question is simple: "Who in the Sudan is to be the real boss?"

To hide this simplicity there have been minted for distribution many legal phrases whose deliberate obscurities seek to restrict, qualify, diminish the weight and relevance of the term "sovereignty." Yet whatever "sovereignty" may convey to an international assembly, it is translatable into Arabic, the language of Egypt and the *lingua franca* of northern Sudan, only by the word *seiyada*, whose precise meaning is "boss"—in its harshest, least compromised significance.

Egypt wants to be boss of the whole Nile Valley, on which its life most literally depends. The Sudanese, at last becoming politically conscious, are learning to want to boss themselves. Britain—behind the constitutional façade of a condominium and beneath the illusive pretense of twin British and Egyptian flags that flutter over the (British) Governor General in Khartoum—is boss now. When the Sudan is politically adult, Britain has promised to walk out. The year 1966 is its proclaimed estimate. In the meantime no power so immature, so

irresponsible, and so weak as Egypt can be left to sit alone on the airways to Middle Eastern oil. Not all of this will be said at meetings of the United Nations.

Much of it will be concealed behind British equivocation and Egyptian propaganda. The recent inanities of Whitehall were clearly meant only to be meaningless. But the spate of pronouncements from Cairo and its pan-Arabian slogans, official, indiscriminate, and brash, extend the issue to one of world import: "the indissoluble unity of the Middle East" (applied generally); "in the name of Arabism" (applied to the Sudan); "Sudan, land with a future, land of wealth!" (referring to British greed). In retort, British diplomacy has dug in smugly on the status quo.

Egypt is now developing a four-pronged attack—legal, historical, ethical, and ideological. *Legally* it has alternative pleas: first, that at the time of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreements (1899) it was under British domination, so that the condominium was imposed on it by force and is not valid; second, on the basis of acceptance of the condominium, that Britain has consistently declined its proper implementation. *Historically* Egypt claims that for sixty years of the nineteenth century the Sudan belonged to it by right of conquest. *Ethically* it asserts that the Sudan would be the better for Egyptian sovereignty and administration, and that Britain has no right to thwart this natural and beneficent evolution. *Ideologically* Egypt proclaims the geographical, ethnological, linguistic, and cultural unity of the Nile Valley, the kinship of the lands served by the great river, whose twin streams thread Abyssinia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, the Sudan, and Egypt.

A fifth and covering argument, a sort of general barrage contributed by both sides, is that whoever commands the Nile dams of the Sudan commands Egypt.

COLONEL ROBERT HENRIQUES served in Egypt and the Sudan from 1925 to 1930 as an officer in the British Royal Artillery. In World War II he was lent by Headquarters, Combined Operations, to the United States Army, with which he took part in the North African and Sicilian campaigns. He is the author of "No Arms No Armor" and "The Voice of the Trumpet."

and whoever commands Egypt commands the Middle East. Thus with the evacuation of British troops from Egypt, the Sudan acquires a new strategic stature. In an age of air power it is desperately significant.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA'S NILOTES

This Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as an entity, is a purely political creation of haphazard exploration and seizure. Circumscribed by no geographical or ethnological frontiers, its various parts are without mutual affinities, are in fact mutually antipathetic. Half of the peoples concerned are not naturally affected even by the Nile itself.

The whole Sudan is about the size of Europe, or a third the size of the United States; it supports a population less than that of London or New York, for the country has little natural wealth and no mineral resources. Its inhabitants sprang prehistorically from a blending of Caucasian and Negro. They speak some fifty or sixty different tongues of three main linguistic families—Semitic, Hamitic, and Sudanic.

In religion and culture they are equally diverse. Arab infiltration between the seventh and tenth centuries was extensive, but the Islamic variations which now preponderate in the north have never touched the 90 per cent paganism and the 10 per cent primitive Christianity of the south. Here, for instance, are a million Nilotes—cited for valiance by the Queen of Sheba in "Isaiah"—belonging to six main sub-species, but mostly tall, dark, conservative, unsociable folk with whom the Egyptians would not really care to claim cultural or ethnological unity. Their tribes, until their recent education, were ruled by hereditary rain-makers whom they buried alive on loss of virility. Separating these peoples from the Islamic north, about Latitude 12, runs one of the few natural but unmarked frontiers of the continent.

This invisible frontier dividing Africa from the Middle East was more or less ethnologically stabilized about 2,000 B. C. From then until seventy years ago it was crossed from the south only by those in the slave trade, a commerce which reached its most profitable heights during the Egyptian occupation of 1821-82. In the first few years of that misrule the annual slave hunts instituted by the Viceroy of Egypt netted over a quarter of a million head; and until a few years ago the Arabic word *sudani*, meaning literally a "black," was synonymous, in Egypt and the northern Sudan, with "slave."

KITCHENER AT KHARTOUM

The sixty-one years of nineteenth-century exploitation is the only period of modern history in which Egypt has ever exercised any sort of exclusive sovereignty over any part of the Sudan. This occupation was emphatically ended in 1882 by the religious rising of the Mahdi, the "Divine Guide to Salvation," who speedily expelled the Egyptian government and garrison troops.

In that same year the Egyptian government in Cairo collapsed into chaos under general insolvency, incompetence, riots, the mutiny of its unpaid army, and the Alexandria massacres. European intervention was declared inevitable. Britain stepped in, restored order, raised and trained a new Egyptian army—and stayed for forty years. During that time it was the paramount power in Egypt, which remained, until 1914, under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey. Then, when Turkey joined Germany in the war, Egypt was declared a British protectorate. In 1922 it was granted independence—for the first time since the Pharaonic era.

In renouncing deeds that were done in its name between 1882 and 1922 Egypt acts therefore on reasonable grounds. During that period it was not its own master. On the same grounds, however, Britain claims that without British intervention all legal and constitutional interest of Egypt in the Sudan would have been finally extinguished. Britain recalls that when Egypt was actively threatened with invasion by the Mahdi's successor, the Khalifa, it was Kitchener who led a force of one-third British troops and two-thirds British-trained Egyptians to reoccupy Khartoum and to hoist there, side by side, the British and Egyptian flags. It was under this same token of joint sovereignty that he and his British successors proceeded to quell and annex the Khalifa's various provinces.

In these ventures Kitchener barely forestalled the French. Coming in from their colonies in the west, they had already reached Fashoda, one hundred miles from Khartoum on the Nile itself. After what is now known as "the Fashoda incident," they were induced to withdraw. And a few years before that, the Italians from Eritrea and the Belgians from the Congo had entered the Sudan from east and south. Had it not been for political action by Britain at that time, and for its armed intervention between then and 1899, the Sudan would have been portioned among the other powers of Europe, most of it becoming a French colony.

CONDOMINIUM

Britain made the Sudan into a condominium rather than a British colony because by then its imperial appetite was satisfied—Gladstone had said, "We have got enough"—and because the country was too poor to be an appetizing dish. In the imperial sanctimony of those times a condominium seemed both liberal to Egypt and just. Its creation was partly a gesture of good faith. This, however, did not deter the lawyers from making a good job of it.

The salient and relevant points of the Condominium Agreements were two: first, that joint sovereignty was incontestably established; and, second, that while Egypt was to participate in the administration, British control of the administrative machine was firmly assured. Under

Articles III and IV the Governor General was to be nominated by the British and formally appointed by the Egyptian government. He was granted unlimited powers and could be removed only with British consent. Constitutionally, therefore, the exercise of Egyptian sovereignty was in practice restricted to the creation of an *impasse*—by a refusal to appoint as Governor General the British nominee. This might well be Egypt's next step today.

The legal effects of the condominium were established in 1910 by a notable case in the Mixed Courts of Cairo. This was an international tribunal with European and Egyptian judges and proceedings conducted in French. On this occasion a contractor suing the Sudan government "joined" the Egyptian government on the ground that the Sudan had never ceased to be an integral part of Egypt. A large sum of money was involved, and the Egyptian government pleaded in defense that "by the agreement of 1899 the Sudan government was constituted an autonomous government absolutely separate and distinct from the Egyptian government." The court upheld this plea.

Legally, then, the best Egyptian case lies in admitting the validity of the condominium but alleging British neglect to implement it justly. Although British administration in the Sudan has been almost above reproach, Egypt has been allowed only the most limited participation. Until 1924 its officials held only subordinate posts, but when in that year they organized rebellion in the Sudan—Egyptian nationalists murdering the Governor General while he was on a visit to Cairo—they were sent home and replaced by newly educated Sudanese.

THE TREATY OF 1936

In 1936 a fresh Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed—to expire in 1956. It was at least overdue, for although Britain had granted Egypt independence some fourteen years earlier, it had not yet withdrawn its troops. This matter was rectified by the new treaty, and a twofold promise was made concerning the Sudan. First, Egyptian troops, which had been expelled from the Sudan after the rebellion of 1924, were to return. Second, all administrative posts for which suitable Sudanese could not be found should be open equally to British and Egyptian candidates.

The first promise was fully kept. By 1940, when the Italians invaded the Sudan, impressive Egyptian forces were there to meet them. They refused to open fire. Egypt was not at war with Italy. It was the Commonwealth which not only repelled the invaders but defeated Rommel in Egypt at Alamein. In all these operations Sudanese volunteer units played a valiant part. With the Eighth Army they advanced from Egypt to Tripoli. Meanwhile, Egypt declared its formal neutrality.

If the second promise was kept, it was only to the legal letter. A certain number of Egyptian officials have

been appointed to administrative posts, but no Egyptian has yet been allowed to sit on the board that selects them. Some sort of justice may in fact have been done, but it does not appear so to the Egyptians. Nor can they accept the British proposition that such measures are already obsolete: that progress toward self-government in the Sudan has gone so far that there is no longer room for Egyptian middlemen, and that the country to be administered is by now more democratic than Egypt itself. This may or may not be true, but the fact remains that a negotiated treaty has not been honored—at least in spirit.

"BRITAIN MUST GO"

On these grounds alone Egypt would be hard to beat. But the redress of this legitimate grievance would not content it today. Britain, it says, must go. Until the last few months it had the Arab nations behind it. Behind them lay Russian sympathy. Palestinian troubles remain a pan-Arab stimulant.

While the support of the Arab states remained sure, no Egyptian claim was too absurd or audacious to be staked. "The visitor to the Sudan," says a pamphlet issued by the Egyptian government, "can clearly see that the standard of living is generally very low compared to Egypt's." In fact he will see the reverse. The poverty, feudal exploitation, and disease now seen in the Egyptian peasantry disappeared from the Sudan in the first decade of the century.

A further fiction is the alleged Sudanese support for Egyptian aspirations. Apart from the traditional hatred and contempt that the Sudanese tribes breathe toward Egypt, the adolescent politics of the towns are vociferously diverse. Less than 1 per cent of the population have actual political affiliations, the remainder confining their interest to local and provincial affairs. There are three political parties: the Patriots, or *Umma* (literally "nation"), who seek autonomy divorced from both Britain and Egypt; the Blood Brothers, or *Asbigga*, mostly of Egyptian or semi-Egyptian descent, who seek autonomy under the Egyptian crown; and the Center Party, now growing apace, which indorses for the moment the present administration but demands that progress toward self-government must be speeded up. As a background to politics it must be remembered that the Arabic word for the Egyptians, *Masreen*, remains a current and universal term of Sudanese abuse. It can be heard in any marketplace as the climax of unprintable epithets.

British response to this new Egyptian imperialism and its impact on Sudan politics has been remarkably inept. Bevin's lawyers found him a formula that they thought to be meaningless and on January 27 he spoke in the House of Commons of a "symbolic dynastic union between Egypt and the Sudan . . . without change in the existing order of administration." This would have been a fair enough diplomatic negative if he had not put into

the draft protocol—which Egypt has rejected—the phrase “within the framework of the unity between the Sudan and Egypt under the common crown of Egypt.”

“To the ordinary man this means everything that the British Foreign Office does not. And it was explosive stuff. Lawyers in London set great store by the opening—“within the framework”—maintaining that it materially qualified the rest. It is, however, scarcely translatable into

Arabic or any of the Sudan dialects. The length and breadth of the Sudan picked the words “unity . . . crown . . . Egypt.” Police had to quell the protests.

The fire is smoldering. If the north wind that brings ease to this torrid land carries many more rumors of Egyptian sovereignty, the flames will leap again—as they did in the days of the Mahdi. And this time there will be blood to the debit of the British diplomats.

Election Day in Santo Domingo

BY ALBERT C. HICKS

JUST seventeen years ago this May the former pimp, forger, and cattle rustler Rafael L. Trujillo, using the terroristic methods of a military gangster, made himself President of Santo Domingo. In the years that followed he turned the country, only a few hours from Florida by air, into a chamber of horrors hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world.

In 1930 Trujillo chose May 16 to declare himself President because it was the national election day. Leaders of the opposition were dead or in hiding. Few votes were cast, although a record number were recorded—all for Rafael Trujillo. Since then three national elections have been held in Santo Domingo, each cut to the same pattern.

But the world has changed and Trujillo, to a degree, with it. On May 16 this year the Americas are to be treated to a pallid mockery of democracy at work in Santo Domingo. For the first time since the coup d'état of 1930 the ballots in the national election will name more than one candidate; two men will oppose the incumbent President, both of them handpicked by him. The innovation is an obvious attempt to quiet outside criticism of the totalitarian regime and to disarm politically the exiled oppositionists. But such democratic trappings only make the farce more obvious.

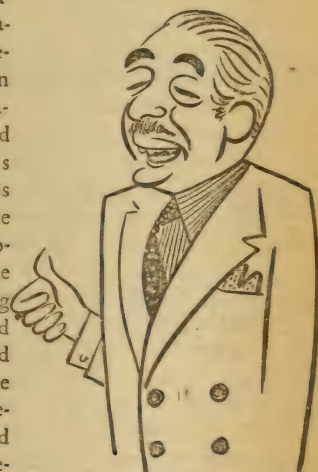
Trujillo started his present political maneuvers in the spring of 1945, when he announced that political parties would be free to organize in opposition to his own Partido Dominicano. He even supplied the money to finance opposition parties—and then picked the men to head them. As chief of the Republican Party he named his former revolutionary supporter and vice-president Rafael Estrella Ureña. Estrella mistook Trujillo's gesture for the real thing and loosed some mild criticism of the regime. He was immediately obliged to go into hiding. After some weeks he returned to the political

scene as a silent oppositionist, and a few days later died very suddenly, the victim, it was officially announced, of a “burst appendix.”

Dr. Wenceslao Medrano, chief of the Dominican army's medical corps, was placed at the head of the so-called Workers' Independence Party. Rafael Espailat, Secretary of Agriculture in a previous administration, who had seized the tail of Trujillo's kite in 1930, was chosen to lead the new National Democratic Party. Both these men, after observing Estrella's misguided flare-up, announced that the planks in the platforms of their respective parties had already been fully realized by the efforts of the President.

The Republican Party died with Estrella Ureña. In 1946 Trujillo invited the Communists to organize an opposition party. The Communists were all in exile or in hiding, but on hearing of the invitation they came out of the woodwork and began to clout the government—from soap boxes, in a hastily published newspaper, and with slogans on placards publicly displayed in organized demonstrations. Trujillo forthwith smashed the Communist Party, killing several of its leaders and throwing others into prison.

By March of this year there was another change in the political scene. The Workers' Independence Party headed by Dr. Medrano had disappeared and been replaced by the Labor Party, which named as its president



Caricature by Seligson
Trujillo

ALBERT C. HICKS is the author of “Blood in the Streets: the Life and Rule of Trujillo.”

—Hingham, Cal.

tial candidate Francisco Prats Ramirez. Prats Ramirez is a journalist-columnist formerly on the staff of *La Opinion*. In his writings he has expressed unreserved praise of Trujillo and his regime. Rafael Espaillat has been on a mysterious mission with the Dominican embassy in Washington. He was recalled by Trujillo early in March to run for the presidency against him.

Estrella Ureña in 1945 and the militant Communists in 1946 taught Trujillo the wisdom of having fool-proof safeguards against oppositionists, even those hand-picked from among his friends and political associates. So late last March laws appropriate to the situation were rushed through the Dominican Congress.

Law 1387 was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on March 26, by the Senate on the twenty-seventh, was signed by the President on the same day, and was published in his newspaper, *La Nación*, on the twenty-eighth. Article I of Law 1387 states that any person of Dominican nationality who with the purpose of defaming the republic or its institutions spreads false and malicious news among foreigners residing in or passing through the Dominican Republic, or who transmits such news abroad by any means of communication, will be condemned to from two to three years in prison. If this offense is repeated, the offender is liable to the maximum penalty of the law, which is five years in prison.

An amendment to Article 26 of Law 1384, also signed by the President on March 27, reads: Anyone in Dominican territory found receiving or trying to obtain cooperation from any foreign state or its agents, or any foreign institution, or any individuals in a foreign country, for the purpose of war against the republic or its government, or of manifesting any hostile feeling against the republic or its government, will be condemned to thirty years at hard labor. Another paragraph of the amendment was designed to intimidate Dominicans abroad, chiefly, of course, the political exiles. It forbids Dominicans anywhere to seek any financial help, official or private, for political activities against the government. The penalty is thirty years at hard labor.

Such is Trujillo's current version of democracy in Santo Domingo.

Several factors have forced Trujillo into decorating his political display window with a few spurious concessions to democracy. One is that Spruille Braden's anti-totalitarian policies have met with far greater acclaim in Santo Domingo than in Argentina. More important is the growing opposition both within and outside the country. Trujillo hopes to be able to say to the world at large and Washington in particular: See, I have been duly elected by the people of this republic! Then, he imagines, his critics at home and abroad will be silenced.

The feeling against Trujillo has become so widespread

that he may even decide his only hope of retaining power is to relinquish his cherished title of "Presidente." He set a precedent for just such a maneuver in 1938, when his butchery of some 15,000 innocent Haitians outraged the world. In total disrepute Trujillo withdrew from the 1938 elections and had the title of Presidente pinned to a puppet. But he remained the Benefactor, the Savior of the Republic, the Generalissimo, and became a greater power than ever.

In 1942 two political parties put forward a candidate for the presidency—Trujillo's established Partido Dominicano and the newly formed Partido Trujillista. After the balloting the government announced that 391,708 votes had been cast for the Partido Dominicano's candidate, Trujillo, and 190,229 for the Partido Trujillista's candidate, Trujillo. The total of 581,937 was almost one-third of the nation's population and almost four times as many votes as were ever cast in a free Dominican election. Since women did not have the vote in 1942, the number of eligible voters was probably not more than 150,000.

If Trujillo decides upon a retreat in the manner of 1938, he will have to act before May 16, ostensibly retiring from the political scene on the plea of illness. His megalomania will never allow a rigged election to produce a majority of votes for another candidate. Late in March he apparently had every intention of seeing the election farce through to the end. Attired in all the splendor of an admiral out of Gilbert and Sullivan, he boarded the flagship of the Dominican navy and toured the coast cities of the country, some twenty small and large craft trailing behind. Wherever the Trujillo party disembarked, bands played, soldiers paraded, and the President addressed the populace, declaring that he, the Benefactor, would see that they had more of the same "benefits" after his reelection. While the Generalissimo talked through the gorgeously plumed hat of the Admiral, the opposition candidates repeated that the planks in their respective platforms had already been realized by the Benefactor.

The final election figures will no doubt be arrived at some time before election day, at the very latest on May 15. How they will read depends upon how well Trujillo can control his megalomania. He would be well advised to have it appear that he won merely by a fairly comfortable margin, for that might silence some of his foreign critics. Trujillo must certainly realize the advantage of making such a concession to probability and is probably even toying with the idea, but no one should be surprised to hear that he was "unanimously" elected for the fourth consecutive time.

If he allows the official figures to show a fair-sized vote for the opposition, and Dominicans are thereby encouraged to exhibit their distaste for the regime, the Benefactor will be prepared for any emergency.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Vanishing Building Boom

THIS is the season when the thoughts of realtors turn to subdivisions and the construction industries normally swing into their most vigorous stride. But this year many builders are looking at rows of unsold homes and putting their blueprints back in the files. Of course, there is still plenty of demand for their product—but not at current prices.

Among the industries which have been pricing themselves out of the market since the OPA was abolished last fall, those manufacturing builders' supplies take a foremost place. The Federal Housing Authority's index of building materials (average of 1935-39 equals 100) rose from 153.8 in November, 1946, to 177.9 in February, with the cost of lumber alone jumping 44 per cent. This advance, coming on top of a long steep rise from pre-war levels, seems to have broken the back of the market for the time being. It means that a two-bedroom house with a minimum number of amenities is now in the \$10,000 class, requiring a purchaser who must have a weekly income of at least \$90 if carrying costs are not to overburden his personal budget.

In 1940, according to *Business Week* of February 22, a home seeker in a Kansas City suburb could buy for \$10,500 a brick-and-frame house on a corner plot a lot and a half wide. It had six rooms, including three bedrooms, two baths, and a basement recreation room. In the same development today the same money will buy only a five-room, two-bedroom frame bungalow with one bath and space for a basement game room. And it will be on an inside lot. Even families whose incomes can swing a proposition of this kind are unlikely to be tempted, since they fear that within a few years its resale price will be several thousand dollars lower. Unless their in-laws are unbearable, they will go on "doubting up" and wait for costs to come down.

A considerable fraction of the emergency demand for new homes seems to have been satisfied last year. At this time there are several thousand completed houses in New York City and its suburbs for which purchasers at present prices cannot be found, and similar stories are coming in from other centers. As a result, some builders are offering small price cuts—big ones would ruin them—while others have stopped building. In January 73,273 permits were issued for new houses, in February 47,512, in March 33,551. During the same months actual residential building fell 20 per cent below government forecasts. Consequently official estimates of housing expenditure for 1947 have been drastically revised from the original figure of \$6,000,000,000 to something between \$4,250,000,000 and \$4,800,000,000.

Nor is residential building the only branch of the construction industry which has been perceptibly slowed down in recent months. The latest four-week daily-average figure of engineering construction awards published by the *Engi-*

neering News-Record stands at \$18,936,000, compared with \$22,341,000 a year ago. In March privately financed industrial construction was 18 per cent below the October-November peak. Business interests, for all their dislike of buyers' strikes, are in fact staging one of their own, and only concerns desperately in need of larger space are contracting for new plant. With costs 100 per cent or more above pre-war levels, they too are sitting back and waiting for prices to drop.

The combined slump in residential and business construction is a pretty serious portent for our economy as a whole. Today the share of construction in total national output is far less than it was in the booming twenties, and unless this ratio is improved we are likely to see a decline in capital formation below the level needed to sustain our present high national income.

It may not be too late to save the day if a really effective reduction in costs can be achieved in the near future. One good sign is a softening in lumber prices, and a builder friend tells me that various subcontractors in the New York district are beginning to trim their rates. On the other hand, the attitude of so important a firm in the building-supply field as Johns-Manville is not encouraging. Just the other day the chairman of this company, deploring the Washington "ballyhoo" that was leading people "to expect too big a reduction in prices," said: "There is not much room for lowering prices of Johns-Manville products, and I don't think we will lower them." In the next breath he added, "We are in a position to lower them if we have to in the event of a recession."

There can be no doubt that manufacturers of building supplies are making plenty of money. The April issue of the National City Bank *Letter* provides the following comparison of 1945 and 1946 earnings:

	Net Profits	
	1945	1946
24 lumber companies	\$20,165,000	\$43,764,000
17 paint and varnish	20,675,000	43,764,000
23 cement	4,634,000	17,186,000
37 stone and clay products	29,047,000	61,819,000
64 building heating, plumbing . . .	42,359,000	62,051,000

Returns for the first quarter of this year show an accelerated upward trend, with profits of individual companies two, three, and four times as large as in the first three months of 1946.

Such profits are obviously the fruits of near-capacity production, which will not continue for long if potential consumers of houses and factories refuse to buy. Yet, my builder friend tells me, a moderate reduction in costs—20 to 25 per cent—would almost certainly bring back the now wilting demand to a vigorous growth. The potential market for housing, at any rate, remains enormous. According to the tremendous survey of "America's needs and resources" just published by the Twentieth Century Fund, 16,000,000 out of a total of 37,000,000 dwellings in the United States need replacement or major repairs. The satisfaction of these needs would make possible a sustained housing boom, but until all factors in the industry—suppliers, contractors, and labor—make a concerted effort to reduce costs, that is likely to remain an idle dream.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I RECENTLY READ an interesting if gloomy account in *Horizon* for January of the behavior, since the defeat, of German writers who remained in the Third Reich. It was written by Heinrich Fischer, whose name is not familiar to me but who seems to be very well informed. According to Mr. Fischer, "Grotesque confusion reigns. . . . It is so grotesque that one is often scarcely able to distinguish which of the German writers was a criminal accomplice of Hitler and which was one of Hitler's victims."

In his opinion the roots of this confusion were imbedded in pre-Hitler Germany.

In other countries the creative writer sets the intellectual fashion; in Germany the fashion creates the writer. There have been cases where German writers, within a single decade, have changed not only their political convictions but also their style, and their whole approach to literature and life, and changed them not only once but three or four times.

He cites Gerhart Hauptmann and Hans Carossa as extreme examples, and says that the "easy, automatic conversion" to National Socialism of most of the writers who remained in Germany after Hitler came to power was only a new and terrible manifestation of an old tendency.

After the defeat writers who had collaborated with the Nazis unblushingly offered their services to the victors—as if National Socialism had merely been another unsuccessful fashion. They apologized for their "weakness" but in terms which gave no indication that they would not be "weak" again if the occasion arose. Mr. Fischer quotes as example the apology, or rather the apologetics, of Otto Flake, one of the fashionable authors of the Nazi years.

We yielded to pressure. Certainly we yielded to pressure, but that was in innumerable cases with the significance of the Chinese philosophy of Tao—to bend, not to break, but to

survive. In Germany we have learned the lesson that one should develop one's personality in fields other than political. *The example of Goethe is still our persuasive teacher* [the italics, I assume, are Mr. Fischer's, and no wonder].

Thomas Mann's refusal to return to Germany—his refusal, as he put it, "to set myself up as the standard bearer of what seems to me at the present moment at any rate an entirely fictitious modern German movement"—gave rise to a wave of apologetics all over Germany. (Mann's refusal was contained in a letter, of which Mr. Fischer prints the important passages, written in response to Walter von Molo, who appealed to Mann in an open letter printed in the press to come back and be the leader of the German intellectuals, "to march forward in the very forefront of the battle.") It was a novelist, Frank Thiess, who hit upon the theory of the "inner emigration." He and other writers who had continued to function under the Nazi regime were, he said, "secret émigrés," and although their books had brought them credit and cash, the internal suffering of their souls had been indescribable as they thought how powerless they were to ward off the inevitable fate of having to sign up as members of the Goebbels Chamber of Culture.

The worst of it was, as Mr. Fischer says, that "the language of these new champions" expressed the "same old divorce from reality," the "isolation of mind," the "nebulous mysticism" which he considers to have been the bane of German writers for a generation at least and one of the elements that made it possible for Hitler to come to power in the first place. Witness this passage from Thiess's reply to Thomas Mann:

We know not from what heights, nor from whose hands, the seed will fall which is to make fruitful the German soil, but suffering also is seed and springs up transformed from the dying grain of wheat up to the light. . . . A God, who led this people into the deepest hell, etc., etc.

Which might be described as full of sound and Führer and signifying exactly nothing.

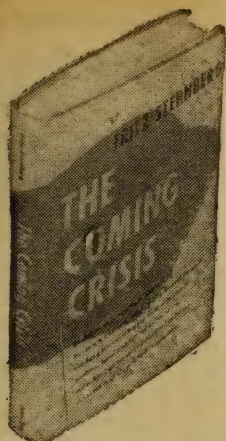
A few writers, says Mr. Fischer, have sharply criticized this "pseudo-metaphysical mush." He notes that the Austrians have shown more sense of reality than the Germans; and he quotes a rather crude but telling comment by the Viennese Alfred Polgar on the "involuntary Hitler authors."

All these artists of the Hitler Reich had to—*force majeure!*—enter the Literary Chambers, the Culture Chambers, the Theater Chambers, or the Press Chambers. But I cannot bring myself to weep for them with all my heart. My sympathy is reserved for those who had to enter the Gas Chambers.

SOME WRITERS who remained in Germany, as Mr. Fischer is careful to point out, did pursue the path of "inner emigration." One of these was the East Prussian novelist Ernst Wiechert, who was consistently anti-Nazi and was interned for a time at Buchenwald. And he is also one of the few who, since the defeat, have spoken plainly to his fellow-Germans, including writers, about their responsibilities and obligations.

Knowing this I picked up with a good deal of interest a novel by Wiechert, "The Girl and the Ferryman," which has just been published here by the Pilot Press (\$2.75). The jacket makes much, understandably, of his consistent opposition to the Nazi regime. It has this to say about the novel itself: "Some may see in the clear lyrical outlines of 'The Girl and the Ferryman' a symbol of the plight of a humanity which nearly loses its way in its struggle with evil."

I was disturbed to discover a tale of a strong simple peasant and of a girl who comes into his life and transforms it; to find evil personified in a sex-obsessed Mormon preacher—he wreaks his will on innocent female converts, and his influence, we are led to believe, brings on a series of natural disasters. However, being predisposed to Mr. Wiechert, I let this pass, and having been urged to read significance into the tale I conscientiously tried to do so. The Mormon Maclean must be Hitler. (To one who had grown up



NOW YOU CAN GET

The Best in Current Books

AT THE GREATEST CLUB SAVINGS

Now the independent liberal reader can get the books he wants at the tremendous savings made possible by group buying. Previously the reader of best-selling fiction has benefited from book club savings. Yet it is the books that interest you whose retail prices are going up. Formerly priced from \$2 to \$2.50, they now sell from \$3 to \$5. By joining the PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB you get your choice of the best current fiction and non-fiction at a price you can afford.

THE COMING CRISIS

by Fritz Sternberg

An internationally famous economist, shows how America is heading towards a major depression unless we move quickly to stop it.

RETAIL PRICE..... **\$3.50**

The Great Challenge

by Louis Fischer

One of the very few books with the guts to deal realistically with the important problems of the day: Russia, World War III and Imperialism.

RETAIL PRICE..... **\$4.00**

SPECIAL PRICE TO MEMBERS \$1⁸⁵

It costs nothing to join the PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB. You pay ONLY for selections you decide to purchase—and ONLY \$1.85. Members receive the monthly club publication BOOKS IN PROGRESS with a careful report on the next selection and other book news.

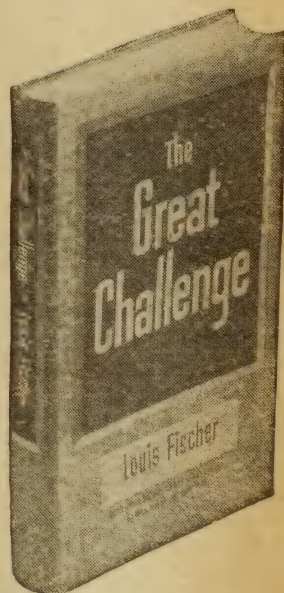
You cannot get stuck with books you do not want. If you want the book, do nothing and let it come. To reject it, send us a postcard and it will not be sent, or if you wish you may have 10 days to examine the book to decide if you really want it.

YOUR BENEFITS AS A MEMBER

ONE LOW PRICE POLICY—No selection costs members more than \$1.85 (plus a few cents mailing and handling charge) although these books are retailing in the same original publishers' editions from \$2.75 to \$5.

NEW MEMBER'S PREMIUM—Upon joining you will be sent an excellent list from which you may choose your free new member's premium. Among the authors whose books are included are James Rorty, James T. Farrell, McAlister Coleman, Cyril Connolly, K. Shridharani, John Dos Passos, Pearl Buck, James Wechsler and many others.

FREE DIVIDENDS—With every four selections you decide to purchase you are entitled to a free book dividend. A member also receives a free book when he sponsors a friend into the club.



Please Clip and Mail

PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB

4250 Broadway, New York 33, N. Y. NAT-4

Please enroll me as a member. I may purchase as few as four selections with my membership and cancel at any time after so doing.

It is understood that I am to receive a new member's premium for joining and a free book dividend with every four selections. I purchase, from a list I shall be sent. I've checked below my first selection for which you may bill me \$1.85 (plus 15¢ mailing and handling charge) upon receipt.

☐ THE GREAT CHALLENGE ☐ THE COMING CRISIS

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

among the present prosaic communicants of that religion, the device of using an early archaic Mormon as devil seemed a bit far-fetched, but I reflected that an anti-Nazi in Hitler's Germany should be allowed a good deal of license.) The girl must symbolize the German people.

It was only when I had read a good many pages that it occurred to me that the novel had nothing at all to do with recent German history and was probably an early work of Wiechert's—he is now sixty—which was being published here now on the strength of his present reputation as one of the few German writers in Germany who managed to survive honorably.

The writing shows talent. It is lucid and "lyrical" as publishers say. But though the vessel is translucent, the contents are murky. The book is permeated by that crude and utterly humorless "mysticism" which we have come to

think of, alas, as Germanic and which Hitler exploited.

Upon inquiry I learned that "The Girl and the Ferryman" was first published in 1932. I think that fact should have been clearly stated on the jacket and in the book. For I suspect that most readers will get the impression, as I did, that this is a recent book out of the "new" Germany and will be interested in it for what it may reveal of the present, and possible future, of that unhappy land. And they may well conclude that if this is what an anti-Nazi writer has to offer after twelve years' experience of Hitler's rule, they are justified in feeling pretty hopeless about the German future.

AS ONE WHO ENJOYS and often perpetrates puns and plays on words I resent the way they are being done to death for commercial purposes by the writers of advertising copy. Eventually the public prints will come to have a resemblance, strictly coincidental, to the pages of James Joyce, and a form of verbal play which is fun as long as it is spontaneous will be utterly discredited. Moreover, puns unspontaneously arrived at are dangerous to those who spin them. Not long ago I met a copy writer who literally conversed in puns and plays on words. It was evident that he found it as trying as I did, but it was also evident that he was powerless to control a habit probably had its beginnings in an advertising conference when it was up to him to produce a punch line. The copy writer who thought of calling a dress a "Sunday supplement" and went on to murmur something about "a month of Sundays" had better take himself in hand.

Advertising in general, it seems to me, is reflecting more and more that frenzy of the copy writer in the competitive society who knows that he must find a new way of praising a product or find a new way of making a living. The advertisements for perfumes have long since gone berserk in their efforts to prove that a whiff of this or that fragrance will cause even men of distinction to go berserk. The most recent example I've seen of this genre shows two lovers floating and embracing in mid-air in the vicinity of a slender tower in a background suggesting fairyland. It did seem to me that they had

gone too far, and that it was too bad they didn't have a more secure and private place to repair to until the fumes were off.

Observing another advertisement for perfume, I was rather pleased to see, for a change, not a scene of artificially induced passion but the head of a pretty girl with spring flowers in her hair. But they were not *in* her hair, they *were* her hair. What's more, two delicate tendrils formed her brows, and her eyes and mouth were really two blue-birds and a scarlet tanager.

What intrigues me most, however, is the advertising that fastens on a quality which is completely irrelevant to the uses of the product. The outstanding example is the claim for the ball pen that it will write under water. I am now awaiting the appearance of an advertisement which tells me that another unique feature of the ball pen is that a man who manufactures them recently flew around the world in seventy-eight hours and fifty-five minutes.

SOMEONE HAS HANDED me a copy of the *Contemporary Writer*, a small four-page bulletin. The main headline announces that Fast (Howard) and Caldwell (Erskine) have been elected chairmen of Contemporary Writers, an organization, and half of a column is devoted to this news. The rest of the column deals with the recent barring from public-school libraries of "Citizen Tom Paine" by Howard Fast. The author of the month, featured on page two, is Julius Fast. On page three is a letter from Howard Fast saying that he is extremely happy that he has been chosen as one of the chairmen of Contemporary Writers. On page four a novel by Barbara Fast is listed with a number of other books and stories. There is also a report saying that "CW's new co-chairman, H. Fast, hasn't gone Hollywood, but two of his books have." At the bottom of this page is a coupon for those who wish to join CW, which starts off with "Dear Howard Fast and Erskine Caldwell." In the correspondence column is a letter signed Luke Faust. Must be a typographical error.

A YOUNG FRIEND OF MINE who is mad about baseball was telling his mother that the Phillies had beaten the Boston Braves twice the day before.

What Are the Soviet People Doing?

Get a first-hand picture of the Soviet People's interests and activities by subscribing now to the following leading publications published in the U. S. S. R.

NEW TIMES

A Journal devoted to the foreign policies of the U. S. S. R. and other countries. Printed Weekly in English, Russian, French or German . . . \$4.50 yearly

SOVIET LITERATURE

Brings you current theatre productions, cinema, Soviet literature and music colorfully reviewed and discussed every month. Printed in English, French, German or Spanish . . . \$2.50 yearly

SOVIET WOMAN

This magazine presents a dramatic account of the domestic, social, political and cultural activities of the Soviet Women. Printed bi-monthly in English, Russian, French or German . . . \$3.00 yearly

MOSCOW NEWS

Published in English twice weekly. Contains news of the 5-year-plan, Soviet Army, industry, agriculture, rehabilitation, science, education, theatre, music and books . . . \$2.00 yearly

Individual copies may be obtained at leading book shops and newsstands.

Order Now! For your subscription or bulk orders write to:

UNIVERSAL DISTRIBUTORS CO.

38 Union Square New York 3, N. Y.

DEPT. II

Distributors of literature of every kind from every country

His mother, who tries to share her son's interest, replied, "You mean they played two games at once?"

An older friend remarks that in view of the talk she hears from intellectuals these days about the futility of it all, she could not help noting the speed and unanimity with which they rushed out to be vaccinated against smallpox.

Apologia for the White Paper

PALESTINE: STAR OR CRESCENT?

By Nevill Barbour. The Odyssey Press. \$3.

NEVILL BARBOUR'S book is, as I read it, an attempt to prove that the Jews have very little historical connection with the land of Palestine, and that "the existing population of Palestine should be formed into an independent state." It is, in brief, an apologia for the notorious White Paper of 1939, for under existing conditions an independent state would mean of course simply another Arab state. Worldwide Jewry should have learned by this time that minority guaranties mean very little in the Arab world.

Mr. Barbour deals in gentle terms with Haj Amin el Husseini, the former Mufti of Jerusalem. This is the way he describes the Mufti's activities in Jerusalem: "Rashid Ali, the Prime Minister, who headed the rising, together with Haj Amin and other leaders, found his way to Germany, whence the two principal leaders indulged in radio propaganda against Britain." Actually the Mufti took an active and leading part in the campaign for the extermination of European Jewry. His files, which were captured with him in Germany at the end of the war, show conclusively that he broadcast repeatedly from Berlin urging that the Jews be killed. For example, on November 3, 1943, in one of these numerous exhortations to the Arabs, he said, "The Treaty of Versailles was a disaster for the Germans as well as the Arabs, but the Germans know how to get rid of the Jews."

Mr. Barbour contends that the Palestinian Arabs were "inclined to sympathize with the democratic rather than the Fascist powers, in spite of the propaganda in which the latter indulged." He goes on to say that they not only abstained from any action which might

hinder the war effort, but also "contributed quite substantially to military and labor forces recruited locally." Actually, as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry unanimously found, the Arab community of Palestine showed itself largely indifferent to the outcome of the war. Out of a population twice as large as the Jewish, only 12,445 Palestinian Arabs were recruited for military service as compared with a total Jewish recruitment of 27,028.

Mr. Barbour's book has the outward appearance of careful scholarship, but it contains many statements such as those I have described which are in conflict with the facts as the Committee of Inquiry found them. His book does, however, point up the desperate need for a definitive American policy, not only in relation to Palestine, but to the entire Middle East—a policy of which Palestine must be the center, for it is only in Palestine in the whole of the Middle East that one finds democracy in action, a dynamic, positive democracy in the everyday life of the people.

It is true that Palestinian Jewry has been so deeply concerned with the matter of simple survival that it has not been able to do as much as it would like to raise the living standards of the Palestinian Arabs, but a real start has been made in spite of the opposition of colonial officials who have little sympathy with this great experiment of the Jewish National Home.

BARTLEY C. CRUM

Shakespeare as Theater

PREFACES TO SHAKESPEARE. Volume I. By Harley Granville-Barker. Princeton University Press. \$5.

IT IS arguable, I think, that Granville-Barker has contributed more to our understanding of Shakespeare than any other commentator of this century. If he has, it is because he has put to the test of the theater all the enormous burden of suggestions about the plays which has accumulated in the last hundred and fifty years. An unhappy, obsessive concern for particular aspects of the plays has characterized commentary since sometime in the eighteenth century, say when Morgann began to weave his fancies and Doctor Johnson's saving common sense went out of style. What

Morgann did by way of fanciful elaboration of a single character is child's play, of course, to what the literary specialists of an age of specialization have been able to do; we have been bullied in turn by all of them, from Stoll to Knight.

Nor has it been an easy thing to bring all these suggestions to the test of the theater. One of the important reasons why the study of Shakespeare has withdrawn from the theater is the incredible persistence—exceptions like Macready have been rare—with which the theater has concentrated on everything that does not matter. The judgments of people like Lamb and Bradley, as Barker points out in the revised section of his "Lear" preface, are based on the assumption that this stupid disregard for the end object of the drama which has characterized the commercial theater from the time of Lamb to Miss Webster is inherent in the medium. The assumption is absurd of course; Shakespeare's plays were written for the theater by a very practical man of the theater; there could be no better evidence of the potentialities for greatness possessed by the me-

SEX FULFILLMENT IN MARRIAGE

By Dr. Ernest M. Groves
Gladys H. Groves
Catherine Groves

Introduction by Robert Ross, M.D.

By Robert L. Dickinson, M.D.

ILLUSTRATED

Crammed solid with plain, detailed and definite facts about married sex life, with illustrations and full explanations.

"... as a preparation for later marriage they should have the best and that's what this is."—HYGELA.

"Scientific and yet easily, readable... a volume that can be widely recommended in its field."—JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

"This new work ranks easily as the best for the married and about-to-be-married, because it is thorough, completely scientific yet easy to read, and the best information now available on normal sex relations."—AMERICAN MEBURY.

12 BIG CHAPTERS

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. The Importance of Sex | 7. The Sex Role of the Wife |
| 2. Experiences That Influence Sex | 8. Common Marital Problems |
| 3. Courtship | 9. Sex Hygiene |
| 4. The Anatomy and Physiology of Sex | 10. Birth Control |
| 5. Starting Marriage | 11. Pregnancy and Childbirth |
| 6. The Sex Role of the Husband | 12. The Larger Meaning of Sex |

Large Book—319 pages—PRICE \$3.00 (postage free)

5-DAY MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

If over 21, order book at once from your bookseller or from
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc.

DEPT. 881-C
251 West 10th St. New York 11

dium. But to achieve the kind of knowledge both of medium and dramatist which will allow you to bring Shakespeare to the test, not of "theater" in the Broadway or drama-school sense, but of the theater in the best sense, is not easy. That knowledge Granville-Barker, perhaps alone in our time, had. (How he got it is shown, at least in part, in Shaw's recent tribute in *Harper's*, so characteristically called Barker's Wild Oats.)

The result of his systematic application of this knowledge is the disciplined development of sensitivity to Shakespeare's plays in the only direction where to go to the extreme is not to become absurd. Barker always sees a Shakespeare play in a possible production. This production is idealized in the sense that it assumes, just as we assume when we are talking about music, the maximum skill in the performers; it is not idealized in the sense that it assumes effects which are not possible at all within the medium. Thus all the viable insights which we owe to the closet critics, from Coleridge to the present, are visualized for us in a possible production in which, at every step, the inner intent of the play is being realized by characters in action. Few things, I believe, can be more exciting to a lover of the theater than to see how Barker works through to the heart of a play's intent, and then discusses with his wonderful and persuasive insight the precise way in which each scene—and, where there is space, each speech, each piece of business—can make its contribution to that intent in performance. He draws out, speech by speech,

the ebb and flow of feeling and attitude beneath speech and gesture in such a scene as the meeting of Caesar and Antony (II, ii), or—and how different a scene it is—in the concluding scene of "Cymbeline"; he never lets us forget the significance of what he calls the "physical aspect of a play's action"—the revelation of character in the almost silent Hamlet who listens to the player king, the effect of Portia's and Nerissa's watching as Bassanio "comments on the caskets to himself," the complete rightness of Cordelia's strained silence as she watches the newly awakened Lear for signs of sanity ("No cause, no cause"); he shows us the hints of tempo, tone, and manner which a producer learned in the Elizabethan stage and practiced in the theater can see. Everything of this kind is laid before us with the easy persuasiveness of a man who wears his learning lightly, never rides a hobby, and knows that the theater is not just a gregarious art but a great one too.

It is a credit to the Princeton Press that they are at last making these prefaces available in America. Five of them are in this first volume: the long "Hamlet," "Lear," "The Merchant of Venice," "Antony and Cleopatra," "Cymbeline"; and the rest are to follow in a second volume. Mr. Conkwright has made a handsome and manageable book of this first group of prefaces, despite their length, and I wish the footnote on page 77 referred to the proper page in this edition instead of to the proper page in the English edition.

ARTHUR MIZENER

profession with one-sided information about the economic problems of medical care and the course of events in this country and abroad.

This handy little volume reviews the technical advances which have made medical services much more effective than formerly but also much more costly. It summarizes the social and economic changes in American life which have made it more difficult for most people to meet these costs. It recapitulates the problems of medical care in urban and rural areas; of needed extensions of public-health services and tax-supported medical care; of medical education, hospitalization, nursing, preventive medicine, and group medical practice. Neither the facts nor the ideas presented with them are original contributions. But they are compounded here in polished capsules, with all the rough edges removed and under an attractive label, so that they will be digested by a great many doctors, dentists, administrators, and lay hospital trustees, to whom the same dose in the pages of *The Nation* would be wholly unpalatable.

The committee's recommendations sum up to two: extend group medical practice as a means of improving the quality of medical care; promote voluntary health insurance as the chief means of making it easier for most people to pay for it. Government should help in various already accepted ways and might subsidize voluntary plans, but governmental health insurance would be a dangerous experiment.

These recommendations are essentially the same as those which were made by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in 1932, and which the *Journal of the American Medical Association* then damned as "socialism and communism, inciting to revolution." Today the American Medical Association and many of its state medical societies are themselves committed to the extension of voluntary health insurance, and group practice gets official lip-service.

Unfortunately the Academy committee does not even explore the really difficult problems of public subsidy to private health-insurance plans, a rapidly emerging issue to which a real contribution might have been made. Today the issues of medical charity versus health insurance and of compulsory versus

RELIEF AND GIFT PARCELS

TO ALL COUNTRIES

¾ lbs. bacon	2 lbs. beefroast
1 lb. rice	½ lb. chocolates
1 lb. coffee	7 oz. vegetable fat
1 lb. honey	2 packs cigarettes
¾ lb. tea	

\$7.25 Incl. postage, packing, insur.

Post office receipt on request

200—\$1.50

CIGARETTES: 600—3.00

1000—4.50

Write for further information
on other parcels.

ALSO AVAILABLE: CLOTHING, TOILETRIES,
MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS, ETC.

J. KOHLS

PERSONAL PARCEL SERVICE

315 WEST 102nd ST. NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
Academy 2-3844

Prescription for Doctors

MEDICINE IN THE CHANGING ORDER. Report of the New York Academy of Medicine, Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order. Commonwealth Fund. \$2.

THE mantle of the New York Academy of Medicine is spread over this report by a committee of fifty persons, mostly physicians, who have been pursuing studies of "medicine and the changing social order" for the last three years. This professionally distinguished sponsorship insures a valuable educational document for medical men. Most doctors need it! For thirty years the *Journal of the American Medical Association* has furnished the

oluntary health insurance are being bought out in an area more advanced than the ground timidly staked out by the Academy. Its report will nevertheless help to move the rear guard forward.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

All Done with Words

LIFE AND THE DREAM. By Mary Colum. Doubleday and Company. \$3.50.

THE varieties of autobiography are nearly as numerous as those of religious experience. There is the autobiography which is designed to show the narrator in all his or her nakedness, with the faults made into glories; such as the work of a Casanova, a Rousseau, or, on a very different plane, a Peggy Guggenheim. There is the anonymous autobiographer who for the benefit of posterity notes down his reminiscences of those he has known who were great, though he himself may be negligible—Henry Crabb Robinson with his diary and his inquisitive nose. Then there is the autobiographer who becomes an artist and succeeds in creating a mythology in which everyone, great or little, plays a definite part; it is to such books, written, say, by Benjamin Robert Haydon, W. Graham Robertson, or Elizabeth Bowen, that the reader returns again and again.

Mrs. Colum's memoirs are of this third class. She does not retail scandal or presume upon her friendship with the well-known to indulge in witticisms at their expense. When she disapproves she does so out of her own strong-mindedness and not to catch the pennies of her readers. This is to say that her book is an honest and a valuable one. Naturally, as the friend of such figures as Elinor Wylie and James Joyce, her book will become a source for information about them, but even if she had known nobody of importance, "Life and the Dream" would have been a book to read and remember. Its picture of an Irish childhood is as brilliantly observed and written as anything by Maria Edgeworth.

To find fault with such a book may appear ungrateful, but I cannot refrain from making one protest: I think that Mrs. Colum is less than generous to Harriet Shaw Weaver, who ran the *New*

Freewoman, a suffragette periodical which later became the *Egoist*, serializing both Joyce's "Portrait of the Artist" and Wyndham Lewis's "Tarr." Miss Weaver gave Joyce a very large sum of money and she gave it to him in a lump; Joyce certainly enjoyed this temporary feeling of extreme wealth and behaved as if the money was elastic. But to blame Miss Weaver for her kindness seems hardly fair; what fault there was was on Joyce's side, though it is difficult to condemn a man who had known such poverty for suddenly blossoming into a spendthrift.

However, this is the only point at which Mrs. Colum seems to be unjust; her treatment of Elinor Wylie, who was a difficult and intolerant snob, is more than kind. Her picture of the Irish Celtic revival is sympathetic and carefully observed, and she weaves a pattern out of the characters and their idiosyncrasies that will be a great help to any student of the period.

Perhaps the key to the charm of "Life and the Dream" lies in a phrase which Mrs. Colum uses about one of her stories: "Like a lot of my countrymen, I had fooled the Englishman with words." She knows how to use words to make her writing vivid, and is suffi-

ciently skilled in spell-binding to convince at least one reader that today the minstrel boy would not need to go to the wars to find fame—the publishers of London and New York would arrange it for him.

RUTHVEN TODD

Films

JAMES
AGEE

WITH deep regret I must postpone my attempt to review Chaplin's "Monsieur Verdoux." I cannot hope to do it justice, but I do prefer to discuss it a little more coherently than I have been able to, to date. In case this leaves any doubt of my opinion of the film, let me say that I think it is one of the best movies ever made, easily the most exciting and most beautiful since "Modern Times." I will add that I think most of the press on the picture, and on Chaplin, is beyond disgrace. I urge everyone to see "Monsieur Verdoux" who can get to it.

Well, to resume my skulk through the alphabet. I was down through *I* as in Ivan. Meanwhile a *B*, three *C*'s, and a particularly fragrant *E* have sprung up behind me.

"The Barber of Seville" is Rossini's opera, as sung and played by Ferruccio

Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ himself write down any record of his life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote!

Who, then, wrote the Christian Gospels? And when were they written? By some historian after the death of Christ? Or are these Gospels merely myths and legends handed down to us from a civilization that existed long before the time of Christ?

At last you can get the FACTS about Christ and the Christian Church in a startling new book just off the press called "A Shield Has Two Sides" written by the eminent author, scholar and historian Wallace Stockwell.

Here is a book for people who are not afraid to look reality in the face! A book for men and women who refuse to wear mental blinders! It reveals TRUTHS about the Christian Church of today—both Catholic and Protestant—that will shock many. For it pulls no punches and presents facts known to but few.

"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. First editions, which well may become collectors' items, are priced at \$1.00.

Read "A Shield Has Two Sides"
Without Risking a Single Penny

If you are not "squeamish"—if you can stand a frank statement of fact without being upset—then mail the coupon below with \$1.00 and "A Shield Has Two Sides" will be mailed to you at once. Read the book for 5 days. Then if you are dissatisfied in any way simply return the book and we will refund your deposit in full. Act at once as the First Edition is limited.

A SHIELD HAS TWO SIDES



LIGHT on the
DARK SIDE of the SHIELD

MAIL THIS TODAY

Allace Publishing Co., P. O. Box 100
Mount Prospect, Illinois, Dept. 15

Send "A Shield Has Two Sides" as offered, I enclose \$1.00 and postpaid. If I am not delighted with this book I will return it within 5 days and you will refund my deposit in full.

Name

Street or R.F.D.

City..... Zone..... State.....

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st St.
10th St.
11th St.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th St.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
134th St.

RKO NOW

"GRIPPING AND FANCIFUL STORY."
—N. Y. Herald Tribune

'Stairway to Heaven'

DAVID NIVEN RAYMOND MASSEY

IN TECHNICOLOR
AND MARK HELLMER'S

'SWELL GUY'
SONNY TUFTS

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

"ADULT DRAMA."—N. Y. Post

JOAN CRAWFORD JOHN GARFIELD

IN FANNIE HURST'S

'HUMORESQUE'

with OSCAR LEVANT

—AND—

'CRIMINAL COURT'

TOM CONWAY MARSHA DRISCOLL

QUEENS

MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keth's
FLUSHING
Keth's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 52 St.

ALAN LADD GAIL RUSSELL
WILLIAM BENDIX

"CALCUTTA"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS WORLD-
FAMOUS ORCHESTRA

Plus — COKE & POKE

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

BUCK & BUBBLES

Does Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
T.O.P.M.
(Tax Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York: NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Chicago: Blackstone Thea.—with Betty KEAN

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"937 LAUGHS."—Walter Winchell

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"MASTERFUL...ENTRANCING."

—Hankins, World-Telegram

HELEN HAYES in HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—Barnes, Herald Trib.

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny
play, brilliantly
written, acted
and staged."

—Garland,

Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN

LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4281

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

"A completely
satisfying and
enjoyable com-
edy."

—Chapman,

News

MAX GORDON Presents

FREDRIC FLORENCE

MARCH ELDREDGE "YEARS AGO"

The New Smash Hit by ELLIOT GORDON

Directed by Garson Kanin

MANSFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9955

Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

Planning to Advertise in The Nation?

HERE ARE SOME VITAL STATISTICS!

General Advertising — \$300 per page

Publishers & Local — 240 per page

(EVEN FRACTIONS THEREOF ON A PRO RATA BASIS)

Classified Display — \$7.39 per inch

Classified — 74c a line (six words)

minimum three lines

Call or write today for additional
on deadlines and discounts!

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

Twenty Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Barclay 7-1066

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

agliavini (Almaviva), Tito Gobbi (Figaro), Italo Tajo (Basilio), and their competent and attractive Italians. The sets are rather pathetically flea-bitten, the sound is not awfully good, the lighting is drab; you watch the conventions of opera through the most transparent of movie conventions. I suppose it is rather dull, but I liked it.

"Carnegie Hall" is about the thickest and sourest mess of musical mulligan-soup I have yet had to sit down to, a sort of aural compromise between the Johnstown flood and the Black Hole of Calcutta. I have an idea that some of the music was well done, but I was exhausted by suffering and rage that I can't possibly be sure of what. However, as a gnarled mirror of American musical taste at its worst, and as a record of what various prominent musicians look like under strange professional circumstances, it is a permanently fascinating and valuable show. There is, for a single instance, the protected spectacle of Stokowsky—shot from the floor—who seems to be undergoing for the public benefit an experience, while conducting a portion of Tchaikowsky's Fifth Symphony, which men of coarser clay wish exclusively on women, or perhaps on albums of prefabricated trade-union folk songs. I am sorry to be writing this way about "Carnegie Hall," for I can't avoid feeling that some rather good intentions were involved in it. But then I can't doubt that Hitler had good intentions. He and I just didn't see eye to eye.

"The Captive Heart," a British movie about prisoners of war, has been greeted as a masterpiece by some of the reviewers who, only too literally, couldn't "see" "Monsieur Verdoux." So now we know what a masterpiece is: something that isn't either really bad or by any generosity really good; another of those group-as-hero stories, a dangerous cliché in the first place, in which each member of the group is just one more cliché; and something truly creative for Michael Redgrave, a Czech who for self-protection is forced to take on a dead Englishman's identity and to write the widow love letters—with his left hand, of course, in order not to tip his mitt. This decent, mediocre film is sincerely but often cornily written and is in general honestly acted. It all takes its measure—about ankle high—against a number of beautiful shots which were made in a camp in North Germany. These shots are made in a style closely related to the style which is called archaic, or worse, when Chaplin uses it; and Chaplin uses

it all the time, for incomparably richer and subtler purposes.

"Carnival in Costa Rica" is a Technicolor musical with a score by Lecuona. I liked the score, some fine Costa Rican backgrounds, a medium-good solo by Massine, who designed the generally uninteresting dances, and the dancing and acting of Vera-Ellen. I even liked Dick Haymes. I was also interested to see that Ann Revere, as a Kansan, was shown to be happily married to J. Carroll Naish, as a thoroughly Costa Rican coffee planter. If this sort of un-American propaganda takes decent hold in Hollywood, the day will come when the husband of a high-bridged daughter of the Confederacy will shag into the scuppernong arbor playing ootchmagootch to a slice of watermelon and reciting "Ballad for Americans," between spat seeds, in an Oxford accent.

"The Egg and I" asks you to believe in, and laugh at, Fred MacMurray and Claudette Colbert as nauseatingly clownish city people who try their hands at poultry farming. Marjorie Main, in an occasional fit of fine, wild comedy, picks the show up and brandishes it as if she were wringing its neck. I wish to God she had.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AN ENGLISH critic, Martin Cooper, writing in the *Spectator* not long ago, characterized Delius as "an artist with a vein of unquestionable originality, a musician-poet with an exquisite sense of orchestral color and a haunting sense of the evanescence of beauty"; described "the process familiar in his orchestral works by which any melody . . . that appears immediately becomes a melisma, an ornamental phrase varied and repeated but never growing or developing into a melodic line"; and contended that "the static and amorphous quality of his inspiration absolutely disqualifies him from the larger forms," but enables him to produce "the beautiful and original miniatures for orchestra."

The truth of his statements is demonstrated by two works that have just appeared on records: on the one hand the monotonously amorphous Violin Concerto, well-performed by Sammons and the Liverpool Philharmonic under Sargent, and beautifully recorded (Columbia Set 672; \$4); on the other hand

the hauntingly lovely "Walk to the Paradise Gardens" from "A Village Romeo and Juliet," well-performed by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony, and excellently recorded (Victor 11-9493; \$1)—though my copy wavers in pitch and has bad surfaces.

But even as a composer of miniatures Delius has a stature, and his art has a magnitude, that one begins to appreciate, if one hasn't done so before, when one hears a piece like Borodin's "On the Steppes of Central Asia"—another miniature, and certainly lovely, but so slight in comparison with the Delius piece. It is well-performed by Constant Lambert with the Philharmonia Orchestra and well-recorded on a Columbia single (71956-D; \$1).

As for Victor, it offers, among other things, a set (1106; \$3.85) of Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 2. This is a work for clarinet and piano, which Benny Goodman and Nadia Reisenberg recorded for Columbia; but Brahms also made a version for viola and piano, which Primrose and Kapell have recorded for Victor. In either form the work is one of the many of Brahms that I find mechanically contrived and boring; and if I prefer the viola-and-piano version it may be only because both musicians play it with vitality whereas in the other performance Goodman's playing was lifeless, and in this music even Primrose's excess of vitality—which has Kapell overwrought at times—is preferable to none at all. The Victor performance also is more richly recorded than the Columbia; but I recall wavering pitch on at least one side of the Victor set.

There is a large Brahms public, and a Brahms cult for things like this so-

Eyewitness report ***
NEW EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES
 by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
 Chairman, Communist Party, U. S. A.
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
 Wed., May 14—7:30 p.m.
 Program
 BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
 N. Y. Councilman
 ROBERT THOMPSON
 Chairman, N. Y. State Communist Party
 ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
 Nat'l. Bd., Communist Party
GREEK PARTISAN CHORUS
 Entertainment
 Reserved Seats: 60c; \$1.00; \$1.20; \$1.80;
 \$2.40 (Tax Incl.)
 Tickets Available at: Workers Bookshop, 59 E.
 13th St.; Book Fair, 133 W. 44th St.; Jefferson
 Book Shop, 575 Sixth Avenue; Communist Party,
 N. Y. State, 35 E. 12th St., Room 511
 Announcers: Communist Party of New York State

nata; but what has led Victor to expend on Mendelssohn's "Reformation" Symphony the recording and production it cannot afford for Schnabel's performances of Beethoven and Mozart is beyond my comprehension. The uninteresting work is well-performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (Set 1104; \$4.85), its high point being the beautifully contoured inflection of the cantilena of the brief Andante movement. And the recorded sound of the performance is spacious and rich, except on the first side in my set, where it is unresonantly dull. Also the surfaces of my copy are noisy.

On a single (10-1278; \$.75) are two spirituals, "Poor Me" and "Hold On!"—well-sung by Marian Anderson to piano accompaniments by Rupp that are, as always, unique in the way they create continuous life around the voice even when they are no more than a few quiet and widely spaced chords. On another single (11-9519; \$1) are Horowitz's mannered performance of Chopin's Valse Opus 64 No. 2, which is not clear in execution as it comes off the record, another mannered performance of Mendelssohn's Elegy Opus 85 No. 4, and a surprisingly straightforward performance of his Spring Song—the two Mendelssohn pieces being well-reproduced, but the surfaces of my copy being poor. And on still another (11-9263; \$1) are the Barcarolle and *Elle a fui, la tourterelle* from Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann," sung poorly by Novotna.

CONTRIBUTORS

BARTLEY C. CRUM, a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, is the author of "Behind the Silken Curtain. A Personal Account of Anglo-American Diplomacy in Palestine and the Middle East."

ARTHUR MIZENER, professor of English at Carleton College, is a contributor to the *Kenyon Review*, the *Paritan Review*, and the *Southern Review*.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS is chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics.

RUTHVEN TODD is an English poet and author of a novel, "Over the Mountain."

Buy More Bonds

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Picasso Appeals

Dear Sirs: The following is the text of a cable just received from Pablo Picasso in France. Picasso has recently been appointed UNESCO delegate of the Spanish Republican government.

The Spanish Aid Advisory Committee, with administrators of the Unitarian Service Committee, has examined the situation of numerous Spanish Republicans with tuberculosis, in France. The percentage of deaths from tuberculosis has increased enormously here as a result of war sufferings, and the number of beds available for tubercular cases has diminished. There are now one-fourth less than before the war. The problem of the ill Spaniards becomes more and more agonizing. Establishing of sanitariums for them is an urgent task. We appeal to the generosity of our American friends to help us meet the tragic situation of tubercular Spanish Republicans.

PABLO PICASSO

In America the Spanish Refugee Appeal bears the main responsibility of these people. Funds raised on Tag Days, May 8, 9, and 10, will be used exclusively for the maintenance and expansion of medical facilities for them. I proudly join Picasso in appealing to the "generosity of our American friends." The address of the Spanish Refugee Appeal is 192 Lexington Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

MARGARET WEBSTER, Chairman
1947 Spanish Refugee Tag Day
Campaign

New York, April 30

A Challenge . . .

Dear Sirs: Nothing is more important today than to understand what the Soviet Union is all about, because peace depends mainly on American-Soviet understanding. The clearest possible example of how not to attain understanding or peace is Sidney Hook's review of my book, "Soviet Philosophy," in *The Nation* of February 15.

His method is to dwell exclusively on Soviet sins. . . . I believe this approach is just as absurd as that which would claim that the Soviet Union represents the embodiment of social perfection. The point is, we are all living in sin, but all major powers must join together in the effort to build peace. We and Russia can do this if we pay at least as

much attention to our areas of agreement and our community of ideals as to our respective sins and our differences of methods.

The approach I recommend would be impossible in the case of Nazi-Fascism because its philosophy teaches that the values of war are superior to those of peace, that war is desirable in itself, and the highest form of personal and national conduct. Soviet philosophy teaches the opposite. That is why there is philosophical basis for peaceful cooperation with the Soviet Union. That basis should be further explored. Isn't that sense? . . .

If anyone still seriously believes that Soviet philosophy is essentially identical with Nazi-Fascist philosophy, I should be glad to disprove it in detail. Let us not fool ourselves. If the Soviet Union were as bad or as similar to Nazi-Fascism as Hook seems to imagine, we ought to prepare for war, and we would be justified in invoking armed force. I challenge Hook to deny this.

It is amusing to see that his lengthy "review" contains not the slightest analysis of the vast majority of themes taken up in the book: the social theory of historical materialism; the concept of Soviet democracy as applied to problems of economics, education, race, war, and religion; the ethical theory of socialist humanism; the ontology and logic of dialectical materialism. Yet these are central. Why his silence?

As to what Mr. Hook does say, I have seldom seen so much misinformation, misinterpretation, hearsay, and gossip so abusively expressed. . . . Hook, oddly enough, speaks of honesty. I challenge him to affirm, in good faith, those ideals of Soviet philosophy with which we can cooperate and those accomplishments of Soviet Russia which we can respect. If he is honest, and wants peace, he must be willing to do this.

JOHN SOMERVILLE
New York, April 16

. . . and a Response

Dear Sirs: Mr. Somerville's political tirade in reply to my review is completely irrelevant to the criticisms I made of his book. I cited evidence that he had misstated the theory of Soviet philosophy as expressed in its authoritative writings and that he had suppressed the relevant facts about its practice. These are serious charges. Instead

of meeting them on their own ground, he introduces a whole school of malodorous red herrings to distract the reader from noting his failure to answer a single one of my specific criticisms. His apparent view that we must sacrifice the truth in the interest of what he conceives to be good foreign policy reinforces my judgment that his book is not an objective analysis of Soviet philosophy and practice but a shabby piece of apologetics.

Mr. Somerville is no more accurate in his references to my review than he is in reporting the state of Soviet philosophy. I did not maintain that "Soviet philosophy is essentially identical with Nazi-Fascist philosophy"; I asserted that in respect to the denial of democratic freedoms, particularly their practices toward those who disagree with the state philosophy, they are the same. The expressed philosophies of Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo differ, too, but their practices are substantially the same. In my review I wrote that Mr. Somerville is "guilty of the elementary logical error of assuming that because two things are not identical, none of their features or relations can be the same." In repeating this error in his reply Mr. Somerville reveals that his deficiency of logical sense is incorrigible.

In evaluating the political and social practices of a country we cannot rely on its professions of ideals. The governments of Franco and Salazar both invoke the noble ideals of Christianity. But we quite properly judge them by their fruits. Why should we proceed differently with the Soviet Union? We don't mitigate the conduct of the Bilbos and Talmadges by pointing to the existence of democratic constitutions on paper. Why should the existence of the Soviet constitution—which actually provides for one-party rule—blind us to the absence of freedom and democracy in Russia?

The notion that criticism of the theory and practice of Soviet philosophy is prejudicial to peace is utterly preposterous. It is also insincere, for those who hold it never assert that criticism of Spain, Argentina, and other non-democratic countries is war-mongering. Nor do they ever make similar charges against the Soviet Union, whose press—and an official press at that!—is full of vitriolic criticism of our own country. Mr. Somerville's theory of how to live in peace with the Soviet Union, if logically carried out, would lead to the complete abrogation of democracy as we know it in the United States.

Crossword Puzzle No. 211

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 The earth has four, poetically speaking
- 5 Mass bombing
- 9 A Greek
- 10 It is surprising there is as much of the tent left as there is
- 11 They return to their posts at the close
- 12 Whiten
- 15 Taken on in an enveloping movement around a body of the Japanese
- 16 The land-grabber's property?
- 17 One so weak as to be shaken by current events
- 19 "Sweet ---- of Avon!" Ben Jonson called his friend, Shakespeare
- 21 Obviously an outdoor type
- 22 Dot about
- 23 Main part of an electric cooker
- 25 A row
- 27 Thoroughfare explored by the politician
- 29 Peak of poetic inexpressibility
- 32 German composer (1714-1787)
- 34 The Colonel, in short
- 35 A comic one may end tragically
- 36 Rats have got into the victuals!
- 37 Useful when the electricity fails

DOWN

- 1 Elia is in the climb
- 2 Anna's sixteen
- 3 Prefect of a province in ancient Greece
- 4 "Some undone widow ---- upon mine arm, And takes away the use of it"

- 5 Argentine drinking companion
- 6 Perhaps an English judge with swelled head
- 7 Make the introduction short, please
- 8 An Anglo-Irish lad
- 13 I get a cold reception in a hostel undergoing alteration
- 14 In stock market parlance, parcels of less than 100 shares (3 & 4)
- 15 Tied together
- 18 You have met this bird before
- 20 A matter of general, as well as private, concern
- 22 Have a giddy vacation? But not all together
- 24 Disavowals from Daniels
- 25 Bird with a "wandering voice"
- 26 A roc? No—a quadruped
- 28 Crow
- 30 A model of excellence
- 31 This is the part of rice, sir, that appeals to the young
- 32 Alexander the Little

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 210

ACROSS:—1 FLARBERGASTED; 10 IMPROVE; 11 ICE CUBE; 12 DINGBAT; 13 PALETTE; 14 WRONGED; 15 DIDDEROT; 16 LINOCUT; 20 EXPUNGE; 23 ASSUAGE; 24 RENTIER; 25 ENRAGED; 26 THE CODA; 27 EMERGENCY EXIT.

DOWN:—2 LEPANTO; 3 BOOK BAG; 4 ELECTED; 5 GRIPPED; 6 STEDLED; 7 EQUATOR; 8 WINDOW CLEANER; 9 PETER THE GREAT; 17 NOSTRUM; 18 CHANGER; 19 TREADLE; 20 ERRATIC; 21 PINK-EYE; 22 NAIROBI.

Fortunately for the state of future relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Mr. Somerville is no more adept in foreign policy than in technical philosophy. It was not criticism of Nazi philosophy and practice that brought war but Hitler's invasion of Poland. It was not criticism of Japanese despotism that brought war but Pearl Harbor. And if war breaks out between Russia and the West it will not be the result of criticism but of concrete actions. And what sensible person will argue that Hitler invaded Poland because of our criticism of Nazi philosophy and practice? In 1941 no criticisms of Nazi policy were permitted in Russia but only praise. Did this deter Hitler? Is the Soviet Union's record of broken treaties, its refusal to accept a plan for effective inspection of atomic plants, its use of a worldwide fifth column the consequence of our unsympathetic criticism?

What the foreign policy of the United States should be in relation to Russia and other countries is an important question, which I have discussed at length in the January issue of *Partisan Review*. But whatever foreign policy the United States adopts, it has a better chance of preserving the peace of the world if it is based on a frank recognition of the truths concerning Soviet theory and practice than if it is based on the deceptions peddled by fellow-travelers of the Communist Party line.

SIDNEY HOOK

New York, April 20

With Open Eyes

Dear Sirs: Many good Americans feel that it is disloyal not to indorse unquestioningly the Truman Doctrine. Could anything be more "un-American" than saying, like the Germans, "My Führer, right or wrong"? Sincere patriots felt free to criticize Franklin Roosevelt even when he was at the height of his prestige and power and not a President-by-accident. We must see to it that the same essential freedom of thought and speech is preserved now.

The Truman Doctrine is in effect a declaration of war. I am a lover of peace, but not a pacifist. It may be that the Third World War is inevitable and even righteous. But it involves a responsibility so tremendous that it should not be assumed without serious discussion.

The Truman Doctrine is a complete reversal of a policy as old as the Republic. To maintain a king on his shaky throne is decidedly not in line

with American tradition. I am not a slave of tradition myself. But we owe it to our founders not to deviate from their reasoned policy without the most searching consideration.

The Truman Doctrine is a misnomer. It is—and we have known it for years—the Mussolini-Hitler-Franco doctrine. On this point, again, we have the right to alter our course: *perseverare diabolium*. But let us know clearly what we are doing, and why, and what it implies. If the Truman Doctrine be true, then, when the Great Crusade is won, we must raise expiatory monuments to those martyrs, the Duce and the Führer, who perished in its service.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Stanford University, Cal., April 24

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-4917

Registered Nurse Seeking Health Research Opportunity

Proven technique revitalizing live tissue, detoxifying through internal, external hydrotherapy and balanced diet, offered to institution treating chronic invalids, for clinical observation. No compensation.

Write Box 1706, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

SHORE COTTAGE LAKE WILLOUGHBY, VT., glorious mountains, 370 miles from N. Y. C., 2 acres woodland, privacy, boathouse, boat, swimming, 4 bedrooms, bath, electric water heater, pyro-fax gas cooking, spring water, outdoor fireplace, frigidaire. \$500, June 15—Labor Day inclusive. Box 1707, c/o The Nation.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

LANGUAGES

SPANISH, RUSSIAN, FRENCH, 26 other phonograph language courses. ALL MAKES. sold bought, rented. Free catalogue. A. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17. Murray Hill 3-1093.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

74¢ a line (six words)

Minimum Three Lines

Attractive Discounts for Multiple Insertions

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

RESORTS

Timberland
POTTERVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100
OPENS MAY 18th
ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS
N. Y. Office: 38 West 42nd Street, LOngacre 5-8074
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

OPENING DECORATION DAY
COLD BROOK HOUSE
"On the banks of Esopus Creek"
A small resort with a friendly atmosphere
in beautiful surroundings. Adults only.
Rate \$35 per week—10% discount in July 1
COLD BROOK HOUSE, Boiceville, N. Y. Shokan 2648
Tel. Sundays only bet. 9-11 a.m., Mansfield 6-5065

RELAX, REST, or PLAY at
this distinctive
mountain
resort
Tanzville
PARKVILLE, N. Y.
Kosher Cuisine
Completely Modern
All Sports Facilities
New Asphalt Tennis Courts
Sensibly Low Rates May & June
Meal Honeymoon Retreat • Write Box 171-C

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Shaker Village Work Camp
TEEN-AGE CO-ED SUMMER CAMP
Full recreation and athletic program. Work
projects include farming, construction, all shop-
crafts • Fine arts, folk-music and dances. • Music
program includes Tanglewood Festival. Campers
occupy original historic buildings. For brochure
285 Madison Avenue, New York CA 5-2133

WALTELL HOUSE ON FRANKEL
FARM
MT. BETHEL, PA.
VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY
Modern farm hotel combined with progressive
children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y.
All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry,
dairy products and vegetables from the farm.
Rates: — Adults \$80 Week — Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 88 St. LE 2-5864

HOUSE FOR RENT

CHARMING OLD HOUSE IN CONGERS, N. Y., less than 30 miles from city. Nicely furnished 9 rooms, 3 fireplaces, all conveniences. Beautiful grounds, fruit trees, flowers, etc. Also 3-room bungalow, small private swimming pool. Near lake, long season. \$1,500 for both or can be rented separately. DAVID GOODWIN, 55 West 11th St., N. Y. C. 11, GR. 7-4410.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass.-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

SUMMER BUNGALOWS

FOR RENT: Summer Bungalows, Dutchess County, all improvements. 2 or 3 rooms. Call between 9—4, Fordham 7-2665.

TALENT TEAM FOR HIRE

AN ADVERTISING COMBO that will pull worst for your agency! The wife—an artist extraordinaire, the husband—a production man, etc., with punch! This creative, capable couple, young and advertising-wise, will be available mid-June. Box 1708, c/o The Nation.

Give to help fight CANCER!

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 17, 1947

NUMBER 20, PART I

The Shape of Things

THE NATION'S SUPPLEMENT ON PALESTINE, which makes up Part II of this issue, outlines the complex scheme of Near East relationships within which the Palestine problem is set. The supplement is an abridged version of a longer memorandum presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the meetings at Flushing and Lake Success attempts were made to restrict the discussion to the central task for which the special Assembly was called: to select a Commission of Investigation and define its terms of reference. However, as the debate proceeded, it became increasingly difficult to separate substance from procedure. Many of the issues dealt with in the supplement have already been injected into the discussion—the terms of the Mandate, the claims of the Arabs to an independent Arab state in Palestine, the connection between Palestine and the Jewish refugees still in D. P. camps, the case for a Jewish National Home. Moreover, the United Nations sessions fought to the surface some of the underground currents of power politics that have bedeviled the attempt to reach a permanent solution of the Palestine problem. As we go to press, it appears that the terms of reference will be sufficiently broad to allow the commission to do its job effectively. We earnestly suggest that when the field is surveyed and all claims have been examined, the solution recommended to the General Assembly in September should follow the lines laid down in the *Nation* memorandum and supplement: a plan of partition that will allow a fair basis of economic and political existence for Jews and Arabs; an interim plan of trusteeship under a United Nations High Commission; and the immediate facilitation of immigration into the Jewish area of Palestine for the Jewish population now in the camps of Europe. This scheme will not satisfy completely all or any of the elements in the conflict, but given a spirit of tolerance and the firm backing of United Nations authority, we feel it can be made to work.

✱

THE WILDCAT STRIKE IN THE NATIONALIZED Renault factory, which precipitated the French political crisis, was supported by left Socialist and non-Stalin Marxists, but was originally condemned by the Communists. When the strike assumed major proportions, the Communists, in order to avoid being outflanked on the left, did an about-face. They backed the workers' de-

mands for increased wages, thus threatening the anti-inflation program of the coalition government based on frozen wages and lowered prices. Because this issue vitally affected the material interests of French workers, the Communist deputies were unable to repeat the tactics used in the debates on Indo-China and Madagascar when they opposed the government's policy without breaking the coalition. Instead, they refused a vote of confidence and also refused to quit the coalition, forcing Ramadier either to resign or take the responsibility of a rupture. Ramadier, having won the vote of confidence, chose to eject the Communists. The crisis has clearly exposed the weaknesses inherent in government by party coalition instead of by a parliamentary majority. But its main significance is the split between the two big Marxist parties. The Socialists remain faithful to the "Blum experiment," while the Communists now prefer to exploit the widespread discontent arising from the ineffectiveness of the government's efforts to lower prices. French economic life and reconstruction are utterly dependent on dollar imports. Any further weakening of the franc as a result of increased inflation will doom the Monnet plan. The Communist tactic in the present crisis required that they accept this risk in order to strengthen popular backing at the expense of the Socialists—although the Communists, hoping to have their cake and eat it, hated to leave the government.

✱

BUT THE SOCIALISTS ALSO FEEL UNEASY. Premier Ramadier's decision to drop the Communist ministers was approved in the Socialist Party Congress by a very narrow margin, and among those who voted against it were some of Blum's most faithful followers. They expressed anxiety lest the government's shift toward the center might later oblige the party itself to move in that direction, risking the loss of a good number of its affiliates and much popular strength. It should not be forgotten that since the Congress of Montrouge a year ago the party has twice reaffirmed its policy of collaboration with the Communists, or that its leadership, including the able Daniel Mayer, was ousted as a result. This time Guy Mollet, who succeeded Mayer, led the opposition to Ramadier. He answered Blum's argument that hesitation would play into the hands of those "who

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	557
New Coalition for Old	560
The Mufti's Henchmen—A Who's Who	561

ARTICLES

We Need a Better Housing Bill by Charles Abrams	562
Behind the Viet-Nam Revolt by Michael Clark	564
A Faith to Live By. III "At the End of the Crisis, a New World . . ." by Jacques Maritain	568
Europe This Summer? by Horace Sutton	570
Dirty Deals in Spain by Del Vayo	572
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	573

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Children of Light by Albert Guérard	574
Southern Pastiche by W. J. Gold	574
Resistance in the Third Reich by Joseph Bornstein	575
Bathsheba's Lament in the Garden. A Poem by Robert Lowell	575
Taxes and Policy by Charles E. Noyes	576
Aftermath of Excitement by Ralph Humphries	577
The Young Holmes by David T. Bazelon	577
Art by Clement Greenberg	578
Music by B. H. Haggin	579

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 582

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 212 583

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the
U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New
York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13,
1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of
March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for
Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10;
Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and
Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change
of address, which cannot be made without the old address as
well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers'
Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to
Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic
Index.

are working to instal personal power"—a clear allu-
to De Gaulle—by saying that the best way to meet
danger was to maintain unity between the two big par-
of the left. It is not, said Mollet, with the weak Radi-
of Herriot and an M. R. P. half republican and half
Vatican that the danger of a rightist dictatorship is go-
to be stopped. But Blum and Ramadier had on their
the terrific argument of France's present financial sit-
tion and the danger that a prolongation of the polit-
crisis might lead to economic collapse. As often bef-
in French history, bread had the last word. During
past two years Ambassador Caffrey has asked the St-
Department time and again for maximum American
aid to France. But little was done and that little,
late, American wheat is now going to France but un-
the widely held suspicion, reported by Harold Callen-
in the New York Times, that its arrival was timed
strengthen the hand of the conservatives and furt-
weaken the now divided left. The announcement of a
\$250,000,000 loan to France by the World Bank w-
help stabilize both the franc and the center coalitie

✱

THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRIBUNAL

Nürnberg is to try twenty-four top officials of I. G. Fa-
ben, the giant German chemical trust, on charges of
menting and waging aggressive warfare, mass mur-
plunder and spoliation. A 20,000-word indictment fil-
on May 3 by the chief war-crimes prosecutor, Brigadier
General Telford Taylor, backs these charges with a fol-
midable bill of particulars. It will be difficult for
defense to claim that Farben was just an ordinary bu-
ness which did no more than obey the instructions
its government. The indictment shows that, even befo-
Hitler came to power, the directors of Farben had reach-
an agreement with him for mutual support. From a ve-
early date every phase of the trust's production was syn-
chronized with the plans of the German General Staff.
Its world-wide organization was completely integrate-
with the Nazi foreign-propaganda and espionage agen-
cies. Its cartel arrangements with more than 2,000 major
industrial concerns in the United States, Britain, and
other countries were used to obtain the benefits of foreign
patents for the Nazi war machine and to prevent or lim-
the production of strategic materials in those countries.
"No German government could have planned and wage
war without the full, wholehearted, and unstinted co-
operation of Farben," the indictment declares. And in
return for this cooperation the trust reaped rich rewards.
Between 1932 and 1942 its profits rose from 71 million
marks to 571 million. It shared the loot of the con-
quered countries. It profited from the exploitation of
slave-labor, building a synthetic-rubber plant to employ
inmates of the Oswiecim concentration camp, a plan
where "sometimes over 100 persons died at their work
every day from sheer exhaustion."

FARBEN'S STORY WOULD BE INCOMPLETE without reference to its agreements with American corporations and we are glad to note that General Taylor not neglected this subject. "Farben's pre-war activities" we are told, "were carefully designed to weaken the United States as an arsenal of democracy." Specific instances are cited of its arrangements with Alcoa and Du Pont, with Standard Oil of New Jersey, and with other companies. One illuminating instance mentioned was a "loan" of 500 tons of tetra-lead, used for high-octane gasoline, which Farben received from the Ethyl Export Corporation just before Hitler's march into Czechoslovakia. According to the statement, the purposes of this deal were "misrepresented." That we can well believe, but the deception of American businessmen in this manner, at a time when Neville Chamberlain's eyes had been opened, suggests an almost wilful innocence on their part. In fact, the only reasonable excuse that Farben's American collaborators can offer is that they were hoodwinked and deceived. However, this plea would be damaging to their honor and prestige, and some of them are still hoping to get away with bland denials. Robert T. Haslam, vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, declares that his company had no cartel arrangements with Farben, but merely agreements for the purchase and exchange of patents—a fine distinction, indeed, considering Farben's activities in suppressing competition. Willard H. Dow, chairman of Dow Chemical, is reported as saying: "We never had any contract with Farben." In view of the evidence turned up by the Truman and Bone committees on the Dow-Farben agreements limiting Dow's magnesium sales in Europe, this is an amazing statement.

★

MUTINY IN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE COULD be designated a crime, Representative Taber and his supporters in the House Appropriations Committee would have under indictment. On the meanest of pretexts they have brushed aside Secretary Marshall's able appeal for the State Department's Information and Cultural Service. They have decided that the Voice of America must be abandoned, that American libraries of information abroad must be scrapped and that the program of telling the world about the United States through radio, motion picture, graphic arts, and student exchanges must be ended. They have long suspected the economy group in Congress of possessing minds so moronic as to be incapable of appreciating the simplest elements of American culture. It is in an age when the new mass media have stepped up the efficiency of international propaganda, we find it incredible that even this group should be willing to leave the Russians, the British, the French, the Arabs, and the Argentines the responsibility of explaining American foreign and domestic policy to the world. If Mr. Taber's proposals are sustained it will mean that the nation which con-

tributed \$330,000,000,000 to victory in war is prepared to surrender its claim to leadership in the battle for peace in order to "save" \$31,000,000. The House has one more opportunity to redeem itself. By voting for Representative Mundt's bill, now in a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, it can authorize the Senate to restore the foreign-broadcast fund to the State Department's budget.

★

AN UNCONFIRMED QUOTATION WITHOUT quotation marks is a journalistic phenomenon to be handled with care, but if Ford Frick's sermon to some St. Louis baseball players was nearly as pithy and as courageous as the statement attributed to him by the New York *Herald Tribune* last Friday, the president of the National League is highly to be praised. "If you do this, you will be suspended from the league," Mr. Frick is reported to have ordered owner Sam Breadon to tell a group of his St. Louis Cardinals who were fomenting a players' strike against the presence in the league of Brooklyn's Negro first baseman, Jack Roosevelt Robinson. And then he is said to have added: "I do not care if half the league strikes. . . . All [who do] will be suspended and I don't care if it wrecks the National League for five years." For the president of a multi-million-dollar industry thus to imperil his own security in the interest of decency is, to say the least, remarkable. "This is the United States of America," Frick's reported declaration continues, "and one citizen has as much right to play as another. The National League will go down the line with Robinson, whatever the consequences. You will find, if you go through with your intention, that you have been guilty of complete madness." Madness, indeed—for, transcending ball parks, paranoia lies at the root of all race prejudices. Those who would fight to eliminate this insanity from where it least belongs, the realm of sport, earn our unqualified admiration. While congratulating Mr. Frick—we hope not prematurely—we extend our compliments to Stanley Woodward and the sports staff of the *Herald Tribune* for breaking the full story. Ford Frick's words, as paraphrased by Mr. Woodward, might well be set in bronze in baseball's Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, N. Y.

★

"IT OCCURS TO ME AS I LOOK OUT OF THE window"—we are quoting from a letter, dated May 7 and addressed to John Taber, Republican chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, which was deposited on our desk by the north wind—"that if your committee really wants to save the government's money it might cast a weather eye on the Weather Bureau. The bureau's record for the past six weeks has been unimpressive, to say the least. One had only to read the forecasts and then prepare for the exact opposite. (You may have noticed yourself that at least every other day it has

prophesied good Republican weather but all we've had has been Democratic or worse.) What is needed is a return to first principles and the methods of weather forecasting on which this great nation was founded. The Weather Bureau should be abolished. Then the government should make it compulsory for every citizen to put up a weathervane and be his own prophet. This would step up production, foster artistic talent, and insure more accurate forecasts. No one in this country is so untutored as not to know that when the wind blows hard enough to make the leaves turn their backs outward it is going to rain. And no one is so poor, so ill-housed, or so unemployed—the more unemployed the better—as not to be able to go out of doors, lick his finger, hold it up in the air, and determine which way the wind is blowing. (Lacking a finger he could use the nearest politician.)”

New Coalition for Old

IN THE gloom of last November we took what hope we could from a comforting political law, to wit, that winners make tactical blunders and losers make coalitions. The blunders were forthcoming from the start, and now the second and more constructive half of the expectation is beginning to take substance. For at least six of its twelve years, the Roosevelt Administration was harried and blocked by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress. Together they made up a majority and constituted an opposition Congress in all but name. The Republicans found an easy unity in the common desire to discredit their opponents, while the Democrats suffered the splits that go with responsibility. Now the shoe is on the other foot.

The Senate's rejection of the proposal to curtail industry-wide bargaining is not the first defeat for the Taft leadership—confirmation of Lilienthal had that distinction—but it is the first instance of a split in Republican ranks on an issue involving broad policy. It is too early to speak of the combination of forces that beat the G. O. P. leadership as a coalition, but the vote on this crucial aspect of the Senate labor bill indicates a fundamental division of opinion among the Republicans, and one that will inevitably show up again.

Leading the revolt against Taft were Senators Morse of Oregon and Ives of New York. With Aiken of Vermont and Tobey of New Hampshire they constitute the core of the Republican contingent in the potential coalition. To this nucleus are attracted the two Massachusetts Senators, Saltonstall and Lodge, who recently pleaded in private with his fellow-Republicans for “national” thinking rather than partisan; Thye of Minnesota, who represents Stassen much more reliably than does his colleague, Senator Ball; Knowland of California; North Dakota's erratic Langer; and Cooper of Kentucky, who was elected

with the support of the liberal Louisville *Courier-Journal*. For the purpose of defeating the labor amendment were joined by five others, none of whom can be counted on to stay with the contingent consistently. Vandenberg, who supported Taft in this instance, may be expected to vote with the Democrats on foreign issues and lean backward to support his own party domestically in the hope of compensation. With only eleven Democrats in the G. O. P. on the Taft amendment, it will be that the new grouping could wipe out the Republican six-vote advantage and ironically give the Administration more support in the Senate than it enjoyed in the Seventy-ninth Congress.

One cannot assume that this will happen as a matter of course, or that such a coalition would be nearly as effective as the Northern tory-Southern bourbon alliance of years ago, lacking as it does the common target for hostility that Roosevelt so generously provided. But it should make up in shifting personnel what it lacks in consistency. The Hickenloopers and Smiths will join it on issues of common decency, such as the Lilienthal affair; the Vandenberg, Lodges, and Balls will join it on matters of foreign policy; and at least some of the Westerners, their colleagues in the House, can be counted on to join in when the party madly tries to cut the heart out of public power and reclamation projects. The cast is shifting, but the play will go on.

From this circumstance the Administration may draw several heartening conclusions, at least as far as the future of the party is concerned. One is that it need not depend on the support of the Southern Democrats for its social legislation on such naive arrangements with opposition as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill. Elsewhere in this issue Charles Abrams shows how fatal—indeed how fatal—such alliances can be. If the President and his lieutenants on Capitol Hill want to pass legislation, they would do well to let Taft bury his compromise measure, as he plainly intends to do, and go off all deals, and fight for a housing bill that will really mean something. The same goes for the health, education, and other social legislation bearing the Taft trademark.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that while a possible liberal coalition may not be firmly cemented, the G. O. P. has much more to fear from it than the Democrats had to fear from the reactionary one that plagued Roosevelt. It is not so easily put aside. No matter how alienated Southern Congressmen may have been by this or that aspect of the New Deal, their constituents were bound to remain faithful to the Democratic Party and Roosevelt at election time. Taft cannot afford to be cavalier, because Republican legislators can be kicked around by the party leadership only up to a point before serious repercussions are reported in the home districts. After all, Republican voters, except perhaps in Maine and Vermont, always have an alternative.

The Mufti's Henchmen

A Who's Who

THE appearance of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee at Lake Success was probably inevitable as soon as the Jewish Agency had won the right to participate in the debate. Although the Arab case had been argued exhaustively by the five member Arab states, nobody challenged the propriety of hearing from representative Palestinian Arabs as well. It was a different and most questionable matter, however, to convene a special sitting of the General Assembly in order to renege the invitation to the Arab Higher Committee in a form which would invest that body with the same diplomatic status as the Jewish Agency. The two organizations are totally dissimilar, and the distinction between them should have been recognized.

The functions and representative character of the Jewish Agency were established in the Palestine Mandate; they have been crystallized in twenty-five years of governmental experience. The Agency is an elected body, democratically controlled by Jewish organizations in and out of Palestine. By contrast, the Arab Higher Committee represents nothing more stable than a deal among leaders of the various Arab factions in Palestine—and the will of the Grand Mufti. It has suffered several oppressions, revivals, and reorganizations; only last summer it broke into two rival parts which were later welded together under the absolute control of the Mufti after his mysterious return to Cairo. The Arab Higher Committee has no legal status, no administrative or other governmental functions, no representative character, and the maneuvers that finally landed it on the same juridical level with the Jewish Agency have created a precedent which may cause plenty of trouble later on.

For the legal aspects of the matter cannot be disentangled from the political ones. Once we establish the fact that the Arab Higher Committee is not a representative body but a selected group of Arab politicians, we have to examine the political nature of the men themselves. And when we do this we discover that the Arab Higher Committee is an almost exact equivalent, in Middle Eastern terms, of the cabal that ruled Hitler's Germany.

If this sounds far-fetched, we urge our readers to turn to the record. The story of the Mufti has been widely published, at least in outline. An explicit but condensed account is contained in the memorandum to the General Assembly which appears as a supplement with this issue of *The Nation*. A much fuller account, documented from the captured files of the Mufti himself and of the German high command, has just been submitted to the

General Assembly by the Nation Associates. The documents included in the report are from a collection of many thousand found at the end of the war by the American military authorities in Germany. Most of the originals are in the possession of the Department of State. They substantiate to the last detail the charge that the Mufti not only was an Axis agent throughout the war but was himself largely responsible for the Nazi policy of exterminating the Jews of Europe.

The membership of the Palestine Arab delegation to the Assembly was announced, not in Palestine, but from the Mufti's headquarters in Cairo. The persons named were the following: Emil Ghouri, Henry Katan, Wasef Kamal, Rajai Hussein, Isa Nakhleh, Rasam Khalidi. Among these delegates, four are known as intimate associates of the Mufti in his pro-Axis exploits. It is interesting, however, that the man chosen to present the Arab case last week, Henry Katan (spelled Cattani in the New York press) is the delegate least closely connected with the Mufti. Though less notorious than their chief, these men have dossiers fat with crimes and violent acts of all degrees. We print below a brief "Who's Who" of four of the appointed delegates. It shows better than anything else the political character of the Arab high command. For the record of the Mufti himself, turn to pages 597-600 of the memorandum.

Jamal Hussein, nephew of the Mufti and his right-hand man. Jamal Hussein has been head of the Palestine Arab Party, the Mufti's party, since 1935. He helped the Mufti organize the 1936-39 uprisings in Palestine and in 1939 joined his chief in Bagdad. There he organized the pro-Axis fifth column which brought about the Iraqi rebellion of 1941. With the Mufti he fled to Teheran, but was captured there and interned in Rhodesia on account of his pro-Axis activities. He was finally released in February, 1946, and allowed to return to Palestine, where he became vice-chairman of the Arab Higher Committee.

Emil Ghouri has long been active in extremist politics in Palestine. During the Iraqi revolt he was in charge of propaganda for the Mufti. A British Intelligence report in 1941 cited Ghouri as one of a group "who are responsible for propaganda, intrigue, and subversive activities inside and outside Iraq." After his return to Palestine Ghouri became a member of the Arab Higher Committee, although he had been forbidden to take part in political activities. He is the organizer and political leader of the underground Arab army and is alleged to be one of those responsible for internal terror against Arab opponents of the Mufti and Arabs who sell land to the Jews. He advocates that all Jews who came to Palestine after 1918 be regarded as foreigners and be deprived of rights in an independent Arab Palestine.

Rasem Khalidi, a member of a well-known Jerusalem family and a former Palestine government official, has been a close associate of the Hussein family and particularly of the Mufti. In 1936, at the outbreak of the Axis-sponsored

Arab uprisings in Palestine, he was a member of the most intimate inner circle of Haj Amin el Hussein. In 1937 he was a member of an underground committee which directed Arab terrorism in Palestine. After his arrest in 1938, he fled to Syria and then to Iraq, where he joined the Mufti in organizing the Iraqi rebellion of 1941. After its failure he escaped to Ankara and thence to Italy and Germany. In the midst of the war, in 1943, he served as an announcer on the Axis-Arabic radio station in Athens. Since 1944 he has been a member of the Mufti's personal entourage, first in Berlin and later in Paris and Egypt. He has recently been refused an American visa by the State Department.

Wasef Kamal, a teacher by profession, is known for his extremist propaganda among his students. He was a member of the Arab National Committee in Nablus and played an active role in the organization of the 1936 riots. Arrested in that year, he soon escaped to Transjordan and later to Iraq. With the Mufti, he played an important role in the Iraqi rebellion of 1941 against the British.

From Iraq he escaped to Turkey, where, during the early

part of the war, he served as a paid agent of the German Secret Service. In 1943 he went to Italy and Germany, where he continued his work as one of the closest collaborators of the Mufti. He returned to Syria in April, 1946. He was one of the few Arab leaders excluded from the amnesty of November, 1946, because he was regarded as so dangerous.

In April, 1947, Wasef Kamal was appointed by the Arab Higher Committee a member of a propaganda delegation to the United States. He has been attending the sessions of the United Nations.

Such are the men who claimed—and have received—recognition from the United Nations. Their acts establish their place among the worst of the Axis war criminals. Their legal credentials are pretty poor, but their political credentials are unspeakable. For the United Nations to accept these henchmen of the Mufti as official spokesmen of the Arab cause is to deal with its enemies and the allies of its enemies. The consequences will become even more evident in the months ahead.

We Need a Better Housing Bill

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

LAST week a death sentence was passed on the housing bill sponsored jointly by Senator Taft and by Democratic Senators Wagner and Ellender. Senator Taft has ruled that a G. O. P. policy committee will pass on all his social legislation and that he will "abide by the composite Republican decision." The chairman of the G. O. P. committee is Senator Taft himself. The composite Republican decision is that there will be no housing bill. Mr. Taft's health bill is ruled out, too. So is his education bill, which like the housing bills had liberal co-sponsorship. A curious alliance between liberalism and reaction to promote social legislation thus meets its end.

More is at stake than aid to housing, health, and education. The question today is whether the chief social issues of the last fourteen years will be properly drawn in the 1948 election. Unless the tactics of the liberals in Congress are shifted to point up these issues in their true focus, the movement for decent housing and for other social legislation will be lost by default and the American people will not even have had a chance to vote their protest.

The lesson, bitter as it is, must be acted upon before it is too late. The coalition must be ended. The Democratic Senators who sponsored the Taft legislation on housing and education should withdraw their names at once and offer measures that truly reflect the people's needs. They must no longer support rump reform bills, whittled down to win the Ohio Senator's co-sponsorship. His apostasy has released them from any obligation to stand

by his dubious credo. Tackled properly and in time, this liberal misadventure can yet be turned into a G. O. P. boomerang. The circumstances behind the strange bedfellowship on housing should be made known to the American people.

The low-rent housing program that is the heart of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is neither revolutionary nor new. It simply proposes another appropriation for slum clearance and housing such as was authorized in 1933, 1937, and 1938. Low-rent housing was never intended as a device for relieving a national housing shortage but was looked to as a means of energizing the economy during the depression and later on as a social reform designed to provide decent shelter for the one-third of the population that was "ill housed." The program was suspended during the war, but as victory drew near Senators Wagner and Ellender prepared to ask for an additional appropriation for local housing authorities. In the course of his own investigation into housing Senator Taft, after extensive hearings, veered toward favoring such a proposal if it could be held down to an experimental authorization.

A bill to provide additional public housing was then drafted and became the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. The dominant purpose of the program was still to aid slum dwellers and to bolster the post-war economy, which was expected to hit a depression during the reconversion period. The depression, however, did not materialize; instead, the end of the war brought a housing famine. After demobilization eighteen million people were living

led up, partly because they could not afford homes mainly because they could not find them. Yet in the of the most desperate housing shortage in American ry, the low-rent housing program was held down antially to the social program originally planned for expected slump. The Senator from Ohio would per- no more than a token appropriation under his name. field insurance" program was added, purporting to the needs of the long-neglected middle-income p by inducing lending institutions to build with a nment guaranty of profits, but little housing was expected from that quarter. Another provision au- zed mortgage insurance on homes costing \$6,300 ss and reduced the required equity payment to 5 per this also became useless as building costs sky- eted. With a small authorization for housing re- h, slum reclamation, mortgage aid, and rural hous- included, the bill came to be known as a "compre- sive housing program."

he measure was a compromise. It was experimental, definitive. Its most important feature was its provi- s for clearing slums and providing 500,000 homes slum families in four years. As the only measure with ance of passing, it merited support, and received it h social and consumer groups throughout the country. nothing in the program made even a pretense of ing the veterans' housing problem adequately, ight down costs of home construction as the Wyatt gram sought to do, or took care of the housing needs the low- and middle-income groups on the scale hired.

Other measures were needed to supplement it, but e never received party support. One, introduced by representative Benjamin J. Rabin, would empower the ernment to continue the emergency war-housing pro- ; another, introduced by Representative Helen Ga- an Douglas, would authorize the local housing orities to build for veterans. Enactment of these bills vital. But liberal support for them might have meant ded support on the "comprehensive" bi-partisan bill. roover, since the latter had the approval of the Re- ublican and Democratic leadership as a "comprehen- e" housing program, no other bill had a chance of ssing. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner measure thus be- e a bottleneck as well as a banner, and for two rs the effort to put through a program suited to erica's critical housing needs had to be held under. t should not be charged that Senator Taft malevo- ly lured the liberal Senators into their present hapless ition. Nor should it be thought that the Ohio Senator s insincere in his sympathy for slum dwellers. After atinizing the grim facts of death, disease, and crime e the slums, he saw no other way to shelter the low- me family decently, and somewhat in the tradition Bismarck and the British Conservatives, he felt it was

entirely realistic to make a token appropriation "for rea- sons of state."

But if Mr. Taft did not deliberately set out to trap the liberals into surrendering their most dramatic polit- ical issue, he could not have rendered a nobler service to the reactionaries in his party than he did by holding down the Democrats' demands and then throttling them. Having taken the wind out of the liberals' sails, he scuttles his ship and leaves his mates tangled up with the jetsam. An issue with the greatest public appeal has been suppressed and devitalized, and the liberal cause in America has been deprived of what might have been one of its most valuable props in the drama of 1948.

The failure of President Truman to give housing the support it needs and his desertion of Wilson W. Wyatt and his program played directly into the hands of Sena- tor Taft and his associates. Any support the Taft-Ellen- der-Wagner bill has received has come from the liberal Democratic Senators and a small group of enlightened Republicans led by Senator Tobey who have insisted on bringing it to the floor. Mr. Taft is now seeking to entomb his own bill.

A housing program to satisfy the nation's minimum needs should be framed immediately. Essential provisions are (1) that the appropriations for public housing con- tained in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner legislation be quad- rupled; (2) that the government be authorized to build housing for all veterans not taken care of by the private builder, at prices they can afford. With mortgage inter- est reduced to government rates and the amortization period extended, many veterans will at last be able to buy a home. The Rabin and Douglas bills should be adopted or incorporated in a comprehensive measure.

A long-range program must also be prepared. With housing top news today, the American people are pre- pared to move ahead. There should be a plan to clear every slum within a prescribed period. The defunct home-building industry should be put on a sound footing so that it can meet the demand for homes and fulfil its vital role in the national economy. The Wyatt program, which was a start in that direction, should be revived and expanded by order of the President. A planned, full- scale, federally aided building program sponsored by local housing authorities would help to standardize speci- fications and make possible quantity building.

Our housing needs in the next fifteen years will be greater than half the present housing supply. If new developments are properly planned, we can have cities worthy of our wealth, our energy, and our culture, cities fit to live in and work in.

Lack of confidence in the housing program of Great Britain's Conservative Party helped to bring about its un- expected overthrow in the wake of its military victory. The same issue, properly presented to the American people, may turn the political tide in America.

Behind the Viet-Nam Revolt

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, May 2

NOTRE politique a cessé d'être claire," and Daniel Halévy in the days of the Third Republic. The *Journal de Genève*, commenting on Holland's difficulties in Indonesia, recalls this remark and adds, "A slackening is taking place in public opinion which signifies indifference, *laissez aller*, lassitude; the controversy yields to enigma and imbroglío." If this is true at The Hague, how much more is it true in Paris with regard to the fighting in Indo-China. It is symptomatic of the present ideological disarray of the French that the problem of Indo-China has become confused beyond words, an issue so controversial that it has rocked the government, while in the country at large one finds only apathy and doubt.

And yet, seen against the background of other events in Asia, in Africa, and on islands overseas, the meaning of Indo-China is almost painfully simple. The nineteenth century was a European century. Respect for property, national sovereignty, the balance of power, and the prerogative of dispensing "civilization" among lesser peoples—these were the assumptions upon which the power of Western Europe was built. But two wars in a single generation have shattered the stability that seemed so permanent. The white man, pitted against himself in ruthless slaughter, has lost face in the eyes of the yellow, black, and brown; he has become bankrupt in lands where with magnificent self-assurance he once bore his "burden." As Paul Reynaud said the other day in the National Assembly, "the two greatest powers today do not possess colonial empires—or have theirs at home—and are hostile to the fact of colonies." The satellite is replacing the colony; and the old empires, instead of yielding to an international order, are falling beneath the blows of new nationalisms.

Indo-China must be looked upon as deriving partly from India and partly from China. Western Indo-China, comprising the provinces of Cambodia and Laos, has for centuries been menaced by aggressive neighbors, the Siamese to the west and the Annamese to the east; the Cambodians and the Laotians have therefore remained mostly loyal to the French, whose protection they need. The eastern part is more Chinese; Viet-Nam, indeed, means "Land of the South"—that is, south of China. The majority of its inhabitants are Annamese conquerors of about two centuries ago who pushed the indigenous population, the Mols, into the mountains.

Since the 1860's, when the French established control over Indo-China, new patterns have been super-

imposed on the old. A whole population of half-bred the Eurasians, has grown up. At the turn of the century Indo-China supported barely 17,000,000 natives, 13,000 whites, as compared with 23,000,000 natives, 100,000 Eurasians, and 35,000 French civilians today and the population has virtually doubled since 1860. Study of the physical changes is beyond the scope of this article; still, the importance of the transformation can best be told with a few figures: In 1860 Saigon exported less than 60,000 tons of rice a year; in 1935 it exported 1,700,000 tons. The rice fields of Cochín-China, which covered 250,000 hectares in 1865, now cover 2,300,000 hectares. In addition, the country has acquired 3,000 kilometers of railways, 32,000 kilometers of roads, and a maximum electrical supply of more than 80,000,000 kilowatt-hours a year.

All these changes are stamped in the very soil of the country; they cannot be conjured away by propaganda theory. It is begging the question to say that the French colonials are criminals and exploiters, just as it is to claim that the Annamese are butchers and assassins. Indo-China, like any other country, presents a complex design, with large patches of right and wrong clearly discernible.

In reviewing the present situation in Indo-China, the observer is bound to recall certain salient facts, the first of which is that the troubles are a direct outgrowth of the war and the Japanese occupation. In the Orient where loss of face always has immense consequences of defeat and humiliation such as those suffered by the French will inevitably be paid for dearly. The wound is not that the resentment of the Annamese exploded when it did, but that the upheaval was not even more violent. The reason may lie in the fact that the Annamese, despite the best efforts of the Japanese, were never fully united against the French; the bulk of them, particularly in the south, like peasants everywhere, were relatively immune to nationalistic agitation, while the more conscious elements were divided into factions. The Viet Minh, in fact, early in 1946 was obliged to eliminate its political rivals, notably the pro-Chinese parties of Cong Minh Hoi and Viet-Nam Quoc Dan Dong, before it could effectively organize resistance to the French.

Mystery surrounds the exact nature of the Viet Minh's relations with the Japanese. The Viet-Namense always heatedly maintain that they were as anti-Japanese as anyone; at the recent Asiatic Relations Conference in New Delhi Dr. Thach, Viet-Namense delegate, denied the presence of Japanese elements in the National

ed forces. The truth seems to be that Viet Minh hostility to the Japanese was never very effective. It is at any rate, that on August 18, 1945, when the Japanese abandoned their puppet government in Hanoi, they were careful to instal—for although they had tolerated, their unbeaten army still held sway in Indochina—the Viet Minh in its place. If the French on their arrival were faced with a political *fait accompli*, as the work of the Japanese. Moreover, the French found a number of Japanese among the Viet-Namese prisoners they have taken.

As soon as the Viet Minh's leadership in the resistance against the French was established, the movement quickly assumed a national character. And the French, trying to build an Indo-Chinese federation within the framework of the French Union, recognized the Viet-Nam Republic and invited its President Ho Chi Minh, Paris. At this distance it is quite impossible to know how representative the Viet Minh really is. The movement undoubtedly has a powerful appeal, but as long as it indulges in terrorism among the Annamese themselves, and particularly among the Cochinese, the extent and sincerity of its backing will remain unknown. The scorched-earth policy so often applied by the Annamese resisters automatically contributes to their length, because when you burn a man's house and the field he works you are in a position to force him to follow your cause. Only a popular plebiscite, free from threat and coercion, could give the answer; but that is obviously out of the question at present.

One thing is certain: Cochinese-China is the granary of the country; the other provinces, if cut off from Cochinese-China, would either starve or be dependent on supplies from abroad. The day Cochinese-China is incorporated into the Viet-Nam Republic, the Viet Minh will dominate the entire federation. The French, understandably enough, have tried to fortify the independence of Cochinese-China. The Viet-Namese, meanwhile, unable to count on the support of the Cochinese peasants, are doing all they can to carry the war to the recalcitrant territory. Their leading agitators in the southern province are one Pham Van Bach, a man with a very bad record as an informer, assassin, and master mind of the Cam-Tu ("Volunteers of Death"), and the revolutionary condottiero, Nguyen Binh, released from the Poulo-Condor prison by the Japanese and already a legendary figure. The control of Cochinese-China is the central issue of the struggle and one that will be extremely hard to settle by negotiation.

But the vital problem for the French is how to put an end to the war. The complete pacification of Indochina would take long, hard fighting and put a terrible strain on France's limited resources. Equally unacceptable would be complete withdrawal; no French statesman,

not even a Communist, would suggest such a solution. There remains one alternative—negotiation. But with whom? France, it is true, recognized the Viet-Nam Republic but that was before the Viet-Namese, in defiance of their pledged word and without claiming any breach on the part of France, attacked the French at Hanoi on December 19 last. That the attack had been planned well in advance has been proved; tunnels had even been dug between houses so that the Viet-Namese might move freely from one part of the city to another. If General Morlière, getting wind of the attack a few hours before it was launched, had not, for a second time, sent his troops to their barracks, it is probable that the French would have lost the city in a bloody fight.

Dr. Thach, in New Delhi, produced documents purporting to show that the French had attacked first at Hanoi; he further claimed that the French troops had massacred a whole quarter of Hanoi on December 17. The best that can be said of Dr. Thach's charges is that they are untrue. On December 17 the French forces were still confined to their barracks. Moreover, General Morlière was in touch with Ho Chi Minh up to the last moment before the attack and on the very morning of December 19 had received a letter from the Viet-Namese leader in which nothing was said either of the destroyed quarter of Hanoi or of an impending rupture. It is inconceivable that a Socialist government of France would have authorized an unprovoked coup d'état against the Viet-Nam.

Whatever may be the truth about the events of December 19, it will be difficult for the French government to negotiate with President Ho. Various peace overtures, allegedly signed by him, have been proved to be forgeries. For weeks he was rumored to have been killed. At any rate he was out of contact with the French. But it remains a fact that the Viet Minh leader, if he is alive, is the one man who could probably bring the rebellion to an end.

A new High Commissioner, M. Bollaert, has recently arrived in Saigon, replacing Admiral d'Argenlieu. M. Bollaert, an eminent and highly respected civil servant, has been making strenuous efforts to break through the barrier of suspicion and continuing warfare and arrive at a settlement with the Viet-Namese. Latest Saigon dispatches say that envoys from President Ho Chi Minh are in touch with him, while one story gives what purports to be the substance of an "interview" with President Ho sent out from his secret radio station in the mountains of Tonking. In it he expressed his sympathy for "French democrats" and invited a French Parliamentary delegation to visit Indo-China. If M. Bollaert can find some basis for negotiation with the Viet Nam, France will have good reason to be grateful. The present tragic situation serves only the partisan interests of politicians and pamphleteers, both right and left.

Next Steps in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

WITH Secretary Marshall's return from Moscow there was bound to be an increased demand for a "clarification" of our China policy. President Truman's program of military aid to Greece and Turkey has already aroused considerable grumbling among right-wing Republicans. They argue that if it is essential to bolster up reactionary governments in the Middle East to check the spread of communism, similar action is even more essential in the Far East, where America's interests are more deeply involved. Moreover, it is asserted in some quarters that the reorganized Nanking government is essentially the kind of government that Marshall was working for, even though the Democratic League and the Communists do not participate.

A year ago most observers felt that with American aid China was well on the road to democracy and internal unity. The subsequent collapse of the Marshall mission represented a grave setback for post-war American diplomacy. But before embarking on a new policy, we should try to see just why our attempt at mediation failed.

There is abundant evidence to support General Marshall's contention that a "dominant group of reactionaries" within the Kuomintang skilfully sabotaged all his efforts. The Communists also, in recent months at least, have shown little disposition to compromise. It would be easy to conclude therefore that Marshall's efforts were foredoomed to failure. Some right-wing critics, indeed, have insisted that his program was unsound from the beginning, that an effort to set up a coalition including the Communists was as ridiculous as a similar effort would be in this country.

The most direct answer to this contention is the fact, attested by all responsible observers, that the Chinese Communist Party has an immense amount of popular support. As long as it is barred from participation in the government, there will continue to be, for all practical purposes, two Chinas. The new government, despite the inclusion of some representatives of the Young China and Social Democratic parties, is dominated not only by the Kuomintang but by those elements in the Kuomintang which Secretary Marshall described as "reactionaries." When T. V. Soong was dropped, the one significant progressive influence was eliminated.

Whether Marshall's efforts ever had any chance of success will never be known. Marshall himself was highly regarded by both sides, but American aid to the Kuomintang spoke louder than his scrupulously impartial words. Some estimates place its value at \$3,000,000,000—including the cost of training and equipping fifty-seven Kuomintang army divisions which have been used in the civil war. President Truman made it considerably less in his statement of December, 1946; his figures indicate a minimum of \$1,491,000,000 in American aid to the Kuomintang since V-J Day and a little more than half that amount during the war. This excludes UNRRA assistance, which, though entirely non-military, has gone almost exclusively to Kuomintang areas and has been used in part to bolster up the tottering Kuomintang fiscal and economic structure.

Much of our aid was given, or arranged for, before General Marshall went to China. The transportation of Kuomintang troops to Shanghai and North China and the intervention of American marines were planned by Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer as part of their policy of supporting the Kuomintang against the Communists. But this aid did not cease when Marshall became ambassador: he himself seems to have furthered the transportation of Kuomintang troops to Manchuria and the establishment of MAGIC, the American Military Mission which is still helping the Nationalists' army. Although Marshall subsequently held up the \$500,000,000 American loan and brought about the withdrawal of the marines, the continuance of support to the Kuomintang long after the government showed it had no intention of accepting the January agreements caused the Communists to doubt American sincerity. The Kuomintang at the same time was convinced that we would support in any eventuality as a potential ally against the Soviet Union. As long as the notion persisted among Kuomintang and Communist supporters that the Chinese internal struggle was inextricably bound up with the large American-Soviet struggle for world influence, Marshall's role as a mediator was an impossible one.

The present American policy toward China is essentially no policy at all. We have abandoned our efforts at mediation because there was nothing else to be done. Our marines are being withdrawn because they were achieving nothing and were a source of constant irritation. The \$500,000,000 loan is being held up because would clearly be of no more value than water poured down a drain in stabilizing China's desperate political and economic situation.

MAXWELL S. STEWART is editor of the Pamphlet Series of the Public Affairs Committee and a staff contributor of The Nation.

SHALL WE SUPPORT CHIANG KAI-SHEK?

aced by an ever-widening civil conflict and an ever-widening economic crisis in China, the United States has three possible courses of action: (1) we could openly choose one side or the other in the civil war and utilize economic and military resources to force a quick decision; (2) we could withdraw completely and allow China to settle its own problems; or (3) we could seek Soviet and possibly British cooperation in a new attempt at mediation.

Senator Vandenberg, spokesman on foreign policy for the Republican Party, has urged the first course of action. Speaking before the Cleveland Council of World Affairs in January, he asked for open support of the Chiang Kai-shek regime on the theory that this alone offers a route to "a strong and competent China." Other Congressmen have urged similar action to make our China policy consistent with our position on Greece and Turkey. It should be recognized, however, that this is not a new or untried policy. It was former Ambassador Hurley's policy at a time when the United States had substantial military forces in China which could be used to carry it out. The Kuomintang proved incapable of unifying or governing the country. No amount of aid from the United States can wholly make up for its lack of support among the Chinese people. If we want to perpetuate civil conflict in China and risk the possibility of its spreading to a world conflagration, we need only return to the Hurley policies.

At first glance it may be supposed that we have already adopted the second, or "hands-off," policy with respect to China's civil war. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Though the marines in Peiping and Tientsin are scheduled to be withdrawn, from one to two thousand will remain at Tsingtao, where the American navy is helping the Kuomintang build up a respectable naval force. The United States has already supplied the government with twenty-two large and medium landing craft and fifty smaller vessels, and President Truman has just announced that additional ships are being turned over, "accompanied by a limited complement of naval personnel." In addition, the American Military Mission at Nanking, consisting of 750 officers and men, is still training pure Kuomintang officers in the use of modern military weapons. Other units are stationed throughout China to facilitate the transfer of surplus military property to the Kuomintang. We should make our withdrawal absolute, terminate standing arrangements, and refuse to enter into new commitments until an all-party government has been established.

To abandon China at a time when the country's economy is utterly prostrate under the combined impact of war and inflation may seem to some an unnecessarily rash action. Undoubtedly millions of people will starve unless China gets aid from abroad. Yet the record of the

past year should convince even the most soft-hearted that further aid to the Kuomintang will not in the long run save lives. Even international relief, when distributed by a government agency, may be utilized, as UNRRA workers have recognized, as a political and military weapon. Before governmental relief can be of value, the primary conditions which make for starvation—that is, Kuomintang corruption and civil strife—must be eliminated.

Meanwhile, China's suffering can be alleviated to some extent by private relief through such agencies as the United Service to China, the Industrial Cooperatives, and various other American charitable organizations. Assistance given through these channels reaches all parts of China, including the Communist areas, and may help to strengthen the various educational and social-welfare groups that constitute the most potent democratic force within the country—groups operating under unimaginable handicaps because of war conditions.

There is ground for hope that the cessation of American governmental aid will force Chiang Kai-shek to give up his plans for all-out civil war and resume negotiations. The Nanking government's financial position is precarious. Nearly half of its nine-trillion-dollar (Chinese currency) budget is earmarked for military purposes. The budget provides for a two-trillion-dollar deficit, which is to be covered by the issuance of paper currency, but the actual deficit is expected to be much greater. Because the exchange rate has been pegged at a point which greatly overvalues Chinese currency, exports from China have been negligible since V-J Day. Although China's foreign-exchange position was excellent at the end of the war, heavy purchases abroad without corresponding sales of Chinese goods have largely absorbed the war-time surplus and left the country in a critical situation. The vast surplus stocks of war supplies obtained from the United States have lost much of their value because China is unable to service modern equipment and keep it in repair. It is reported, for example, that the Chinese air force may have to be grounded in a few weeks owing to poor maintenance facilities and a shortage of spare parts. Crack divisions that have been trained and equipped by the American army are said to lose the greater part of their efficiency within a few months after reverting to the control of old-line officers.

OR TRY INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION?

The sudden cutting off of all American aid to both of China's parties should be accompanied by a program of international mediation. As we have seen, the prospects for further mediation by one country, such as was attempted by General Marshall, are very poor. However, if the United States, Britain, and Russia could reach an agreement under U. N. auspices for implementing the Moscow Declaration of 1945, it is difficult to see how

any Chinese political group could hold out against their combined moral and economic pressure. A bi-partisan proposal for such an undertaking was made recently by Representative Mansfield, on his return from an extensive tour of China and other Pacific countries, and by Senators Murray and Flanders.

Most of the objections that have been advanced against this proposal stem from the fear that Russia and the United States could not reach an agreement and that the effort would create new tensions between them. It is a matter of record, however, that the two countries did agree to a general statement of policy at the last Moscow conference and that this policy is almost identical with that earlier set forth by President Truman. Because of its geographical proximity, Russia has a greater stake in Chinese stability than any other country, not excepting the United States. Regardless of its sympathies, which are not too clear, it has scrupulously refrained—as General

Marshall has attested—from giving material assistance either of the warring factions. And it acted long before the United States to carry out the Moscow commitment for the withdrawal of American and Soviet troops. This is reason to believe, moreover, that Russia is prepared to advance substantial aid, as provided in the Sino-Soviet treaty, to a unified democratic regime.

If it were clear that the United States, Britain, Russia were in complete agreement regarding China that there was no possibility of playing one against the other, the Democratic League and the other middle parties of China, which have a tremendous though organized following, would be greatly strengthened against the extremists. While these middle parties wholly incapable of ruling China under present conditions, they can, if sufficiently strengthened, exercise an effective balance of power and save the country from catastrophe that otherwise seems inevitable.

A Faith to Live By

III. "At the End of the Crisis, a New World . . ."

BY JACQUES MARITAIN

A FAITH to live by? I wonder whether these words satisfactorily present the question. What is necessary? What do we desperately need? A faith to live by? Or a faith to live for, a faith to live and die for? Just because our very life is at stake we are compelled to rediscover a faith to live and die for.

In the conception of many of our contemporaries faith, a faith to live by, far from being defined by any intrinsic and incontrovertible truth superior to man and human life, is merely something measured by human feeling or human needs, and destined to comfort human life's intellectual and social order, man's security in gaining possession of the earth and mastery over nature. From the time of Descartes and John Locke to the present, faith in God progressively became, for a great number of men, such a faith to live by. Finally, the religious feeling shifted to the cult of man. Our forebears undertook and pursued, with infinite hopefulness, a courageous, stubborn, and bright search for a faith to live by, which was a faith in man. This faith, during some decades, seemed all-powerful and produced splen-

did, though brittle achievements. The blunt fact, the irrefutable fact, is that we have lost faith in man.

If such a state of despair had endured, Hitler would have won the war. For the deepest trend of Nazism, burning lust, was to vilify man, to have man accept his own baseness and vacuity, to renounce humanity. Europe and the world saw this hell and are still wounded by its vision. Wittingly or unwittingly, in the hidden psychology of common life men are losing faith in man.

What is termed today atheistic existentialism is the clearest symptom of this fact. Kierkegaard's existentialism was the anguish of faith searching for incomprehensible and unspeakable reality. Even Heidegger's existentialism searches for the mystery of being through the heartrending experience of nothingness. But atheistic existentialism, such as has been heralded in recent years by writers who are but submissive mirrors of their time, does not reflect the anguish of man confronting nothingness; it reflects and declares the longing of man for nothingness. It expresses the temptation and desire *not to be any longer*. Yet this is impossible. Longing for nothingness and condemned to be, man abandons himself.

Communism, which is the ultimate vicissitude of anthropocentric rationalism, endeavors indeed to save faith in man and offers itself as the last hope of optimism. Its optimism, however, is the optimism of the titanic and coercive energies of matter and technique; its mission is totally subservient to the fate of history embodied

JACQUES MARITAIN, the distinguished French philosopher, has specialized in the system of St. Thomas. He was visiting professor at Columbia University during the war and is now French ambassador to the Vatican.

social group. Faith in man, yes, but in what kind of man? However sincere and generous may be the faith in man of many Communists, they do not see that in their system the real man, the human being, is sacrificed to a mutilated image of the greatness of man.

Well, does despair, then, have the last word? Are we hemmed in by a tragedy?

As a matter of fact, reason demands that we have faith in man. Let us turn from the present world of man and look at the world of nature—I mean with an unsophisticated gaze. We see that, despite the all-pervading law of struggle and conflict, nature in its depths is permeated with an abysmal, supra-individual, and inescapable peace, which is the root goodness and the universal strength of being. And man, as part of nature, as an essence which is good itself. We see that the evolution of the cosmos and mankind is an interminable, though constantly thwarted, movement toward higher forms of life and consciousness, and that from the age of the cave man, the slow and painful progress of mankind testifies to energies in man which make any contempt of the human race childish and presumptuous. Consider with a little love any individual whatever in the anonymous common mass of poor humanity. The better you know him, the more you discover in him hidden resources of goodness that evil has been unable to destroy. Man's difficult condition comes from the fact that he is not only a creature of nature but also one of reason and freedom—elements which are weak in him and yet are his indestructible fortitude and tokens of his abiding dignity. No failures or stains can efface his original greatness.

Yes, we see that we must have faith in man. But we cannot. Our experience keeps reason in check. The present world of man has been for us a revelation of evil; it has shattered our confidence. We have seen too many crimes for which no just revenge can compensate, too many deaths in desperation, too sordid a debasement of human nature. Our vision of man has been covered over by the unforgettable image of the bloody ghosts in extermination camps. German sadism has let devils loose everywhere. Everything we loved seems to have been poisoned; everything in which we trusted seems to have failed. Science and progress are turned to our own destruction. Our very being is threatened by mental and moral atomization. Our very language has been perverted: all our words have become ambiguous and seem only able to convey deception. We live in Kafka's world. Where is our faith to live by?

Perhaps we have chosen the wrong road. Perhaps we would have done better to cling to a faith to live and die for, instead of seeking a faith to live by alone. Old pagan wisdom knew that man has his noblest, happiest, and most human aspect appendant to what is supra-

human, and that he can only live *by* what he lives *for* and is ready to die for, and is better than himself. If our humanism has failed, it is perhaps because it was centered in man alone, and was utilitarian, not heroic; because it tried to relegate death and evil to oblivion, instead of facing them and overcoming them by an ascent of soul into eternal life; because it trusted in techniques instead of in love, I mean in Gospel love.

St. Paul says that faith is the assurance of things hoped for and goes on to say that it is a conviction of things not seen. Faith is an adherence to superhuman truth, an entrance into the realm of invisible and divine things; faith makes our whole life appendant to a living Whole which is infinitely better and more lovable than our own life; faith is a meeting with a Person who is Truth itself and Love itself, and to Whom the giving of oneself results in supreme freedom, and in Whom dying results in indestructible life.

Then we live for truth, and that truth for which we live is stronger than the world. Then we live for love, and that love for which we live has made the world and will finally renew and transfigure it. Then we are free, and nothing in the world can break our faith.

And this God Who is Truth and Love has made man to His image. He has destined man to share in His own life. His Son died to save man. Despite all the catastrophes that man's failures and refusals cause, He leads man's history toward godlike fulfilment and transfiguration. Such is the greatness of man. Here is the rock of our faith in him.

Thus faith in man revives if it is rooted in the supra-human. Faith in man is saved by faith in God.

Human history moves in a definite direction. It depends on both natural and spiritual energies, and among all kinds of conflicts it tends to the natural fulfilment of mankind—namely, the progressive manifestation of the essence and potentialities of man, the progressive development of the structures of his knowledge, his moral conscience, and his social life, mankind's progressive conquest of unity and freedom. And it tends also to a spiritual fulfilment which is supra-temporal and transcends history, and which the Christian considers to be the kingdom of God and the revelation of the sons of God. Though inseparably intermingled, these two trends of history relate to two thoroughly distinct orders, and often the weakness of man opposes the one while furthering the other. And contrary to them, evil also develops in history; so that a downward movement causes losses to increase at the same time as an upward movement causes the sap of the world to produce better fruits. In the happiest periods of history evil is at work in what is obscured. In the darkest eras the good is invisibly preparing unforeseeable conquests. And good is stronger than evil. Finally the saying of the Scriptures will be fulfilled: Tell the righteous that everything is well. In

old Jewish apocalyptic writings it was stated that the age of the sufferings of the Messiah would be the age of his greatest victories.

In presenting his book, "On the Threshold of the Apocalypse," to one of his readers some thirty years ago, Léon Bloy wrote on the first page: "*Cher ami, donnez-vous le peine d'entrer*" ("Dear friend, pray cross the threshold"). It seems that, as a matter of fact, we did cross. Our age appears as an apocalyptic age, a liquidation of several centuries of history. We are picking the grapes of wrath. We have not finished suffering. But at the end of the crisis a new world will emerge.

Then experience—that very experience which jeopardized our faith in man—is transfigured. It assumes a meaning. It is not the revelation of the absurdity of existence but of the pangs and travail of history, not the revelation of the root baseness and contemptibleness of man but of his distress laid bare when he falls from his pride, and of the trials and catastrophes through which the abiding greatness of his destiny asserts itself.

A historical liquidation such as the one we are undergoing does not take place in one day. Time is necessary to make reason able to control the formidable material means which industrial and technological revolution has put in our frail hands. Time is necessary to stir up, from the depths of human bewilderment, the moral and spiritual revolution that is incomparably more needed than any other revolution. For nothing less is required

than a terrestrial triumph of Gospel inspiration in the social behavior of mankind. We do not lose hope. The renewal of civilization that we hope for, the age of integral humanism, the time when science and wisdom are to be reconciled, the advent of a fraternal commonwealth and of true human emancipation—all this we do not await on the morrow. But we await them on the day after the morrow, at that moment which St. Paul announced would be the splendor and resurrection of the world.

Every effort made in this direction will finally bear fruit. I refer not only to the spiritual struggle of those who have heard, as Henri Bergson put it, the call of the hero, and who awaken men to evangelic love, but also to the temporal struggle of all those—scientists like Pasteur or Washington Carver, poets like Walt Whitman, Hugo, or Peguy, pioneers of social justice like the "radicals" called up by Saul Alinsky—who give themselves to the improvement and illumination of the brothers' lives, and who can know no rest as long as the brothers are in enslavement and misery. Even if the general state of the world and our stock of accumulated errors prevent such efforts from overcoming at present the evils which are streaming in from everywhere, they are preparing an era, under God, of greater dignity for man and of expanding love.

Such is the faith we live for, and, because we live for it, the faith we live by.

Europe This Summer?

BY HORACE SUTTON

SOME countries in Europe have been having a rather difficult time lately, deciding whether they shall invite or discourage America's eager travelers this summer. To be sure, dollar credits are greatly coveted, but a disgruntled tourist is a poor advertisement, and a hungry population may make an apathetic host.

Great Britain has released an official announcement that tourists will not only be encouraged but urged to go to Britain in 1947, and visas will be freely granted. But from London comes another voice. The British Automobile Association, like the British Caterers, has publicly expressed its opposition to visits by American tourists this year. It holds that some 70,000 Britons, wearied by years of sacrifices, would have to give up their own holidays to accommodate the visitors and that the accommodations and food would be meager in any case.

HORACE SUTTON will contribute monthly articles on travel to The Nation.

An invitation has come from Spain. "The Spanish government welcomes wholeheartedly the prospect of American tourists visiting Spain in the near future," says the official release. But only last month the government of Spain instructed an American newspaperman to turn in his credentials as the penalty for filing dispatches that deviated from the official line. While the ordinary tourist would not be bothered in this particular way, the atmosphere of the dictatorship would surely oppress a but the most thick-skinned. And travel conditions as described by recent visitors as impossible. Spain had even the first virtue of a fascist state: its trains do not run on time.

"Under existing conditions," says Sweden, "tourism can be accommodated only in limited numbers." Norway says, "Every effort is being exerted, etc." Denmark regrets; Czechoslovakia is still rationed; the Netherlands says anxiously, please, please, make advance reservation Belgium, on the other hand, with 40,000 rooms available, describes itself as "eager." And France, amid a

the doubt, dissuasions, and admonitions, has dusted off the old red carpet and rolled it out to welcome 300,000 American tourists this year.

I dropped over to see the "director of public information" of the French National Tourist Office as he stepped from the boat last week. He is Norman Reader, a young and husky American with graying hair and quiet manners. A public-relations man in the Army Air Forces during the war, Mr. Reader managed to get himself "readjusted" in a job that has just required him to spend six weeks, expenses paid, on a tour of French resort centers from Paris to Chamonix and from Deauville to the Riviera. He asserts unequivocally that France could accept 300,000 tourists this year, but adds that shortage of transportation will cut this number to about 60,000. There are only nine passenger liners on the North Atlantic run—the America, Queen Elizabeth, Mauritania, Gripsholm, Drottningholm, Noordam, Westerdam, Veendam, and Stavangerfjord. Three American and four foreign air lines use sixty-seven planes for a total of fifty-five weekly flights each way. The ships are sold out in spite of overcrowding and high prices, and transatlantic plane traffic has recently taken a tremendous spurt.

Travel to France requires a passport, and if you are going for pleasure you must show confirmed round-trip passage before our State Department will let you go. Business travelers are not required to show return passage, but they must have a letter from their firm stating what their business abroad is. Everyone must have a visa, obtainable at any French consulate upon payment of a nominal fee. Francs are exchanged abroad at a legal rate of 120 to the dollar, and Mr. Reader says carry travelers' checks or a letter of credit. You may bring all the money you want, but it is unlawful to have bills in larger denominations than \$20. France wishes that tourists would avoid the black market in changing their dollars. This will be easier to do now that the illegal rate has come so close to the legal one.

Mr. Reader's best piece of advice is to visit the small places in France first and then wind up your trip in Paris. The large, well-known hotels and night clubs are expensive, and unfortunately these are the ones Americans visit first. "It is going to be hard to educate Americans not to spend all their time in Paris," he says. Once Mr. Reader had a lunch for which he paid 325 francs. A clerk in his Paris office said, "That's about what I make in a day." It is possible, however, to eat in what we might call a white-collar luncheonette for as little as 80 francs. It is also possible—as Mr. Reader discovered—to have a bite at La Tour d'Argent, about the best place in Paris, for considerably more. His check was 3,000 francs.

In Paris do your traveling by cab in the morning. Where there were once 20,000 taxis, there are now only 8,000 in operation. The drivers work until their gas ration is exhausted and then quit for the day. Use the



Drawing by Duffy

Chateau of Vernet-les-Bains

metro, Mr. Reader advises. It is intact, costs only four francs, and is infinitely easier for a New Yorker than the New York subway system. To learn where to eat and sleep in Paris, apply to the government information offices, which are preparing a list of moderate-priced hotels. The better-known restaurants, like Perifourdine, the Prunier, Relais de la Belle Aurore, all charge between 900 and 1,500 francs for dinner. Rooms in average Paris hotels are 450 francs a day; fancier places like the Hotel George V are 1,100 francs a day. The Paris theater is flourishing, and the biggest hit is "The Eagle Has Two Heads," a resounding flop in New York when it opened with Tallulah Bankhead.

At Deauville, where the seasons starts in June, literally every square foot of ground has been turned up in a search for mines. The theaters, gambling casinos, beaches, and golf courses await their first big year. The Riviera is in excellent condition, and good hotels in Nice charge about 400 francs a day for a room. There are pensions outside, however, where one can live, with food included, for the same price. In Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, ordinary hotels charge 150 francs a night for lodging.

Air-France operates a number of routes within the country, Mr. Reader reports, and the French railroads have done a miraculous job of rebuilding. Traveling conditions, he says, are pretty good though trains are badly crowded. In Avignon a young colonel in the French army invited him to lunch and topped off the meal with an especially prepared cake surmounted with an American flag. "Contrary to what a lot of Americans believe, the French are deeply appreciative of what Americans did in the war and they speak of it all the time," Reader says. In Normandy many streets are marked with names of American enlisted men. A sign will read: "Pvt. Edwin Crowe Road." No hotels are being built near the battlefields, which it is hoped will not be commercialized. Excursions are run from centers like Deauville. The cemeteries are beautifully kept, the graves well marked; many are set with flowers.

DIRTY DEALS IN SPAIN

TWO weeks ago I said that General Franco would never have dared challenge the United Nations with his cynical Law of Succession if he had not been encouraged by changes in the British and American attitude toward Spain. After months of very timid attempts by Anglo-American diplomacy to persuade the Spanish dictator to turn his job over to a kind of monarchist-military-clerical salvage brigade, London and Washington have swung back to their original policy of helping Franco stay in power. The Foreign Office gave the signal by signing a new monetary agreement with Spain on March 28. The State Department responded by sending to Madrid the able chief of its Division of Western European Affairs, Paul T. Culbertson. The department release of May 9 denying any change of policy toward Madrid was an inescapable consequence of the indiscretions of the Spanish press, which has been insisting that the Truman Doctrine was about to embrace fascist Spain. This statement, however, does not deny the many well-established reports of other and more indirect kinds of American help for Franco.

The White Paper announcing the Anglo-Spanish agreement was described by several British publications as a clear attempt—to use the words of the *Observer*—"to strengthen Franco's hand" in dealing with intensified guerrilla activities, pressing demands from the monarchists, and an economic collapse which was shaking the frail supports of the regime. In terms of direct British interests the deal makes almost no sense, yielding at best somewhere around ten million pounds. But for Franco, the British announcement of an agreement for reciprocal credits, no matter what the amount, was the best news since the end of the war.

For an entire week the Falangist radio entertained the country with comments on the accord. Actually it had no need to blow its trumpets. Throughout Spain, from Falangist headquarters to the jails, filled with new drafts of political prisoners in the worst wave of repression since 1939, everybody understood exactly what the agreement implied. By proclaiming its determination to back the fascist regime until further notice, the Foreign Office had extended an informal invitation to Franco to issue his latest decree ordering the death sentence for such crimes as "planning to carry out sabotage, kidnaping, or any act that might be construed as terrorism," or "belonging to a guerrilla band." This order is an omen of the horrid things to come. Even before it was issued, the persons executed since January 1 of this year numbered officially 107—I repeat, officially, for the real figures are much greater.

To receive a diplomat like Mr. Culbertson in Madrid has been another triumph for Franco. The immediate, logical consequence of this and the British move has been the renewal of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Spain. The government press in La Paz quite frankly explains: "Since the great powers [Great Britain and the United States] have again begun to deal with Franco, there is no reason why the smaller powers should renounce such advantages." Madrid was prompt to suggest that Bolivia was only the first of the Latin

American countries to "regularize" its relations with Spain.

Innumerable signs in the Spanish radio and press indicate that Franco now considers himself not merely a potential ally, as in the recent past, but a full partner in the Truman plan to mobilize all world forces against communism. Dressed in his new attire as the *Cid Campeador* of modern Spain, he is prepared, in the name of Christianity, to kill more Spaniards in the next few months than he has killed in the two preceding years.

Last December the United Nations adopted a resolution that committed them to action. Those nations that voted the resolution in good faith, with a sense of respect for the international organization and its decisions, are beginning to ask when Secretary General Lie is going to report on what has been done to carry out their decision.

When the question comes up, we probably shall hear Senator Connally or his successor again protesting in behalf of the "wonderful, proud, sensitive, patriotic, heroic people of Spain," who resent so greatly any foreign interference in their affairs. But before aggravating his support of Franco with a mockery of the Spanish people, the American spokesman should read what the liberal Catholic writer, Francis E. McMahon, said in the *New York Post* on April 30 just after his return from Madrid: "Before going to Spain I was half inclined to believe that outside pressures help the Franco regime, that the Spanish people resent interference by other powers to oust Franco. There had been talk about Spanish pride and Spanish determination to settle scores with Franco by themselves. I know better now. The anti-Franco elements of Spain want not less action from the outside but more." I could complete Dr. McMahon's remarks by saying that what the anti-Franco elements of Spain want is merely that the Western democracies stop their intervention in favor of Franco and fulfil their obligations toward the United Nations. Nothing more and nothing less.

Meanwhile violence in Spain is increasing. The strike in Bilbao, involving more than 50,000 men, was the first mass revolt since Franco took power. Its political character is clearly evident from the courageous statement of the strike committee: "The movement is mainly a protest against a corrupt regime, to hasten the fall of the tyranny which oppresses us all."

All Spain begins to feel that way. Only the other day I had a letter from an old Socialist friend in Spain with whom I have disagreed in recent years because he has favored a policy of compromise, even at the cost of the Republic, in order to avoid new slaughter. He now writes: "In the last few months I have been more and more revising my former position. Spain could have been made free without the spilling of more blood, and only those of us who have been here all the time know how strong was the wish that this might happen. But Britain and America have not wanted it. They are again for Franco, and they will oblige us to fight like cornered jackals. It's going to be terrible. But we shall fight."

DEL VAYO



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Prayer, Profits, and Pie

THE forty-fifth annual meeting of stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation on May 5 opened with prayer and ended with sandwiches, coffee, and custard pie. The prayer—a plea for divine blessings and guidance—was an innovation at these gatherings. It failed, so far as I could observe, to influence the tone of the proceedings, which was quite normally materialistic. The pie, a traditional bonus for Big Steel stockholders, undoubtedly has symbolic significance. Most of the three-hour discussion which preceded its consumption was concerned with the division of the corporation's production pie, and the sense of the meeting was that the stockholders' slice was far too small.

One stockholder who expressed this view—he described himself as a "Nassau County Republican"—suggested that the directors were so intimidated by the "Washington crack-pots" that even if the corporation earned \$15 per common share in 1947, they wouldn't dare to pay out as much as \$10 in dividends. He urged, therefore, that the stock be split four for one so as to increase the number of "tool-owners" interested in the business—a potential political-pressure group. On the present dividend basis, he pointed out, that would mean payment of \$1 a share, which would appear much more modest than \$4, and it might prove possible "to sneak another fifty cents onto it."

Earlier, Chairman Irving S. Olds, in the course of a lengthy review of the company's affairs, made it clear that he was not cooperating in President Truman's campaign to bring down prices. Proceeds from sales, he declared, must be sufficient to cover all costs, permit payment of fair dividends, and leave something for future capital needs: on this basis current prices were reasonable and profits not excessive. In fact, he hinted, if the newest round of wage increases led to a substantial addition to the cost of goods and services purchased by the corporation, it might be necessary to raise prices. On the other hand, it might well be argued that a reduction in steel prices would mean reduced costs for most industries, including many of those from which United States Steel purchases supplies.

An even more important consideration is the influence of prices on demand. At the present time there is a market for every ton of steel that can be squeezed out of the furnaces, and the industry is operating at very nearly 100 per cent of capacity. Consequently, overhead charges per ton, one of the major elements in steel costs, are being held to a minimum, with very favorable effects on profits. But the current demand will not be long maintained unless the gap between income and production generally is closed by the downward revision of prices for which the Administration is pressing. That will hardly be possible without a cut in the price of so basic a commodity as steel.

In this matter, however, the management of United States Steel seems to be adopting a thoroughly defeatist attitude. The corporation's annual report asserts that the long-term outlook is for the average use of about two-thirds of capacity. This would mean shipments of finished products at an average rate little higher than that for the years 1919 to 1942. And since there is a close correlation between steel output and total industrial production, this estimate indicates disbelief in our ability to maintain national income and employment at their present high levels.

Although the report thus indicated little expectation of future growth, Mr. Olds in his speech made numerous references to the need to maintain earnings at a level which would provide a margin for expansion. He did not explain this apparent contradiction. Instead he rebuked critics for not paying sufficient attention to the relation of profits to sales and invested capital. In 1946, he pointed out, although profits were higher than in any war year, they were equivalent to only 6 cents per dollar of sales, while in five peace years of comparable production they had averaged 10 cents. However, he admitted that in the first quarter of 1947 earnings were 8.26 per cent of sales. Projecting the figures over the whole year and allowing for the recent wage increase, returns at least as good as in 1946 seem to be indicated.

In the midst of all the talk about the cold arithmetic of steel a young man rose and reminded the stockholders of the human investment on which their profits depended. Announcing that he represented several stockholders and 4,000 employees, Samuel Neff told the story of a steel community under sentence of death. Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, is a one-industry town with 4,000 of its 15,000 inhabitants employed by the National Tube Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel. Some time ago the directors of the corporation decided to abandon this plant and transfer its business to Gary, Indiana, and Lorain, Ohio. Workers were offered jobs at these places but not transportation or housing. With restrained eloquence Mr. Neff showed how tragic this forced migration would be for the people of Ellwood City, 80 per cent of whom own their homes. The Steel Workers' Union, he said, had offered to cooperate with management in reducing costs but had been told that "the die was cast and nothing could change the situation." Nevertheless, he was appealing to the directors and stockholders to show that Big Steel was more than a "soulless corporation."

Mr. Olds replied with a proposal for a conference between Mr. Neff and the corporation's president, Benjamin F. Fairless, but offered no hope of reprieve. Ellwood City, he indicated, was a victim of progress: the plant was obsolete, and it was more economic to rebuild nearer the market for its products.

The 200 stockholders present had listened quietly to Mr. Neff's moving appeal. But they seemed anxious to forget the specter he had raised, and a few minutes later they were laughing at the feeble jokes and applauding the invective of a stockholder who in a rambling and often incoherent speech denounced unions and urged "collective bargaining for stockholders." Then they adjourned for pie. It would have been more appropriate, it seemed to me, to have closed the meeting with another prayer—for Ellwood City.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Children of Light

COMMUNITAS: MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD AND WAYS OF LIFE.

By Percival and Paul Goodman. The University of Chicago Press. \$6.

ACCORDING to the best authority, that is, the blurb, Paul Goodman's work is "a ballet of ideas." His brother Percival is an architect with a special dislike of (American) efficiency. They squabble fraternally, both "hopped up with benzedrine." Out of their tussle emerges a synthesis worthy of Hegel himself, to the surprise and awe of the modest authors.

Frankly, the book is a circus, although soberness itself compared with some of Le Corbusier's. But I like circuses far better than I like bread. There is one paramount issue today: planning or chaos—with war as an unhappy medium. The Goodman brothers believe in planning, city planning, community planning. They are among the Children of Light.

They believe also in "surplus technology." In the United States, undoubtedly. I do not believe that the world as a whole has reached that point. Nor will it reach it if India and China keep pressing hard against the limit of subsistence. Malthus has been abundantly sneered at but not refuted.

There is a good summary of modern plans, liberal enough not to damn Sitte and his cult of the picturesque plaza, daring enough to consider the Radiant City, the Voisin Plan, antiquated. The brothers' own plan is arresting. In the center a cylinder a mile in radius, twenty stories high; rail and bus terminals in the basement, shopping and amusements on the first seven floors, light industries on the next six, offices on the last seven; an airport on top; hotels on the six-mile ribbed outer wall. Then a mile-wide ring for the university—rather a formidable campus. Beyond, residential quarters, arranged in squares which are complete home communities. Naturally, the scheme is only a "paradigm," as they call it. It has points.

Their sociological pattern is sim-

plicity itself. Instead of pump priming, subsidies, relief, and all the devious ways of a mixed economy, let's frankly make minimum subsistence in food, clothing, and shelter a community responsibility. With modern technology these essential needs could be satisfied with a small fraction of mankind's total effort. All the spare time, all the unspent energy, could be devoted to luxury, where private enterprise would have a magnificent field. Dare we face the possibility of allowing men to die of hunger or cold? No. Then we might adopt the Goodman idea: on a sure communistic foundation rear as splendid a capitalistic edifice as you please. This, I am afraid, is a little too sane to appeal to our present rulers. All that they will see, in this witch-hunting season, is that "Communitas" has no fewer than eight letters in common with communism. The illustrations offer a blend of William Blake, the blueprint, and the comic strip that I found very attractive.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Southern Pastiche

THE WAY OF THE SOUTH. By Howard W. Odum. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

HOWARD W. ODUM has now attempted a non-academic recapitulation of his scholarly contributions to the study of the South's malaise. Mr. Odum for many years directed the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina; his "Southern Regions" is an indispensable work in the literature of Southern regionalism, a school of which he has long been a leading figure.

The scope of "The Way of the South" is broad. Mr. Odum opens with a survey of Southern resources, briefly reviews Southern historical development, reexamines the "glory of the Old South," and so proceeds to a discussion of surviving Southern folkways, the position of the Negro, politics below the Mason and Dixon Line, and the resurgence, as he sees it, of North-South animosity since the early thirties. He

winds up with a fairly technical analysis of the kinds of planning necessary for the full regional development of the South.

As a recapitulation the book must of course stand on its presentation of largely familiar material. It is precisely on this score that "The Way of the South" does its author a disservice. It mixes history and sociology, rhapsody and catalogue, impressionism and scholarly abstraction, in a totally unreadable pastiche. Explaining in his final section (headed Postscript and Preface) his own conception of the book, Mr. Odum writes:

If we have mixed the swing and rhythm of "Rainbow Round My Shoulder," "Wings on My Feet," and "Cold Blue Moon" [three novels by Mr. Odum] with the hard reality of regional development and social theory, this still reflects the mixtures of . . . "what all sights, North, South, East, and West, are," to recall again the universalism of Walt Whitman.

Unfortunately it recalls much more immediately the sententious double-talk of Norman Corwin's radio scripts. A good many pages of the opening section are given over to listing names: trees, fruits, nuts, rivers, flowers ("Of the families of . . ."), mammals ("There was the order of . . ."), birds ("Call the roll of other birds"), and so on. The generous doses of quotations include a number from Mr. Odum's own novels. This kind of thing can be effective if it is done with taste and, particularly, restraint—although even so it is more appropriate to sound track or radio delivery; here it breaks the back of what would in any case have been an uneasy, gnarled style.

Mr. Odum's principal point, that the problems of the South must be tackled with the fact of the South's basic regional differences from the rest of the country as a basic motivation, is one which very few serious Northern or Southern students would now care to dispute. On the subject of reawakened hostility between the North and South he is disappointingly sketchy.

W. J. GOLD

Resistance in the Third Reich

GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND. By Allen Welsh Dulles. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

MR. DULLES tells some thrilling stories in "Germany's Underground"—tales of daring conspiracies, of plots for assassination, and the weird accidents which brought them to naught. It is a book of facts, but of facts far more strange and exciting than the fictions invented by writers of mystery stories.

During the war Mr. Dulles was chief of the OSS mission in Switzerland charged with getting in touch with Hitler's enemies inside Germany. The material in his book is drawn from that experience. It is fascinating in its own right, but its principal significance lies in the fact that it confutes the experts who were so certain that practically all Germans were Nazis and that no resistance comparable to that of Frenchmen, Poles, or Norwegians existed or was to be expected in the Third Reich. Mr. Dulles's report not only proves the experts were wrong but also provokes the bitter reflection that V-Day might have come much sooner and cost much less in terms of blood, destruction, and post-war problems if Germany's underground had been recognized in time and had received the help accorded to the resistance in other countries.

Given his observation post, Mr. Dulles was not in a position to know much about the "unknown soldiers" in Germany's underground—the obscure and unimportant people who risked their lives doing the small things they were able to do: distributing leaflets, slowing down the work in war factories, helping Jews and foreign slave workers. He learned a great deal about the identity, the opinions, the plans and actions of another group, formed and led by conservative elements—army generals, high officials, civil servants—which continuously plotted the overthrow of Hitler. He reveals that Goerdeler, former lord mayor of Leipzig, and General Beck, former chief of staff of the German army, made serious attempts to liberate Germany from the Nazi regime long before the war started—and continued their attempts until both were killed.

One plan for getting rid of Hitler and preventing the war was set for execu-

tion in the days of the Czechoslovakian crisis. A military putsch had been prepared. At the crucial hour news came that Chamberlain and Daladier were on their way to Munich, and the orders were not given. After the attack on Norway the conspirators tried to ascertain the intentions of the Western powers in the event of a successful military putsch against Hitler. "An ambiguous, non-committal answer arrived," Mr. Dulles reports, "just as the offensive in the west began."

Plans for Hitler's arrest or assassination were made and tried, one after another, and on several occasions the

Führer was saved only by the merest chance. The climax came with the dramatic putsch of June 20, 1944. Again through a chain of curious accidents Hitler survived. Very few of the conspirators escaped.

No doubt Germany's underground, though not lacking in heroism, owed its defeat as much to its own weaknesses as to the refusal of the Western powers to accept Germans as allies against the Nazis. Nevertheless, the resistance movement inside Germany did have some practical value. It appears for instance that the Intelligence Division of the German High Command, led by Ad-

Bathsheba's Lament in the Garden

Baring the mares'-nests that the pigeons set
To tangle with the wood-winds of the North,
October blows to wood . . . the fourth
Since David broke our vows
And married Abishag to warm him. Cold!
The pigeons bluer with it, since we met
Beside the lion-fountain, and unrolled
The tackle of our model boats. Our prows
Were sworded as the marlin, and they locked,
Clearing the mallards' grotto, half a mile
Up pond—and foundered; and our splashing mocked
The lion's wrinkled brow. My Love, a little while,

The lion frothed into the basin . . . all,
Water to water—water that begets
A child from water. And the jets
That washed our bodies drowned
The curses of Uriah when he died
For David; still a stranger! *Not-at-all*,
We called him, after the withdrawing tide
Of Joab's armor-bearers slew him, and he found
Jehovah, the whale's belly of the pit.
He is the childless, the unreconciled
Master of darkness. Will Uriah sit
And judge? You nod and babble. But, you are a child;

At last, a child—what we were playing, when
We blew our bubbles at the moon, and fought
Like brothers, and the lion caught
The moonbeams in its jaws.
The harvest moon, earth's friend, that cared so much
For us and cared so little, comes again;
Always a stranger! Farther from my touch,
The mountains of the moon . . . whatever claws
The harp-strings with your chalky fingers. Cold
The eyelid drooping on the lion's eye
Of David, child of God. But I am old;
God is ungirded; open! I must surely die.

ROBERT LOWELL

miral Canaris, was honeycombed with bitter enemies of National Socialism. "Certain key members deliberately falsified secret reports to deceive Hitler . . . and crossed some of Hitler's most important and diabolical plans."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Dulles's book will be widely read—though one can hardly expect that it will be recommended by those experts whose mistakes it reveals. JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

THE SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNDERSCORE THE TRAGIC HOMELESSNESS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Zionism seeks to put an end to the centuries old practice of making the Jews a scapegoat for all ills at the hands of demagogues and tyrants.

THE TREATMENT OF THE PALESTINE ISSUE WILL BE THE ACID TEST OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Write to the Zionist Organization of America for the sticker "Help Free Palestine." \$2 for sheet of 50 stickers.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 E. 42nd. St., New York 17

RELIEF AND GIFT PARCELS

TO ALL COUNTRIES
10 lbs. COFFEE, \$6.65

1 lb. butter	3/4 lb. corned beef hash
1 lb. coffee	1/2 lb. sweet cocoa
1 lb. honey	1 sweet condensed milk
1 lb. rice	1 bar chocolate
6 oz. soap	1 lb. pumpernickel

\$6.65 Incl. postage, packing, insur.

Post office receipt on request

Write for further information on other parcels, as well as parcels made up to order.

J. KOHLS PERSONAL PARCEL SERVICE

315 WEST 102nd ST. NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
ACademy 2-3943

Taxes and Policy

TAXATION FOR PROSPERITY. By Randolph E. Paul. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$4.

THE place of taxation in full-employment policy is discussed with intelligence and common sense by Randolph E. Paul, former general counsel and tax expert of the Treasury Department.

During the 1930's economists who accepted the theory of Lord Keynes that government fiscal policy should be used to stabilize business cycles placed primary emphasis on the expansion or contraction of spending for public works. In 1932, when United States internal revenue was only about \$1,500,000,000, lowering the tax rate would not have had any pronounced effect on purchasing power, even if it had been politically possible.

But with government revenues in excess of \$40,000,000,000 for the current fiscal year—almost equal to the 1932 national income—the situation is very different. If there should be a serious threat of depression, judicious tax reduction could increase spendable income in the lower brackets, where it is most needed, faster and more efficiently than any other device.

As soon as the facts are stated, it becomes obvious that tax policy must be fully integrated with public-works planning and social security in any well-rounded full-employment program. Mr. Paul writes with full acceptance of this premise.

He does not, however, suggest that tax adjustment is the panacea for all our ills, and he recognizes that an ideal tax system is unattainable. Even if there were no other difficulty, it is always undesirable to change the base of taxation too abruptly. Sudden changes may provide windfalls for some businesses and individuals, while bringing unforeseeable disaster to others. Substantial readjustment of individual income-tax rates, especially the raising or lowering of individual exemptions to counterbalance deflation or inflation, is fair and sound. But changes in corporation, inheritance, and excise taxes usually raise as many perplexing problems as they solve.

Most of Mr. Paul's book, therefore, is devoted to a history and explanation

of the existing tax structure. He points to many evils and inequalities, and recommends a considerable number of changes. At the same time he recognizes that anyone who has made long-range plans in relation to current taxes is entitled to expect no arbitrary or capricious shift. Short of a complete economic revolution, sound tax policy must always start with the current situation, including the cumulative effect of past actions. To take one example from the book, there is something to be said for the proposal—indorsed by Leon Henderson, among others—to eliminate corporation taxes except on undivided profits and depend entirely upon the individual income tax. However, it is extremely difficult to make such a change in a way which would be fair to the man who sold common stock the day before it was announced, and to recapture the windfall from the buyer.

In a long section on corporation taxes Mr. Paul discusses most of the current suggestions for a new policy and concludes that continuation of a fairly high corporate tax rate is a lesser evil than anything else which has been proposed.

Another phase of the problem is the idea of special benefits for small business. From the point of view of national economic health there is considerable justification for regulating taxes in such a way as to help new businesses to get started. But there is no real justification for subsidy on the basis of size—particularly since a small business in steel would be a big business in textiles—and it is not easy to reduce the tax burden for a new enterprise without giving it an unfair advantage over its competitors.

Tax avoidance and tax evasion offer equally serious complications, since a choice must be made between allowing some loopholes and writing tax laws and regulations so detailed that enforcement is virtually impossible, making the penalty in paper work required of honest firms greater than the value of collections from the dishonest. It is also too much to expect that loopholes will not occasionally slip by Congress, as in the case of depletion allowances for oil and gas wells, which have sometimes given more tax remission than the original investment, while the wells are still producing.

"Taxation for Prosperity" is too honest to be dogmatic about the way to achieve a sound tax system. It is easy to read. But the fact that an intelligent, semi-popular discussion of tax problems requires 418 pages and does not reach final conclusions raises a puzzling question as to the development of tax policy in a democracy. Only a few voters will read it, and voters cannot be expected to understand the whole tax structure. So it can only be hoped that the experts and the politicians will present the broad principles in such a way that the voters can make an intelligent choice. This is, at least, an excellent guidebook for the layman who is sufficiently interested to check up on the experts and the politicians. It might also persuade the professionals to face a few practical problems.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Aftermath of Excitement

LADY GREGORY'S JOURNALS, 1916-1930. Edited by Lennox Robinson. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

IN THE pages of these journals will be found mention of all those people (nearly all; not Joyce) whom we would rather read about than anybody else—Shaw, Yeats, Synge, O'Casey, "AE," Gogarty, Stephens, and the rest, all those people whose writing in the English language was the brightest and liveliest we have known in our time. Yet these journals, it is sad to have to report, are not particularly exciting, are, even, rather dull; they begin in 1919, except for one or two earlier entries, and by that time the devotion and energy were employed in keeping or recovering; the bold wit that started things was worn down, and Lady Gregory sounds like a tired old lady, trudging faithfully where she may once, however sedately, have danced. The editor, Lennox Robinson, has grouped the entries under several headings: Coole, the Abbey Theater, Politics (but the Terror and the Civil War only, not the Rising), Persons and Books, the Lane Pictures, Odds and Ends. (Mr. Robinson has been scrupulous in preserving disparaging remarks about himself.) The importance of Lady Gregory's role in all this activity cannot be estimated from what she tells here of her

actions in picking up the pieces; nor could her ability as a writer be determined from the prose style of the journals: was she always, maybe, a little too serious and earnest? One flash of impatience, at least, has a delightful combination of wit and malice in its exasperation: "Mrs. MacSwiggan (an actress in the Abbey Theater), Mrs. MacSwiggan, being English, has no respect for words and hits with extraordinary perversity on the wrong one to accentuate in each sentence."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Young Holmes

TOUCHED WITH FIRE: Civil War Letters and Diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., 1861-1864. Edited by Mark DeWolfe Howe. Harvard University Press. \$3.

ON THE whole these letters are dull. They no doubt have a value for historians and for students of the Justice's career and the Civil War's military history; and for long-time Bostonians. But the reader who is not a specialist will resent having to plow through so much that is insignificant to find so little that is interesting. The letters to his family and the diary fragments are the briefest of battlefield notes. Yet they seldom contain a sense of the battlefield—to communicate this is an artist's work. Moreover, the notes were written—and the editor has transcribed them—in Holmes's hurried shorthand. Again, historians will appreciate this; the general reader will not. The editor's lengthy footnotes also are largely uninteresting except to Bostonians.

A rather curious thing about these jottings is that Holmes really made and preserved them *for historians*. "Keep all letters that are at all historical," he cautions his parents. And Mr. Howe reveals that the true editor of the collection was Holmes himself—that the Justice destroyed certain letters and pieces of the diary which he did not want preserved. This sense of history is part of a sharp consciousness of role which the aristocrat Holmes had as a young man.

In "Touched with Fire" this self-consciousness appears chiefly in a sense of duty and honor. Besides these aris-

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Twentieth Century Fund measures the dynamics of our expanding economy in

America's Needs and Resources

A
Twentieth Century Fund Survey
by
J. FREDERIC DEWHURST
AND ASSOCIATES

★ This survey covers the extraordinary range and scope of our whole economic system: industrial capacity . . . beauty care . . . natural resources . . . output per man-hour . . . government expenditures . . . population and manpower . . . housing . . . expenditures for liquor and tobacco . . . patterns of national and individual incomes . . . medical care . . . foreign trade . . . mechanical and human energy . . . etc. A striking feature is the projection, based on past experience, of what our economic system **can** produce if operated at high levels in 1950 and 1960.

Everyone interested in **our** social history and **our** social destiny will find here **an** almost inexhaustible storehouse of present facts and past trends, **as well as** a carefully considered, ably documented forecast of **our** physical ability to achieve a pattern of plenty in the future.

ORDER YOUR COPY TODAY

\$5.00 at your bookstore, or from

The TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND
513 WEST 42nd ST. NEW YORK 18

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

D. F. KARAKA

a leading Indian journalist,
tells the stirring story
of his countrymen's fight
for freedom

I'VE SHED MY TEARS

A Candid View
of Resurgent India

D. F. Karaka is a Parsi—neither Hindu nor Moslem, but Indian, and of an ancient family. He is a journalist of note—staff member of the *Bombay Chronicle*, special writer on domestic affairs, foreign correspondent in the CBI theatre, SHAEF, occupied Germany.

In this striking book he has told the full story of India's march toward freedom, as he has seen it himself, as he himself has lived it. Here are the important movements of three decades—the rise of Gandhi and “non-violent non-cooperation”; the work of the Congress Party; the growing power of the Moslem League; the gradual emancipation of India's women. Here are the events that have made headlines—the Amritsar Massacre; the Bengal famine; the war and the “Quit India” resolution; the rise of anti-British violence. Here are the leaders, as Mr. Karaka has seen them in action—Gandhi and Nehru, Jinnah and Patel and Narayan, and many others.

Here is also Mr. Karaka's unusual personal story. In his own life, he has repeated the experiences of his people. Secure prosperity under British rule; snubs as well as triumphs when he was an Oxford undergraduate; a growing feeling of identification with the Indian people as he travelled the country on journalistic missions; a full conversion to the ideal of freedom; and a crushing tragedy here in America—these things have marked his days. These things make his story both moving in itself, and illuminating of the problems of his land.

If you would know what is really happening in India today, and why, read this book.

I'VE SHED MY TEARS

by D. F. KARAKA

\$3.00 at bookstores

APPLETON-CENTURY

tocratic values Holmes unfortunately also had a good bit of upper-class intellectual snobism. “While I'm living in aristocracy I'm an out-and-outer of a democrat in theory, but for contact, except at the polls, I loathe the thick-fingered clowns we call the people—especially as the beasts are represented at political centers.” (A stay in Washington—“that modern Gomorrah”—was the occasion of this outburst.)

Allied with his aristocratic sense of duty is Holmes's relation to his father, which is easily the book's greatest source of interest. Two of the letters to his father are downright boastful: after complaining about the “blowing” of others, he writes—“I really very much doubt whether there is any Reg't wh. can compare with ours in the Army of the Potomac.” It is obvious that he strongly wanted his father to know that he “had done his duty.” And, in fact, he had—with distinction.

But in 1864, when nearly all his early fellow-officers had been killed or wounded and he himself had suffered several wounds, he decided not to reenlist after the disbandment of his regiment. He felt—and doctors confirmed—that his strength was no longer equal to the burden of active campaigning. He “didn't any longer believe in this being a duty,” he wrote. It does not become clear whether this change in belief was due simply to his personal condition, to his view of the war, or to the fact that after three years of fighting he had become a man in his own eyes, with no further need to prove himself one to his father.

DAVID T. BAZELON

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD is the author of “The France of Tomorrow,” “France, a Short History,” and other books.

W. J. GOLD, now on the staff of the *New Yorker*, was formerly managing editor of the *Virginia Quarterly*.

ROBERT LOWELL has just received the Pulitzer poetry award for his book “Lord Weary's Castle.”

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN was for many years managing editor of the *Tagebuch* of Berlin.

CHARLES E. NOYES is editor of the *Congressional Quarterly*.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE influence of Paul Klee has had, in the past ten years or so, a more immediately rewarding effect upon contemporary painting than that of Matisse, Picasso, or Miro, who are all greater than he. The latest evidence of this has come, surprisingly enough, from Paris, which in contrast with England and this country had until recently shown an indifference to Klee. The only new Parisian painters of any originality to be exhibited in New York since the war—Dubuffet and now Victor Brauner—are both products of his school. Brauner, Rumanian and surrealist, used to turn out neo-academic pictures of tables with wolf's legs and heads and human testicles. Judging by the ten or twelve of his more recent paintings shown at Julien Levy's last month, he has undergone a remarkable transformation since 1939—that is why I call him a new painter. His old canvases revealed a glimmering of some sort of obscured talent and the presence of a perverted sincerity; he was irrelevant but, unlike most other surrealists, he was irrelevant in an affecting way. Now, however, he has produced some actually good painting which, if it is less important than Dubuffet's as statement and manifestation, is not inferior in intrinsic quality.

Brauner's new paintings and tinted drawings are done in wax, which he was forced to use because of a shortage of oil colors during the war. This medium compels a flatter and tighter handling and excludes the broad modeling that oil invites. Brauner has abandoned his former smoky effects for a flat-patterned, ornamental, emblematic kind of painting that clings as closely to the picture surface as inlay work—which indeed it resembles. He also demonstrates an entirely unexpected inventiveness as a draftsman, an inventiveness that has nothing to do with the usual surrealism but stems directly, more directly than his color, from Klee.

Brauner, coming after Dubuffet, Mark Tobey, and Morris Graves, raises more sharply than ever the question why Klee's influence should be so much more immediately fructifying than Picasso's, whose influence has certainly been greater in extent and more pervasive. Here is a former third-rater who now, suddenly, is well on the way to becoming accepted as an important petit

under Klee's tutelage, and there are five or six others like him abroad in the world; whereas of those who follow Picasso closely, hardly one—not Graham Sutherland in England or Pignon and the other epigones in France—has been able to realize himself half so satisfactorily.

The explanation is both obvious and complex. Picasso's influence carries with it the flavor of a potent personality, and the style he formed for himself, in the later even more than in the earlier stages of cubism, is designed to accommodate that personality. Artists taking his style as a point of departure find it difficult to disembarass themselves of Picasso's personality, difficult to push it out of the way and fill in with their own. Even Picasso himself has since 1925 been largely unable to supply the power and freshness his original style requires and must resort to inflation. Painters with talents self-assured and imperious enough to shape these mighty means to their own ends are in any case very rare. If Jackson Pollock has been able to flout by Picasso, it is because he has infused him with Miró and Kandinsky.)

Klee, on the other hand, is a small artist—genuine, enormously original, a master, but nevertheless *diminutive*, working within a restricted range; an interior decorator rather than an architect. His personality, however authentic and intense, does not oppress but rather frees the painter who comes under his influence. If the artist's temperament is modest one, as is usually the case in a period like ours that drives passionate people away from art, contact with Klee encourages him to release it in sincerity rather than suppress it in imitation. Seeing how much Klee made of relatively little, the aspirant is moved to confess how little he himself has and to make the most of that little. While Picasso tempts one to inflate and distend himself and deny weaknesses, Klee invites one to tell all—work your brushpoint fully over the surface, let it be a seismograph that answers every tremor in yourself: invent, invent.

Picasso asks you to construct rather than invent, to survey the terrain of your emotion more consciously and build upon it the largest and most substantial edifice possible—not, like Klee, to send a demountable tracery and momentary lists of color. This does not mean that Picasso is more "intellectual" or deliberate than Klee; he works, in fact, faster than Klee did, and with less meditation. It is simply that he sees the picture as a whole where Klee sees it as a page, and

when one paints a wall one has to have a more comprehensive awareness of the surroundings and a more immediate sense of architectural discipline—though Klee's sense in that respect, if slighter in scale, should not be discounted.

It is the old difference between Nordic and Mediterranean. Klee's influence has been reinforced by the fact that the centers of artistic production having moved northward—even within France itself—fewer new artists appear whose native milieux instill temperamental affinities with Picasso's positive, public, monumental style. Klee's private lyricism is more sympathetic to those who come from industrial countries, where the effort to assert a private life of emotion displaces the ambition to externalize and to synthesize a total view of the world.

Yet the doubt persists whether Klee's art, as compared with the still unexploited potentialities of the cubist heritage, has enough carrying power to support a school of major importance. I myself would say that even the earlier abstract painting of Kandinsky provides a firmer *point d'appui*. So far none of the products of the Klee school has been able to do more than make an original initial statement of his personality and then stop short, with nowhere else to go. Witness Graves and Tobey. And Klee himself, in the last decade of his life, found that his means were no longer adequate to express what he still had to say. Therefore one awaits Dubuffet's and Brauner's next moves with pessimism—less warranted perhaps in the case of Dubuffet since he has more bravado than is usual with Klee's disciples.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

FORM and analysis seminars have one useful purpose, at least," wrote this column's favorite correspondent, and my most recent source of information about the way music is taught in the universities. "Nobody who spends his time in one of them actually analyzing pieces of music will ever be dogmatic about form again." That is the exaggeration of youth: aged sobriety would say that nobody *should*. "I have been amazed at the variations which Mozart, the 'most formal of composers,' can produce: structures perfectly logical in their organization, perfectly cap-

able of saying what he wants to say, yet impossible to cram into any textbook form. The people in the seminar, when they began to hit these sports (in terms of the textbook) naturally first tried to do just that; but as they progressed they discovered that the sports were more frequent than the 'normal' forms; and the result has been frustration: the terminology has broken down, and that's always a bad thing for the student mind—it means he has lost his anchor."

This was a seminar; in the classes below seminar-level students are not confused in this way. It would seem axiomatic that ideas about music should be derived from experience of the music; but the students in theory classes do not normally get their ideas of musical language and form from first-hand

narcotics and drug addiction

BY ERICH HESSE

ALL the pleasure drugs of our time, methods of production, addictions and cures—are completely described in simple, understandable language, including: Hashish, Toadstools, Heroin, Exhilarating Pepper, Cactus Narcotic, Opium, Morphine, rare addictions, etc. \$5.00

Philosophical Library
15 E. 40th St., Dept. N
New York 16

"CENTURIES OF INTOLERANCE"

The documented record of the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH & ANTI-SEMITISM. Should be read by everyone who wants to know the real sources of anti-Semitism, and the real reasons for the continuance of this phenomenon despite the increase of education and enlightenment.

44 Pages of Documented Facts 25¢

5 copies for \$1.00

Special quantity prices to organizations

AGORA PUBLISHING CO.

DEPT. 551NE

120 LIBERTY STREET NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

RECITAL

American Premiere at

VASHI and VEENA

Celebrated Dancers of India and Their Company

In a Program of Hindu Dances & Dance Dramas

BELASCO THEATRE, 44th Street East of Broadway

MONDAY, MAY 26th, at 8:45 P. M.

presented by THE INDIA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 1933, N. Y. 20, CO 5-7460

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA

COLISEUM

91st St.

98th St.

Bet Lea. & 3rd

HAMILTON

125th St.

RECENT

RIVERSIDE

23rd St.

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK

DYKER

GREENPOINT

KENMORE

MADISON

ORPHEUM

PROSPECT

REPUBLIC

TILYON

Coney Island

RKO NOW

"GOOD EXCITING STUFF."—N. Y. Sun

ANN SHERIDAN AS

'NORA PRENTISS'

If you were Nora Prentiss would

you keep your mouth shut!

—and—

HEX BEACH'S 'MICHIGAN KID' In Flery Color

JON HALL • VICTOR McLAGLEN

ECONI

CASTLE HILL

CHESTER

FORDHAM

FRANKLIN

MARBLE HILL

PELHAM

ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON

WH. PLAINS

YONKERS

OIFFENS

MIDWAY

Forest Hills

Keth's

FLUSHING

Keth's

RICH HILL

STRAND

Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN

COLONIAL

B'way & 62 St.

'GRIPPING AND FANCIFUL STORY.'

—N. Y. Herald Tribune

'Stairway to Heaven'

DAVID HIVEN RAYMOND MASSEY

IN TECHNICOLOR

AND MARK HELLINGER'S

'SWELL GUY'

SONNY TUFTS

ALAN LADD • GAIL RUSSELL
WILLIAM BENDIX

"CALCUTTA"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

DUKE ELLINGTON AND HIS WORLD-
FAMOUS ORCHESTRA

Plus — COKE & POKE

EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION

BUCK & BUBBLES

Doors Open
at 9:30 A.M.
55¢
T.O.P.M.
(Tax Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
InclusiveNOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

'DEFINITELY A HIT.'—Morehouse, Sun

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

'A HILARIOUS EVENING.'—Atkinson, Times

HELEN HAYES in

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

'BULL'S EYE.'—Barnes, Herald Tribune

ETHEL MERMAN

in the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 SharpPLANNING TO GO AWAY
for the
DECORATION DAY WEEKEND?WHY NOT USE OUR RESORT
COLUMNS TO HELP YOU
FIND THE RIGHT PLACE!

STAGE PLAYS

'A very funny
play, brilliantly
written, acted
and staged.'—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANE
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way, CH 4-421
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

1947 CRITICS PRIZE PLAY

ALL MY SONS

by ARTHUR MILLER

Staged by ELIA KAZAN

ARTHUR KENNEDY • BETH MERRILL • ED BEGLE

CORONET THEATRE 49th Street, West of Broadway, Circle 6-887
Eves. 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to
send them any book at the regular publisher's price
post-free if payment is received with the order, or at
the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent
C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When
ordering please give name of author and publisher,
if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50☐ with Consumers Union . \$9.75 You Save \$1.25☐ with Harper's Magazine

and Consumers Union . \$12.25 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different
individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ One Year \$6 ☐ Two Years \$10 ☐ Three Years \$14☐ Servicemen's Rate \$4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to The Nation, or the following Nation magazine
combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6-17-47

examination of the language and forms of the works of the great composers: they get them from the textbooks of theorists "whose grammatical knowledge," said Tovey, "is based upon no known language."

Nor is this true only of the teaching of theory. In a course in history in which, my correspondent tells me, exactly one meeting was devoted to the English madrigal and lute schools—not to the music of one composer, but to the entire varied output of all the composers—and two meetings to the entire eighteenth-century comic opera, there is no time for the deriving of ideas from the music itself. "I made the mistake of looking into the subject of eighteenth-century comic opera, and it was two weeks before I was able to get out of it again. All this past week I have been going hammer and tongs at the Italian and English madrigal schools, so that I am now about to be familiar enough with enough of the music to feel that I know something about it; but in the meantime the history class is heaven knows where—I don't."

Most of the members of that class presumably have acquired a "knowledge" of the English madrigal and lute schools consisting of a series of names in their notebooks, each name with a sentence or two of description and evaluation copied out of a book or taken down in class. My correspondent, on the other hand, has derived from his experience of the music his own ideas and estimates of the various composers, which have led him to suspect that some of those descriptions and evaluations in books and lectures were themselves not acquired from experience of the music.

His reward for his work, he writes, has been his discovery of the music of Dowland—"the most famous of the English lutenist song composers: and for once it is a fully deserved reputation"—and Gesualdo. "Historically, Gesualdo is one of those rare and fascinating individuals, a sport"—which "makes him difficult to handle if you are writing history in terms of trends;" and so he was long ignored. "But even more interesting than the fact that he stands outside of his time is the fact that he wrote great music: of its sort some of the most powerful I have ever heard." And "it is a matter of history (Grove, II, P. 373) that the ten volumes of his works went through not less than 25 different editions between 1594 and 1626, one of them, the third

book of 5-part madrigals being reprinted five times. Consequently it is not surprising that Lang concludes ('Music in Western Civilization,' p. 327): 'Many, if not the majority, of Gesualdo's madrigals must, however, be considered closet madrigals, because their frightful, ragged, unvocal writing makes their performance by a vocal ensemble well-nigh impossible.' That they are hard to sing cannot be doubted; that they are possible to sing is quite as obvious; that Gesualdo's contemporaries sang them is fully demonstrated by the bibliographical record: why does Lang have to manufacture a myth? All this colorful patter about 'frightful, ragged, unvocal writing' is a bald-faced fabrication which an examination of the madrigals disproves in a moment: I have found in them a rare diminished fourth, and occasionally a diminished fifth—which even sight-singing students are taught to sing, and which constitute the 'frightful, ragged, unvocal writing.'"

Then, "Einstein is perhaps even more renowned for his studies in the madrigal than for his Mozart studies. Consequently, in his 'Short History of Music,' it is not amazing to find that all he has to say about Gesualdo (and Marenzio also, for that matter) is (p. 60) that 'Rore initiated a chromaticism which . . . in the compositions of Luca Marenzio and Gesualdo da Venosa was to lead to extremes of daring—but not based upon clear harmonic perception and hence not fully absorbed by the main stream of development.'" Of the four madrigals of Marenzio that my correspondent has been able to examine only one—printed in Schering's "History of Music in Examples"—has a section that is markedly chromatic; "and all the modulations in this passage are either an applied dominant-to-tonic relation or an alternation of major and minor mode, while in addition one progression exhibits the essential features of what would now be called a modulating sequence. I am under the delusion that all these (a) demonstrate clear harmonic perception, and (b) have since been absorbed by the main stream of development." And on the other hand "Gesualdo's chromaticism was not based on the major-minor, tonic-dominant relationships which ultimately prevailed: why should it have been? But to claim that it is not based on clear harmonic perception is to deny the evidence of one's ears: in every example I have been able to run down

it always comes off—provided one is not so hog-tied by tonic-dominant prejudice that one can't hear it for what it is."

But on examination papers—in answer to the question "Discuss the following: (a) Gesualdo . . ."—students who haven't heard a note of his music will write: "His extreme chromaticism was not based upon clear harmonic perception and hence not fully absorbed by the main stream of development. The frightful, ragged, unvocal writing in his madrigals makes their performance by a vocal ensemble almost impossible."

MANY THOUSANDS

of the regular editions of these books were sold at \$1.75

NOW AVAILABLE—

For economical gifts to your friends who have not yet read these two great books—

The New Low Priced

Pocket Editions

H. G. Wells, CRUX ANSATI:

An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church.



Pocket Edition . . . \$2.00
Five copies for \$2.00
Per Hundred, \$30.00

L. H. Lehmann; BEHIND THE DICTATORS; A Fully Documented Analysis of Vatican-Fascist Collaboration.



Pocket Edition . . . \$2.00
Five copies for \$2.00
Per Hundred, \$30.00

These New POCKET EDITIONS complete in every respect and contain, word for word, the same text as in the higher priced cloth bound editions. The purpose behind these NEW POCKET EDITIONS, at these extraordinarily low prices, is to encourage OUR friends to distribute them to THEIR FRIENDS.

These books should be in the hands of every American. We at Agora have done our part toward making this possible. The next step is YOURS.

AGORA PUBLISHING CO.
Dept. 551NA

120 Liberty St., New York 6, N. Y.
P.S.—The Regular Cloth Bound Editions of both these books are still available for your library, at \$1.75 each, or \$3.00 for the two books. Combination prices do not apply to the POCKET EDITIONS.

Letters to the Editors

The Soviet Tartars

Dear Sirs: In the second part of his Britain Without Empire (*The Nation*, April 12), Mr. Laski says: "But there is good reason for assuming that we could do in Malaya a great work patterned upon the remarkable achievements of Soviet Russia with its national minorities, notably with the Tartar Republic."

As an expert on Russia, Mr. Laski ought to have known that the Tartar Republic as well as a few others were liquidated during the war for "disloyalty" to the Soviet government. The majority of the populations of the liquidated regions have been exiled to Siberia.

MARKOOSHA FISCHER

New York, April 30

[According to *Soviet Russia Today*, the Tartars in the U. S. S. R. have been mainly concentrated in two sections of the country, the Middle Volga and the Crimea. The Tartar Autonomous Republic on the Volga, which has a popula-

tion of over 3,000,000, was not liquidated nor were its inhabitants deported. The other large settlement of Tartars was in the Crimea, where about one-fourth of the 1,132,360 inhabitants were Tartars. When the Germans occupied the Crimea, says *Soviet Russia Today*, "many of the Crimean Tartars succumbed to their propaganda and aided the enemy. After the liberation of the Crimea . . . the Crimean A. S. S. R. was demoted from the status of an Autonomous Republic to that of an Autonomous Region, and the Crimean Tartars were sent away." — EDITORS THE NATION.]

Who Talks for the Arabs?

Dear Sirs: The Higher Arab Committee for Palestine claims to represent the Palestine Arabs as a whole; in reality, it represents only a small minority of the population, mainly the effendis and the feudal landlords. As the spokesman of the Palestine Arab delegation, Mr. Ghouri, has admitted, the Mufti is the head of it. But the Mufti no longer has as many followers as he had some years ago. Proof of this is the fact that his efforts to arouse the Arabs of Palestine to a pogrom against the Jews have utterly failed. Observers agree that many of the Arabs of Palestine are siding with the Jews: they give shelter to fugitive Jews hunted by the British and carry on relations with the Jews as good neighbors.

Many leading persons among the Moslems who form more than 90 per cent of the Arab population are friendly toward the Jews. Proof of it is found in the murders of Arabs committed by agents of the Mufti: no fewer than twelve have occurred in recent months, in addition to twenty murders of Arab spiritual and political leaders during the recent war. Many of the Khaldis and Nashashibis, the most ancient patricians of Palestine, would come to an understanding with the Jews if they were only sure that the Mufti and his party had no longer the support of the British government, which is now backed by the Americans. The majority of the Arabs of Palestine are voiceless. They are patronized by the Arab League, which is united only in its anti-Zionist attitude—the League was the creation of the late Lord Moyne and the notorious General

Spears, who quite recently defended the Mufti.

Furthermore, the most vociferous supporters of the "Arab cause" are to be found among the Arab Christians, who form less than 10 per cent of the Arab population of Palestine. At every turn you find Arab Christians of Palestine in the forefront of the struggle. Even the Palestine Arab Higher Committee is guided by Arab Christians: Mr. Ghouri, the spokesman of the Palestinian delegation, is a Christian. The *Falastin* of Jaffa and many other newspapers edited by Christian Arabs have printed the most poisonous and vitriolic diatribes against the Jews.

The Lebanese Moslems also are playing the game of the Arab League against the majority of the Christians of the Lebanon, represented by the Maronite Patriarch and the Archbishop of Beirut, who on several occasions have expressed their sympathy for the Jews of Palestine.

The allegation of Mr. Ghouri, in his letter of May 5 addressed to the United Nations, that "the Arabs have never recognized the Mandate over Palestine or any act or body deriving from it" does not coincide with the facts. Emir Feisal, later King of Iraq, was acknowledged by the British government and the Allied and Associated Nations of the First World War to be the official spokesman of all Arab countries, including Palestine, and he officially recognized the Balfour Declaration.

At that time the Mandate was opposed by only a few Arabs—some of the Husseins, the family of the Mufti, and some members of the Abd Al-Hadi, a family of great landlords near Nablus.

The Palestine Arab Higher Committee has no right to claim recognition as a representative of the Arabs in Palestine; it cannot be compared with the Jewish Agency, which has an international legal status.

The British army deserves a better fate than to be the tool of Bevin and Attlee in suppressing the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine. And the British people, who have always protected the minorities of other countries against violence and injustice, would act differently if they were told the truth about the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine.

A. S. YAHUDA,

Professor, the New School for Social Research

New York, May 8

Anti-Inflation Rally

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

hear

- WILSON WYATT
 - LEON HENDERSON
 - FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
- THURSDAY—MAY 22**
8:30 P. M.

ST. NICHOLAS ARENA
69 West 66th Street

Admission 50 cents

Tickets obtainable at

ADA OFFICE
9 East 46th Street

PL 8-0702

N. Y. C. 17

Our Marxist President

Dear Sirs: As you know, aid to Greece intended to prevent the spread of communist ideology, of which, according to the Truman Doctrine, misery is the carrier. This doctrine is, I regret to say, subconscious Marxism. It was in its introduction to "Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" that Marx, some eighty years ago, established the theory that the political system is merely the superstructure of economic conditions. According to his *Verelendungs-theorie*, the inevitable concentration of capital will eventually result in expropriating the expropriators, that is, in socialism.

There can be no doubt that our distinguished President plans to employ his theory in reverse. In his view the menace of communism can be averted by alleviating the poverty of the Greek people. This subconscious Marxist apparently does not believe in the power of ideas, or, as they are now called in this country, "philosophies." If he seriously wishes to counterbalance the red menace—and not merely to set Anglo-American imperialism against Russian imperialism—he should offer not only \$250,000,000 but an *ideology* which appeals as strongly to the imagination of the masses as that of Marx and Lenin did. Unfortunately the ideology of "free competition" is negative and therefore insufficient. Administering a rebuff to communism is no substitute for a positive and hopeful idea. However, Mr. Truman and his fellow-travelers are so deeply imbued with their subconscious though erroneous Marxism that they believe they can stop communism merely by feeding the proletarian descendants of Plato and Aristotle.

An ideological alternative to communism was of course offered by Senator Vandenberg, when in his answer to Stroyko he spoke of the "conflict between communism and democracy." But even a high-school graduate should know that communism is an *economic* concept, democracy a *political* or at most *social* one. Therefore they are not true equivalents.

I think Truman and his fellow-travelers in their ideological vacuum are adherents of Schiller:

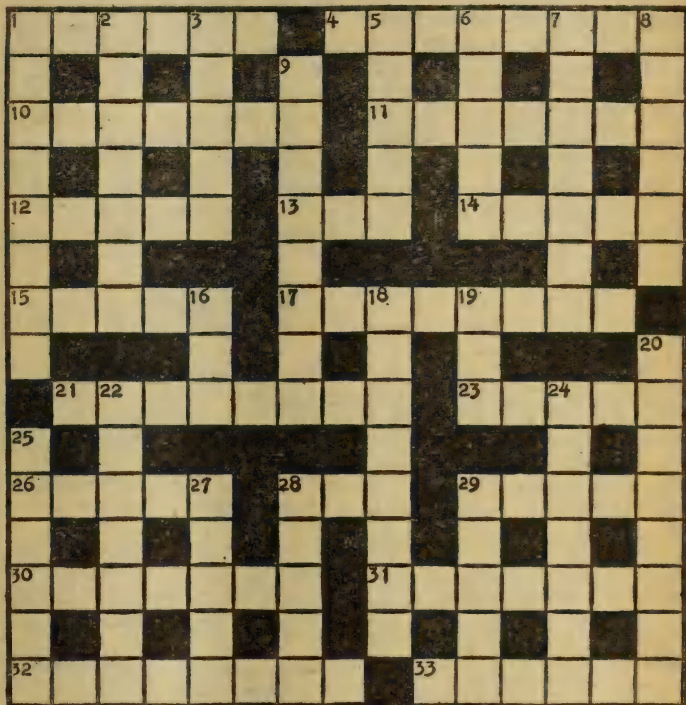
Bis einst Philosophie die Welt
im Innersten zusammenhält,
erhält sich ihr Getriebe
durch Hunger und durch Liebe.

HERBERT JAMES

New York, April 8

Crossword Puzzle No. 212

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Talk by a player
- 4 A lark
- 10 I've the instruments to write with, and hope to be getting the thoughts
- 11 They give out or not, as the case may be
- 12 Not the way the Germans spell the river
- 13 Service of the stick
- 14 Girl in novels I enjoy
- 15 Provide for
- 17 Seen Ross? (anag.)
- 21 Resounding call to organize, sir
- 23 The Mock Turtle might associate this with the helping hand
- 26 He backed the wrong horse
- 28 A Spanish queen
- 29 "He lives to build, not -----, a generous race; No tenth transmitter of a foolish face"
- 30 Eyed
- 31 Her gout is harder to bear
- 32 Its battlements were haunted
- 33 Bad oar in a boat

- 6 But not enough for a sample
- 7 Checks
- 8 Sue comes in the end
- 9 Out of form?
- 16 Welsh or Levant, perhaps
- 18 Eats one's words
- 19 A loop of the Nile
- 20 Shown, perhaps, in a close-up
- 22 They motor a girl about
- 24 Greek coin
- 25 Parisian heaven—but see an English cathedral
- 27 Seems doubly arresting to do so (3 & 2)
- 28 Berries that keep flies out of the house
- 29 Some of the publisher's burble is in this form

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 211

ACROSS:—1 CORNERS; 5 MOBBING; 8 ALPHA; 10 TNT; 11 GATES; 12 BEMACH; 15 KIMONO; 16 HOLDING; 17 REED; 19 SWAN; 21 ATHLETE; 22 STUD; 23 GRID; 25 CLATTER; 27 AVENUE; 29 DARIEN; 33 GLUCK; 34 COL; 35 OPERA; 36 RATIONS; 37 CANDLES.

DOWN:—1 CLAMBER; 2 RUPEN; 3 EP-ARCH; 4 SITS; 6 MATE; 6 RIGWIG; 7 INTRO; 8 GOSHOON; 13 HOSTILE; 14 ODD LOTS; 15 KNOTTED; 18 RMO; 20 WAR; 22 STAGGER; 24 DENIALS; 25 CUCKOO; 26 RACCOON; 28 EXULT; 30 IDEAL; 31 ICES; 32 ALEC.

DOWN

- 1 Useful for one who decides to give smoking a rest
- 2 Be fast and furious (3 & 4)
- 3 The upper crust
- 5 No demand for plums

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOnacre 5-4917

TALENT TEAM FOR HIRE

AN ADVERTISING COMBO that will really pull for your agency! The wife—an artist extraordinaire, the husband—a production man, etc., with punch! This creative, capable couple, young and advertising-wise, will be available mid-June. Box 1708, c/o The Nation.

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

TEACHER, experienced in secondary music either band or choral, successful boy choir master. Desires change from mining community to progressive school in eastern Pennsylvania, or East or West Coast. Veteran World War II. Available September. References Box 1709, c/o The Nation.

ANNOUNCEMENT

PEACE CELL: A Drama in Rime by Richardson Savell. A sixty-three-page, attractively multigraphed verse play to abolish war. Edition limited, 330 copies. \$1.50. Author will publicly read this drama; fee: \$10.00 plus transportation.

LOVE SONNETS Sixty-four printed lyrics. \$1.00 GRAND PRINT PUBLISHERS, Box 542, Brookline Village, Mass.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. **TAAAB**, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, **ACE MAIL ORDER CO.**, East Orange 1, N. J.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

RESORTS**OPEN FOR DECORATION DAY WEEK-END**

Early Reservations Suggested
Private beach, golf, excellent fishing, outdoor activities, fine food. T. H. FLAUM.

MERRIE WOODS**A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.****FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT**

Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director



A Picturesque Estate
Diversified Book and Music Library
Swimming Pool . . . Golf

An Adult Resort 45 miles from N.Y.C.
TEL. HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

MAPLE GROVE MT. HOUSE

• Ideal Vacation Spot • Modern Accommodations
• All Adult Sports • Informal Atmosphere
• Excellent Cuisine • Dietary Laws

Special 3-Day Decoration Week-end—\$21
Kerhonskon 3641

Accord, New York**SUMMER RENTALS**

CHERRY LANE HOUSE, beautiful rooms, modern house, picturesque surroundings, restful, 55 miles from N. Y. \$300 season, 2 persons, kitchen privileges. **Academy 2-1058** or weekends, **CARMELO, N. Y. 2123.**

FARM COTTAGE, built 1773, fireplaces, Dutch ovens, enchanting mountain view. Furnished, all modern conveniences, including gas range and phone. Private swimming pond, trout brooks, idyllic meadows and forest roads within seclusion of 200-acre mountain dairy farm. Only 3½ hours direct train from Manhattan. \$970 for five months. Write: Morning Star Farm, Haydensville RFD, Mass., or phone: South Deerfield 109-12. Also on same farm another residence, furnished, fireplaces, all modern conveniences, five rooms and bath. Rental \$750 for five months.

COLONIAL 7-room house completely furnished, ocean bathing. June 15-July 31. \$400, Truro, Mass. (Cape Cod). **Murray Hill 4-1959.**

WANTED "GOOD NEIGHBORS"

To this end I purchased 50 acres adjoining my home. Ideal for country home sites, an acre or more. By immediate action, co-operators may share it at cost (very low). **C. RICK, PEEKSKILL, N. Y. Tel. 2515M.**

ACCOMMODATIONS

If you would like a comfortable and restful summer, with excellent accommodations and meals in my home, write to **Box 158, Washingtonville, N. Y.** I will take four adults. Bathing nearby. Rates \$50 weekly.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass.-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

RESORTS

**Enjoy Spring
in the
Ramapos!**



At its best on our 1600-acre estate. Golf on our private course. . . Ride along 21 miles of woodland trails. All outdoor sports await you at The Glenmere. Indoors, play in our game room . . . or relax in our pleasant cocktail lounge. We offer you excellent accommodations, superb cuisine, and entertainment every night. The Glenmere is an ideal spot for a Spring vacation.

Only 51 miles from
New York City

**The
Glenmere**

CHESTER, New York Phone Chester 20
New York Office 2-5047

Timberland
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100
NOW OPEN
ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS
N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street, LOnacre 8-8674
The Rare Charm of Intimate Congeniality

HATHAWAY LODGE**OPEN ALL YEAR**

Formerly the palatial 502-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, man with open fireplaces. Tennis courts, handball, badminton. Swimming pool, sun pavilion. Horseback riding. Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. For reservations or booklet write or call:
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

The Fieldstone**On Round Island Lake**

A place of unexcelled beauty and
rest and relaxation. One hour from
New York.

ALL SPORTS IN SEASON**MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7985****WINDY HILL****an Orange Lake**

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Fishing, boating, swimming, ping-pong. Excellent home cooking, congenial hosts.

Rates: \$35-\$40 Open May 25th

JANE C. ARENZ
Rock Cut Road, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 50W1

CHILDREN'S CAMPS**Shaker Village Work Camp**

TEEN-AGE CO-ED SUMMER CAMP
Full recreation and athletic program. * We projects include farming, construction, all sports. * Fine arts, folk-music and dances. * My program includes Tanglewood Festival. Camp occupies original historic buildings. For brochure
285 Madison Avenue, New York, CA 5-21

WALTTEL HOUSE**ON FRANKEL FARM****MT. BETHEL, PA.****VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY**

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 76 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm.
Rates: • Adults \$88 Week • Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 251 East 82 St. LE 2-5884

THE
PALESTINE
PROBLEM
and
Proposals for Its Solution

•

An Abridged Version of a Memorandum to
The General Assembly of the United Nations

Submitted by:

Freda Kirchwey, *President*
The Nation Associates

Henry A. Atkinson, *Secretary*
The Church Peace Union

Raymond Swing

James G. Patton, *President*
Farmers Educational and
Cooperative Union

Philip Murray, *President*
Congress of Industrial
Organizations

Frank P. Graham, *Chairman*
Advisory Council
The Nation Associates

Frank Kingdon, *Co-Chairman*
The Progressive Citizens
of America

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	585
PROPOSED PLAN FOR PALESTINE	586
THE NEED FOR MIGRATION	587
ARE THERE OTHER COUNTRIES TO WHICH THE JEWS CAN MIGRATE?	589
THE JEWISH CLAIM TO PALESTINE	590
SUBVERSION OF THE MANDATE	592
JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE	594
BENEFITS TO THE ARABS	595
ARABS AND JEWS IN TWO WARS	596
THE GRAND MUFTI IN WORLD WAR II	597
BRITAIN AND THE ARAB LEAGUE	599
BRITISH LABOR'S PLEDGES ON PALESTINE	600
OIL, COMMUNICATIONS, AND BASES	601
AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME	604
THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE AND WHAT FOLLOWED	605
IMMIGRATION AND REPRESSION	608
SOME PROPOSED SOLUTIONS	609
CAN A JEWISH STATE BE ESTABLISHED?	611
POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANSION	613

SPECIAL NOTICE

Additional copies of this supplement can be obtained by
telephoning or writing to

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, Inc.
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066



Rates: Single Copy 10¢—12 Copies \$1.00—100
Copies \$8—500 Copies \$30—1,000 Copies \$50.

A Nation Supplement

INTRODUCTION

THE United Nations meets in extraordinary session two years almost to the day since its foundation in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. In Germany Allied war tribunals are still condemning those Nazis responsible for the massacre of the Jews. But Jewish survivors of the Nazi terror still languish in detention camps. Barbed wire bars them from freedom on the island of Cyprus, and in Palestine the restrictions set up under the White Paper provide a barrier equally impassable.

The Charter of the United Nations reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." It undertakes "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained."

The Palestine case, now before the United Nations, is a challenge to the conscience of mankind. More than that, it is a challenge to the honor of the United Nations, its capacity to maintain peace, and its willingness to extend the area of human rights and dignity.

Today on the continent of Europe 1,369,800 Jews remain alive out of a pre-war population of 6,500,000, exclusive of the Soviet Union, which had a Jewish population of 3,000,000, half of whom were destroyed by the Nazis. The mass slaughter of the Jewish people was accomplished by the Nazis without effective interference from other nations.

Not until the war's end did the world come to know the full details of a horror so dark it defied belief—the story of more than six million Jews herded into camps, deported, starved to death, tortured to death, gassed to death, burned to death, or massacred in the towns where they lived.

The argument may be valid that no general measures of rescue were possible during the war years. But it must also be said that the Nazi extermination program was planned by Hitler even before he came to power and was put into effect, bit by bit, throughout the years of bloodless conquest between 1933 and 1939. The pattern was everywhere the same: withdrawal of citizenship, suppression of organized opposition, denial of livelihood, expropriation of property, humiliation of the individual, and finally deportation and death. Few of those who could have been saved—even those who sought safety in flight—were saved, for no country was willing to open a single door to rescue a single life.

One people in one country was prepared to welcome these victims—the Jewish community in Palestine. But the doors of Palestine too were slammed shut in the face of the suppliants. The British White Paper, enacted in May, 1939, limited immigration to 75,000 in five years, at the rate of 15,000 per year. This restrictive order, which was declared illegal by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, was enacted, quite frankly, in an effort to appease the Arabs.

This act of appeasement, like other similar acts of the Chamberlain government, resulted in failure. The White Paper violated the Mandate, but it did not buy the loyalty

of the Arabs. Their war record was one of enmity and double-dealing. The Jews, on the other hand, though injured and betrayed by the restrictions imposed in the White Paper, played a notable role in the defeat of the Axis.

In the following record we show:

1. That a Jewish state in Palestine was promised to the Jews of the world and indorsed by the nations of the world.

2. That the White Paper of 1939 and the British announcement of the independence of Transjordan were in contravention of the terms of the Mandate.

3. That the British Labor Party, after 1920, and most recently on the eve of its victory in the 1945 elections, promised to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and to establish there a Jewish state.

4. That there is no hope of rescue for the survivors of Hitler's extermination program apart from Palestine.

5. That the present policy of the British is based on the mistaken belief that only by continued support and appeasement of the Arab rulers and politicians can their threatened position in the Middle East be safeguarded.

6. That the intimidation program of the Arabs is led by men who organized and carried out the Arab campaign of sabotage against the United Nations.

7. That the threat of a general Arab revolt is a form of political blackmail and cannot possibly be put into effect.

And, last, we propose a program based on the realities of the present situation, to be enacted in three parts: for the immediate future, for an interim period while political adjustments are being made, and for the long range.

At the war's end the common assumption was that the first victims of Hitlerism would be the first to be rescued by a sympathetic world. That the doors of Palestine would be promptly opened to the Jews was taken for granted, especially after the Labor Party came to power in Great Britain.

President Truman, within two months after the end of the war, dispatched Earl Harrison to Europe to investigate the plight of the Jews. Upon receiving his report, on August 31, 1945, the President requested the British Labor government to open Palestine to the 100,000 Jewish refugees then in the German displaced-persons camps.

Almost two years have passed. The refugees have not been admitted to Palestine except in insignificant numbers, even though the Anglo-American Committee—the eighteenth commission of inquiry since the Balfour Declaration—studied the problem anew in 1946 and again requested the admission of 100,000.

Today the refugee colony in Germany, Austria, and Italy numbers almost 250,000. Every method of exclusion and repression has been utilized by the British government to prevent the entry of these people into Palestine.

Behind this policy is the larger purpose of seeking support for British imperial interests, both material and strategic, from the ruling elements among the Arabs, even at the cost of defending a decadent feudal and hierarchical social

system and at the same time violating the commitments embodied in the Palestine Mandate.

It is this indefensible situation which our program aims to abolish. For we believe that the rescue of the surviving

Jews of Europe and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine are wholly compatible with the legitimate interests of the Arabs as well as those of Britain and the other Western nations, including the United States.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR PALESTINE

WE PROPOSE, and intend to show in the chapters which follow, that the United Nations, in the interests of peace, human dignity, and security, should adopt a clear-cut plan for the development and political control of Palestine and bring about its acceptance by the British government, the Jews, and the Arabs. As preliminary steps, to prepare the way for a full inquiry and a workable decision, we urge:

1. That the General Assembly uphold the ruling of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations declaring the White Paper of 1939 illegal, and request that it be expunged from record and practice.

2. That the General Assembly repudiate the unilateral action of the British government establishing Transjordan as an independent kingdom without authorization of the United Nations.

In order to meet the long-range, interim, and immediate needs of the situation, we propose:

In the Interests of a Permanent Solution—

1. That two independent states be created, a Jewish state and an Arab state.

2. In planning these states account should be taken of the original area assigned under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, now known as Palestine and Transjordan, and the concessions already made to satisfy Arab demands.

3. That the Jewish state be established in a contiguous area large enough to constitute a viable national territory and to allow for the absorption of as many of the surviving Jews of Europe as wish to immigrate.

4. That both states, however constituted, guarantee equality of rights to all inhabitants without distinction of race or religion, and that all communities be given full autonomy in the administration of their religious, educational, and social institutions.

5. That the Jewish state grant official recognition to the Arabic language and to Arab schools.

6. That upon the establishment of the Jewish state and the Arab state, both be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

A number of plans have been suggested to implement the general idea proposed above. We recommend special consideration of the two plans summarized herewith:

Plan 1. The Jewish state should be established in an area of 10,400 square miles, to include those parts of Palestine, chiefly in the west, already closely settled by Jews, together with additional areas of Palestine at present undeveloped and lightly populated, including 4,500 square miles in the

Negev and an area of 3,400 miles, now either uninhabited or very sparsely settled, to be detached from Transjordan.

The Arab state would include Transjordan, less the area detached, and an area of 3,300 square miles, to be detached from Palestine, in which some 500,000 Arabs now live. A new Arab state would thus be established in an area of 34,600 square miles.

Since historically Transjordan has always been a part of Palestine and was comprised within the area to which the Balfour Declaration was intended to apply, the addition to Transjordan of 3,300 square miles would complete the process of satisfying Arab demands for an independent state begun in 1922 when Transjordan was separated from Palestine by the mandatory power.

Plan 2. Another proposal with respect to the area in which the Jewish state should be constituted provides that the state should be established in those parts of Palestine, chiefly in the west, already closely settled by Jews, together with 4,500 square miles of the Negev. The Jewish state would thus be constituted in an area of 7,600 square miles.

The Arab area would comprise the remaining 2,800 square miles of Palestine, including the hill district of Samaria, forming a rectangle with Nablus as the center, now exclusively inhabited by an Arab population.

This area could either be constituted as an independent state or, if both parties agree, merged politically with the adjoining state of Transjordan. The Arab state, if this union were agreed upon, would be established in an area of 37,200 square miles.

As an Interim Program—

1. Until the process of creating the two states has been completed, we propose that the Mandate be withdrawn from Great Britain and that Palestine be placed under the United Nations, with a High Commissioner appointed by the United Nations and the protection of an international police force.

2. In this interim period the United Nations should initiate the economic development of the region through such undertakings as the proposed Jordan Valley project.

As an Immediate Program—

1. The present British military force should be reduced to its normal garrison size and be retained until the international police force can take over, and martial law should be ended.

2. In view of the urgent needs of European Jewry, 250,000 Jews—the present Jewish population in the D. P. camps—should be admitted immediately into Palestine and settled in those sections certain to be allocated to the Jewish state.

3. Until such time as the Jewish state is actually created,

authority should be transferred to the Jewish Agency to regulate immigration. The Jewish Agency should be recognized as the official principal representative of the Jewish state to be established.

The solution proposed above is not ideal. It will not be

wholly satisfactory to Great Britain, to the Arabs, or to the Jews. It is, however, capable of fulfilling, at least in part, the fundamental aspiration of both Jews and Arabs—the aspiration to independent nationhood. Such a solution, moreover, offers the one hope of securing peace in Palestine.

THE NEED FOR MIGRATION

FIVE hundred thousand Jews in Europe, almost half of the surviving Jewish population, "may wish or be impelled to migrate from Europe," according to the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

An exhaustive study by the committee, country by country, revealed an active anti-Semitism which, added to the impoverishment and the psychological horror of living in countries responsible for the slaughter of their families and friends, has produced a frantic desire, as well as a need, to emigrate.

In the words of the committee, while "the governments of the countries we visited expressed their opposition to anti-Semitism . . . this is a poison which after years of infection takes years to eradicate."

When the Anglo-American Committee's report was published on April 20, 1946, there were 74,000 Jewish displaced persons in Germany. Today, in the American military zones in Germany and Austria and in the British zones in Germany and Italy, there is a Jewish displaced persons population of 247,337. The dissolution of UNRRA and the inability of the International Refugee Organization immediately to assume its responsibilities place the Jewish D. P.'s in a very precarious situation.

Jews in Europe Today

Of the 5,978,000 European Jews destroyed as a result of the Nazi extermination program between 1939 and the war's end, Poland lost 2,800,000; the occupied area of the Soviet Union, 1,500,000; Rumania, 425,000; Hungary, 200,000; Czechoslovakia, 260,000; France, 90,000; Germany, 170,000; Austria, 40,000; Lithuania, 135,000; Holland, 90,000; Latvia, 85,000; Belgium, 40,000; Yugoslavia, 50,000; Greece, 60,000; Italy, 15,000; Bulgaria, 7,000; and miscellaneous countries, 6,000.

The property losses suffered by the Jewish people in the Nazi-occupied areas totaled approximately eight and one-half billion dollars, a sum amounting to approximately one-half of the pre-war wealth of Poland, and two billion dollars more than the entire farm income of the United States in 1941. Included in the property losses were about one million business, industrial, and professional establishments, in addition to the losses sustained by the community, such as the destruction of virtually all Jewish institutions.

Although abrogation of all discriminatory legislation was ordered by the Allied military authorities and confirmed by the Potsdam agreement, there has been a steady flow of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe toward Palestine. The abrogation of discriminatory legislation has not restored to the Jews a sense of security or made it possible for them to

become self-sustaining, nor has the restitution of property and indemnification proceeded smoothly; little has been done to restore property or provide compensation for damage or to create the basis for self-support.

In Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia a majority of the Jewish population is dependent upon relief from overseas.

Of the large proportion of Jewish wealth consisting of movables, securities, and funds, the greater part was carried away, consumed, or is now in the possession of persons who either cannot be traced or are not affected by existing legislation. Industrial and commercial enterprises, even if restored, are shells. Stocks and machines have been sold or have just disappeared. Real estate, in the relatively few cases that it has been returned to the original owner, is in a state of great dilapidation.

Anti-Semitism Still Strong

Colonel Stanley R. Mickelsen, director of the Displaced Persons Division of the United States Military Government, in response to a question as to whether or not anti-Semitism was decreasing among the Germans, told the Anglo-American Committee: "I don't think there is any change among the Germans. Outwardly, yes, but inwardly, no—inwardly, anti-Semitism is still strong."

Bartley C. Crum, American member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and author of "Behind the Silken Curtain," says also, "Our military frankly fear for Jewish lives if our armies are withdrawn."

An increase in anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria is reported by members of the Anglo-American Committee despite the fact that in a city like Vienna only 4,500 Jews remained at the time of their inquiry, and in a country like Germany only 20,000.

Time and again, said Bartley Crum, witnesses have stated: "Once Hitler and the Nazis sought to exterminate us. Hitler made the plan but it was the peoples of Europe, regardless of nationality, who were our executioners. Hitler wanted us exterminated in Poland, but it was the Poles who executed us; Hitler wanted us exterminated in Rumania, but it was the Rumanians who executed us; and so it was in Slovakia, in Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Austria, and elsewhere."

Conditions in the D. P. Camps

In April, 1946, when the Jewish D. P. population in the American zone numbered 74,000, Judge Simon H. Rifkind, Adviser on Jewish Affairs to the Commanding General of the American Forces in the European Theater, reported that what the D. P.'s require is "everything."

But above all else they need to know today that tomorrow will not bring a continuation of their present state of suspense. In order to live peacefully they must learn today that tomorrow will bring them nearer their goal. They need a home they can love, a soil they can cherish, an atmosphere they can breathe without resentment. They require a chance to strike root, to work for a living, to raise a family. They must get away from the scenes of their torture and grief.

I am convinced that the problem of these Jews of Europe is insoluble without Palestine. It is the one place available for mass migration. The Jews of Palestine are eager to receive their European brothers. In Palestine these Jews will find the warm welcome they so earnestly desire and need. They will find a home and an end to their wanderings. . . . The group ties they have developed will not be shattered but will continue. Their culture will be tenderly nursed and will again contribute its part to world civilization.

A year later the problem had not been resolved and the number of Jews in the D. P. camps had multiplied almost threefold. Describing how the Jews in the D. P. camps live, Judge Rifkind said:

How do these Jews live? The one-word answer to that question is—abnormally. Family groups are practically unknown among them, because the members of their families are dead. They are destitute, because the Germans stripped them of everything. A child is a rare treasure among them, because extermination of the young was a high Nazi priority. Few of them can follow their normal callings; most of the younger ones have never learned a trade or acquired a skill. To work and save for the future is meaningless because the German marks have no value outside of Germany. They are surrounded by a hostile population, whom they hate with an intensity beyond the capacity of words to describe. They suffer from psychological and physical ills as a result of their experiences in the concentration camps. Their whole civilization, so laboriously and so lovingly created over the centuries, has been brought low; its leadership is dead; its institutions, religious, educational, social, and economic, have been demolished. Every factor which contributes to normal living in the world as we know it is conspicuously absent in the lives of these people. Moreover, since liberation they have suffered painful disappointment and disillusionment. They had expected the miracle of liberation to be followed by world-wide welcome extended by a repentant mankind, which had permitted them to suffer such barbarism. Instead, they awoke to find themselves in the chilly atmosphere of a displaced-persons center with every avenue of escape to a land of freedom and dignity closed to them. They see their persecutors live in better homes, wearing better clothes, listening to the laughter of their children. They see their enemies resume the threads of organized existence while they themselves live from minute to minute waiting for the unpredictable tomorrow. Is it any wonder they are impatient with sluggish investigations, judicial inquiries, and long-winded resolutions? The amazing thing is that despite this history and despite these provocations these men have so far kept their heads and sustained their faith.

Bartley Crum states that in one poll where D. P.'s were asked to put down a second choice if Palestine were unavailable, hundreds said, "The crematorium."

The D. P.'s and Security

The G-5 Division of the United States Army, European Theater, reported on January 1, 1947:

For those able to make an accurate evaluation of facts, the displaced-persons problem represents one of the greatest human tragedies in history. . . . The displaced persons have a temporary haven in Germany even though it is a country they hate. . . . But for the future welfare and eventual normal adjustment of these people this situation cannot be permitted to endure much longer.

The army's report also emphasizes that the primary desire among displaced persons is "to get out of Germany. The Jewish refugees have united among themselves to demand immigration to Palestine."

In the spring of 1947 reports of the movement of some 140,000 Jews in the displaced-persons camps toward Palestine was reported. On April 7, 1947, both the American army and War Department officials in Washington made it clear that they were powerless to block a mass underground movement of Jews to Palestine from Austria and Germany this spring.

While explaining that the United States has not closed the borders of the United States zone in Germany against Jews arriving from Eastern Europe since V-E Day, the army report emphasizes the urgent necessity of finding a place of permanent settlement for them, both in order to relieve the financial burden which the American taxpayer is carrying and in order to rehabilitate people who "are potentially useful citizens." The report points out that of the 39,000 visas available under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, 26,000 represent the pre-war quota to German nationals and still available to them annually. Thus only 1,100 per month are available to displaced persons coming from other countries.

Moreover, the army points out, the continuance of such a large population of displaced persons could conceivably become dangerous. In this connection it says:

The great majority of them are law-abiding and sincerely grateful to the United States, but idleness, a monotonous diet, limited activities, and the inability to lead normal lives may in time breed a feeling of frustration which might break out in any number of ways.

Tension is growing among the Germans, who are resentful of the impact on their economy of displaced persons, as well as refugees and expellees. There is a growing feeling of opposition between various categories of displaced persons themselves. If trouble flares up, it may spread rapidly and create a security problem of great magnitude, with Germans or other subversive elements taking advantage of the resulting confusion.

Refugees Could be Moved in a Month

That, once a decision is reached, the Jews in the displaced-persons camps could be moved with dispatch was established in the testimony of officials of the American army and the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Colonel Mickelsen reported that the United States could move 100,000 Jews by rail to Marseille or to Bari within one month.

Colonel D'Arcy Stevens said that the camps in Austria could be cleaned out in two weeks.

Brigadier General Ralph H. Tate, General Clark's Chief of Staff, begged the Anglo-American Committee to move the refugees from the D. P. camps.

Bartley Crum, in his book, quotes Brigadier General Tate as telling the committee, "Gentlemen, I wish you godspeed in your labors. We need your help. For God's sake, help us—we are at the end of our rope."

Richard Crossman, in "Palestine Mission," says:

In the nine months since V-E Day an appalling demoralization had set in which could not be halted by good food

or accommodation or educational facilities. Every month which passed accelerated this process of moral decay and of corrosive bitterness against Britain and America. We had long talks with high American officers on the technical problems of transportation and were surprised and relieved to hear that, at the European end, not more than a month would be required to organize the clearance of every assembly center, the movement to a port of embarkation, and the voyage itself.

Paul McCormick, a representative of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, told the Anglo-American Committee, "Give us a green light to move these people and we could transport 100,000 to Palestine with little difficulty."

ARE THERE OTHER COUNTRIES TO WHICH THE JEWS CAN MIGRATE?

SAYS the Anglo-American Committee: "Such information as we receive about countries other than Palestine gives no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe." This is confirmed by an examination of the immigration laws and policies of the countries in the United Nations with the largest areas and the best facilities for new settlers.

Australia, with an area of 3,000,000 square miles and a population of 7,000,000, has since 1920 negotiated a series of treaties with almost all Eastern and Southern European countries, in which the latter agree to limit the number of passports issued to their nationals desiring to go to Australia. About 8,500 Jewish refugees were admitted before the war, adding to a Jewish population of approximately 24,000.

In 1945 the Minister of Immigration announced that no immigration would be encouraged until economic security was guaranteed, including the demobilization, rehabilitation, reemployment, and rehousing of all veterans and war workers. Discriminatory powers are vested in the Governor General of Australia to prohibit or limit permanently or for a certain period various categories of immigrants.

Canada, with an area of 3,690,410 square miles and a population of 11,506,605, has rigid legislation which since 1931 has reduced immigration to a virtual standstill. The government has shown no inclination since the end of the war to enact more liberal laws. About 2,000 Jewish refugees were admitted to Canada during the war. The Governor General has discriminatory powers to restrict immigration or limit it permanently or for a stated period, either because of economic conditions or because of the character of would-be immigrants.

In *New Zealand*, with an area of 113,350 square miles and a population of 1,631,414, immigration is generally frowned upon; and the authority to prohibit the entry of persons of any nationality, race, class, or occupation is in the hands of the Governor General. There are now approximately 4,000 Jews in New Zealand.

The Union of South Africa, with an area of 473,000 square miles and a population of 11,248,000, has a definite anti-immigration practice. The Immigrant Selection Board

and the Union Commissioner for Immigration are vested with discretionary powers to admit immigrants. Since 1940 virtually no Jewish immigrants have been admitted.

The United States, with a population of 132,000,000 and an area of 3,000,000 square miles, has since 1924 rigidly curtailed immigration through the institution of a quota system. The chief purpose of this was to limit the admission of persons from Eastern and Southern Europe. Under this system no more than 153,879 can enter the United States in any given year from all countries; and no more than 24,222 can enter in any given year from Eastern and Southern Europe.

The total annual quota of countries in Central and Eastern Europe, from which the majority of the displaced persons come, is a maximum number of 3,900 visas a month. From 1933 to 1943 the United States accepted a total of 499,998 aliens, of whom 168,128 were Jews.

In South America, with large areas of rich and unexploited territory, strictures against immigration are widespread.

Argentina has an area of 1,085,000 square miles and a population of 14,130,871. Major restrictions were introduced in that country in 1933. Its preference is for agricultural workers, and the general attitude of the government is against Jewish immigration.

In *Brazil*, with an area of 3,276,000 square miles and a population of 45,300,000, the new immigration law of September, 1945, retains the quota system which has been in operation since 1935, limiting the quota of any country to 2 per cent of the total number of respective foreigners established in Brazil during the past fifty years. While since 1900 up to World War II about 47,000 Jews had entered the country, during the war and ever since it has been closed to Jewish immigration.

Mexico has a population of 25,178,495 in an area of 764,000 square miles. It is opposed to immigration in general and to the admission of Jews in particular, preferring to keep its population as strictly Spanish as possible. An immigration law passed in 1935 set up a quota system sharply curtailing immigration from Eastern Europe.

Chile, with an area of 297,000 square miles and a population of 5,237,432, virtually barred Jews in 1943. At that time its Jewish population was 25,000. A new decree of January, 1946, establishes high financial requirements for immigrants—proof of possession of large sums to insure maintenance—which makes refugee immigration unlikely.

Laws having the effect of barring Jewish immigration have been passed by *Bolivia* and *Paraguay*.

Colombia admits only artisans equipped to work in the chemical industry. It prefers immigrants of the Catholic faith.

Uruguay has a more friendly attitude toward Jewish immigration.

President Trujillo of the *Dominican Republic* has stated that his country is prepared to admit a large number of Jewish immigrants, in connection with the D. O. R. S. A. colonization project, which proved, however, to be a failure because of the lack of the proper natural conditions.

The government of *Venezuela* has discussed the possibility of admitting immigrants, although its requirements are for agricultural workers of nationalities which are apt to be "assimilable."

THE JEWISH CLAIM TO PALESTINE

THE Balfour Declaration was issued by the British government on November 2, 1917. Prior to its publication it had been passed on and approved by President Woodrow Wilson. On February 9, 1918, it was approved by the French government and on May 19, 1918, by the Italian government. On April 25, 1920, it was also approved by the Allied conference at San Remo, where the mandate for Palestine was assigned to Great Britain.

The mandate was ratified by the Council of the League of Nations and came into force on September 29, 1923. Fifty-five nations agreed to the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate.

The Balfour Declaration said:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Provisions of Mandate

Under the Mandate, recognition is given to "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for constituting their national home in that country." The mandatory government was made responsible for "placing the country under such political administration and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home as laid down in the preamble and in the development of self-governing institutions."

Article VI of the Mandate provides that "the administration of Palestine will insure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, that they shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article IV, close settlement by Jews on the land, including state lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

The territory covered by the Balfour Declaration in 1917 included Palestine and Transjordan, an area of 45,000 square miles; and the Palestine Royal Commission, in its report of July, 1937, confirmed that "the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood at the

time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine."

Article IV of the Mandate provided for the recognition of what has now become the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declaring:

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

Balfour Declaration Issued to Jewish People

Ample evidence exists to show that the Balfour Declaration was intended to secure Jewish support for the Allies in World War I. This purpose was specifically stated by the Royal Commission of 1937 under the chairmanship of Lord Peel. Lloyd George, Prime Minister at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued, wrote:

The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that if the Allies committed themselves to giving facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally to the Allied cause Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world. They [the Jews] kept their word in the letter and in the spirit.

On June 29, 1920, Lord Curzon took the same position. Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on July 24, 1922, also stated that the Balfour Declaration was issued in order to obtain both moral and financial support from the Jews of the world, particularly in the United States and Russia. In 1939, in the course of a Parliamentary debate on the White Paper, he confirmed this, declaring:

It was not made to the Jews of Palestine, it was not made to those who were actually living in Palestine. It

was made to world Jewry and in particular to the Zionist associations. It was in consequence of and on the basis of this pledge that we received important help in the war, and that after the war we received from the Allies and Associated Powers the mandate for Palestine. This pledge of a home, of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home.

This last point was emphasized in a letter from the Colonial Office to the Palestine Arab delegation, embodied in the Palestine White Paper of 1922, which refers to the Balfour Declaration as "a pledge made by the British government to the Jewish people."

No Pledge of Arab State

The Arabs have repeatedly claimed that the British government, at the end of World War I, promised them the establishment of an independent state in Palestine. This claim is based largely on the correspondence between Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, and the Sherif of Mecca, King Hussein of the Hejaz, in which the British in exchange for help given by Hussein in organizing the revolt of the Arabs against the Turks, promised, according to the Arab interpretation, to support the independence of the areas proposed by Hussein, including Palestine.

In June, 1922, Winston Churchill denied this and stated that "the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge."

Sir Henry McMahon himself, in a letter to the London *Times* on July 23, 1937, denied that such a pledge had been made to King Hussein. In this letter, he said:

I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised.

I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein.

In May, 1939, the White Paper on Palestine confirmed that no pledge was made that Palestine should become an Arab state. It said:

His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere, for the reasons given by their representatives in the report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab state.

Arab Statesmen Favored Jewish Palestine

Not only does no evidence exist that Palestine was to be an Arab state, but there is proof that Arab statesmen favored giving Palestine to the Jews. On January 3, 1919, Emir Feisal, then representing the Arab kingdom of Hejaz, signed an agreement with Dr. Chaim Weizmann approving the

establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. According to this declaration Emir Feisal agreed:

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

He further agreed that "in the establishment and constitution and administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guaranties for carrying into effect the British government's declaration of the second of November, 1917."

Emir Feisal, in his agreement with Dr. Weizmann, had attached a rider in which he stated that "if the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of January 4 addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failure to carry out this agreement."

The Royal Commission Report of 1937 maintained:

That condition was not fulfilled then, but it is on the eve of fulfilment now. In less than three years' time all the wide Arab area outside Palestine between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean will be independent.

The fact that the Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917 in order to enlist Jewish support for the Allies, and the fact that this support was forthcoming, are not sufficiently appreciated in Palestine. The Arabs do not appear to realize in the first place that the present position of the Arab world as a whole is mainly due to the great sacrifices made by the Allied and Associated Powers in the war, and secondly, that the Balfour Declaration helped to bring about the Allied victory, which helped to bring about the emancipation of all the Arab countries from Turkish rule. If the Turks and their allies had won the war, it is improbable that all the Arab countries, except Palestine, would now have become or be about to become independent states.

How well the British fulfilled their pledge to secure independence for the Arab areas may be gauged from the fact that independent Arab states now exist in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan. Apart from Egypt, with an area of 386,000 square miles and a population of 18,100,000, fourteen million people occupy an area of 1,228,950 square miles in the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Iraq.

In the United Nations the Arab states have five seats.

Palestine, with an area of 10,400 square miles, represents less than one per cent of the area occupied by and under the control of the Arab people.

Did Britain Promise a Jewish State?

Six months before the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, in May of 1917, the British government was definitely committed to the policy of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine under Britain. In the original version of the pro-

posed Balfour Declaration the British government was prepared to state specifically its desire to see Palestine reconstituted as a Jewish state and the national home of the Jewish people. That it failed to do so was due in large part to the objections of wealthy British Jews, some of whom were represented in the British Cabinet, and to anti-Zionist forces in the United States as well as in Great Britain.

In the formula in which the Balfour Declaration was issued Lord Balfour, then the Foreign Secretary, interpreted it to mean that an independent Jewish state would gradually be developed. Lloyd George quoted the Balfour position in his "Memoirs" as follows:

As to the meaning of the words "national home," to which the Zionists attach so much importance, he understood it to mean some form of British, American, or other protectorate, under which full facilities would be given to the Jews to work out their own salvation and to build up, by means of education, agriculture, and industry, a real center of national culture and focus of national life. It did not necessarily involve the early establishment of an independent Jewish state, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution.

Lloyd George's own view was that the British Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration had in mind the

ultimate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Lord Robert Cecil, a member of the British Cabinet at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, in explaining its meaning at a demonstration held at the London Opera House on December 2, 1917, declared: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judea for the Jews."

Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for War, wrote in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* of February 8, 1920:

If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish state under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.

In the United States a similar interpretation was given to the Balfour Declaration. On March 3, 1919, President Wilson said:

I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth.

SUBVERSION OF THE MANDATE

NO SOONER had the Mandate for Palestine been granted than the mandatory government undertook a series of activities which sharply limited and contravened its pledges.

In 1922 Transjordan was separated from Palestine and an area of 34,700 square miles was closed to Jewish immigration and settlement. The area in which the Jewish National Home could be established was thus reduced to 10,400 square miles.

Even in this diminished area, no active policy was pursued by the mandatory government. Except for the electrical and potash concessions little specific action was undertaken to promote the Jewish National Home by the British government. Even in the matter of immigration the number of those admitted fell below the absorptive capacity of the country as created by the Jews themselves.

Jewish settlement on the land was not encouraged. Practically no agricultural state lands were set aside for this purpose. Nor were the agrarian and fiscal systems helpful to Jewish colonization.

The White Paper of 1939

In 1933 Hitler came to power, and there developed the campaign of anti-Semitism climaxed during the war period by the extermination of six million Jews.

In the years between 1933 and 1939 country after country came within the Nazi orbit and established the Nazi policy of oppression and exclusion as its own. The pressure of the Jews to escape from the Nazi advance and certain destruction became frantic. This was the moment, in May of 1939, three months before the outbreak of the actual fighting, when the

British government chose to issue its White Paper, under which Jewish immigration to Palestine was to be ended at the close of a five-year period.

This action was taken despite the fact that Britain was fully aware that there were almost no countries in the world outside of Palestine to which Jews could flee. For Britain was a co-convenor of the International Refugee Conference at Evian in 1938, which established the fact that the Jews were trapped in Europe, since virtually all doors, other than those of Palestine, were closed to them.

The same White Paper instructed the High Commissioner to prohibit the transfer of lands to Jews in specified areas. It provided also for the establishment within ten years of a Palestine government based on the actual population of the country. A year after the issuance of the White Paper land regulations were enacted under which Jews were completely prohibited from acquiring land in 63 per cent of Palestine, and severely restricted in another 32 per cent.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in a memorandum submitted to the Anglo-American Committee in March of 1946, revealed in detail the fashion in which Britain, by its refusal to admit refugees into Palestine, became responsible for exposing them to the Nazi extermination program. The Jewish Agency says:

The blows came to the Jewish people at a time when the Nazi government was intensifying its campaign against the Jews. But even the outbreak of war and the capture of over 3,000,000 Polish Jews produced no change of heart.

Before hostilities commenced, the Jewish Agency asked for the immediate admission of 20,000 children from Po-

land and 10,000 young men from the Balkan countries, the latter to reinforce man-power in Palestine. These requests were rejected; it was apparently feared that at such a pace the quota of 75,000 would be used up too quickly. The Polish-Jewish children went to Maidanek and Auschwitz instead, while of the young Jews in the Balkans many died and many were forced to work for Hitler. The fear of impending massacres expressed by the Jewish Agency at the time was written off as spurious. So the hopeless tug-of-war continued, the Jewish Agency trying to rescue Jews as quickly as possible, the government trying to dole out the quota as slowly as possible.

After the holders of pre-war permits had been admitted, a ban was imposed on all further immigration from enemy countries, on the ground that Nazi agents might come in. In May, 1940, the Jewish Agency appealed for the exemption of children and of certain adults of assured identity. The decision took nearly two years. No exemption was then granted in favor of adults. The concession regarding children came too late.

Meanwhile groups of Jews had managed to escape from Europe and reach Palestine. Their entry was held to justify a complete suspension of the issue of new permits even to parts of Europe which were not yet enemy territory. Thus quotas were withheld for the half-years October, 1939, to March, 1940, and October, 1940, to March, 1941. The latter period immediately preceded the German invasion of the Balkans. Only a few hundred emergency permits were granted for Balkan Jewries at the time, mostly too late. The government actually advised the Jewish Agency to save up permits for post-war use when they could be given to Jews from Germany, who were of a better type than those from the Balkans.

The search for boats carrying Jewish fugitives and the prevention of their landing became a major concern of the authorities. In November, 1940, the government announced that Jews coming illegally from Europe would not be allowed to land, but would be interned elsewhere and not be admitted to Palestine even after the war. As a reaction, the *Patria*, with 1,771 Jewish refugees on board awaiting deportation, was blown up and sank in the port of Haifa. About 250 of its passengers were drowned and the survivors landed and interned. A further 1,700 refugees who had been landed were, with a considerable use of violence, reembarked and deported to the island of Mauritius. From there they were released and brought to Palestine only at the end of the war, after over 100 of their number had died of disease. In December, 1940, 230 refugees, including many children, perished when the tramp steamer *Salvador* foundered in the Sea of Marmora. They had hoped to proceed overland from Istanbul, but no visas were available. In March, 1941, 793 refugees, mostly fleeing from the massacres in Rumania, arrived on board the *Darien*. In view of the vessel's condition they had to be landed, but for seventeen months they were kept in detention under the threat of deportation. On February 24, 1942, came the *Struma* tragedy. That boat had stood in the port of Istanbul for nearly two months waiting for Palestine visas. In the end only children were allowed to proceed, but the decision came too late. The Turkish authorities had turned the vessel back into the Black Sea, where it sank. Of its 764 passengers, only one survived. . . .

After the *Struma* disaster the rules were relaxed. It was decided to admit and gradually release all refugees from

Europe who got to Palestine on their own. At the same time it was made clear that nothing would be done to help them get there. In a communication to the Jewish Agency in May, 1942, the British government said: "In pursuance of the existing policy of taking all practicable steps to discourage illegal immigration into Palestine, nothing whatever will be done to facilitate the arrival of Jewish refugees in Palestine."

It should be borne in mind that at that time no facilities existed in the Balkans for obtaining visas to Palestine. The only way for a refugee to seek legal admission to Palestine was to reach Istanbul and apply to the British consul there. But at Istanbul he was already considered "illegal."

Late in 1942 authentic reports about the wholesale extermination of the Jews became public. Under their impact the government, in the middle of 1943, agreed to facilitate the journey to Palestine of all refugees reaching Istanbul. Yet this decision, of which the Jewish Agency was informed confidentially, was not published, nor was it, for a further nine months, communicated to the Turkish government. This robbed it of much of its value.

There can be little doubt that substantial numbers who are dead today, certainly tens of thousands, might have been alive if the gates of Palestine had been kept open.

White Paper Contrary to Mandate

The terms of the White Paper were carried out by Great Britain despite the fact that it was opposed in the House of Commons by such distinguished public figures as Winston Churchill; the Right Honorable Leopold S. Amery, former Colonial Secretary; Herbert Morrison, now Deputy Prime Minister, Philip Noel-Baker, now Secretary of State for Air; and others.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations also ruled against it. At its thirty-sixth session in June of 1939, the commission held unanimously that "the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory power and the Council, the commission has always placed upon the Palestine Mandate."

On March 6, 1940, Philip Noel-Baker, then Labor M.P., moved a resolution in the House of Commons censuring the British government for its action in implementing the White Paper in disregard of the opinion of the Mandates Commission.

Nor was the action of the British government justified by conditions in Palestine itself. In 1937 the Royal Commission had pointed out that "there was land available and a general willingness to sell, that the land had been proved suitable for intensive cultivation, and that satisfactory financial arrangements could be devised." Moreover, the Royal Commission affirmed that "the Arab charge that Jews have obtained too large a proportion of the good land cannot be maintained. Much of the land now carrying orange groves was sand dunes or swamp, and uncultivated when it was purchased."

Palestine as a Crown Colony

The Royal Commission of 1937 found, moreover, that the form of government which the British had imposed on Palestine "is not a suitable or natural form for the Jewish section

of its population. . . . Crown-colony government is not a suitable form of government for a numerous, self-reliant, progressive people."

Ten years later the Anglo-American Committee found that "the Palestine government continued to operate on the Crown-colony pattern." The Anglo-American Committee charged, in fact, that this system "militates most gravely against the chances of reconciliation between Jew and Arab. Palestinians were not promoted to head departments of the administration, in which the responsible officials like the members of the Executive and Advisory Councils remained wholly British, as did those on the district level. . . . Demands for a greater voice in government came from both the Arab and the Jewish communities."

The Anglo-American Committee unanimously recommended rescinding the land-transfer regulations of 1940 and replacing them by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, com-

munity, or creed, and the provision of adequate protection for the interests of small owners and tenant cultivators. In urging this they declared that the effect of the land laws of 1940 was "such as to amount to discrimination against the Jews," and denied that the free sale of land would create a considerable landless Arab population.

Transjordan Independence

British action in flouting the terms of the Mandate reached its climax on January 17, 1946, when the establishment of Transjordan as an independent state was announced. The unilateral action of the British was taken without any reference to the authority of the United Nations as the successor to the League of Nations or to the provisions of the United Nations Charter with respect to mandated territories.

Moreover, Britain encouraged the present tactics of the Arab states by inviting their participation in discussions about Palestine, a privilege not given them by the Mandate.

JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE

DESPITE the lack of help from the mandatory power, the Jews' achievements in Palestine, brought about by their own efforts and with the support of funds and other backing from the Jews of the world, have been considerable. They are found in the development of the Jewish community in Palestine, in the benefits accruing to the Arab population, and in the tremendous support given to the British war effort in the Middle East. They are reflected also in the growth of population and in the advances in agriculture, industry, and education.

The Jewish population in Palestine in the first years after World War I amounted to some 55,000. By the end of 1946 this population had increased to 625,000 through immigration and natural increase. The Jewish death rate fell from 12.37 per 1,000 of settled population in 1922, to 6.30 in 1946. With improved hygienic conditions the infant mortality rate dropped from 128.86 per 1,000 live births in 1922 to 32.6 in 1946.

Agriculture and Industry

Jewish agriculture has been developed through irrigation, drainage of swamps, improvements in the methods of soil cultivation, and the rotation and diversification of crops. The number of agricultural settlements grew from 70 in 1922 to 290 in 1946, and the Jewish ownership of land from 649,000 dunams in 1922 to 1,765,000 in 1945.

Still more spectacular was the development of agricultural production. The Jews owned 11,000 dunams of citrus in 1922 and about 145,000 dunams in 1946. In the last seven years (1939-46) the production of milk increased from 34,500,000 liters to 72,000,000 liters. The yield of wheat per dunam rose from 75 kilograms in 1927 to 120 kilograms in 1936, and of barley from 113 kilograms to 180 kilograms. The area under cultivation of vegetables and potatoes and the yield per dunam increased considerably during the war years.

Before World War I Palestine was on a primitive level of industrial development. During the last twenty-five years, and especially during the war years, industry has made unprecedented gains.

	1922	1937	1942-43
Number of Enterprises..	1,850	5,606	6,143
Number of Industrial Workers	4,750	30,040	45,000
Production—£ P.	500,000	9,109,000	15,000,000

At the end of the war Jewish industry and handicrafts employed 60,000 workers.

The generating capacity of central power stations went up from 700 kilowatt-hours in 1923, to 76,500 kilowatt-hours in 1942-43. During the same period electrical power used in factories and workshops rose from 1,400 horse-power to 58,300 horse-power. Diamond polishing, an entirely new branch of industry, developed during the war years, employing some 4,000 people and producing £ P 7,000,000 worth of diamonds yearly.

Education and Culture

With this growth came the development of Jewish education and culture. The number of pupils in Jewish schools rose some 10,000 in 1921 to 80,000 in 1944-45. The government contributes only 10 per cent of the cost of the educational system. The Hebrew University, with a staff of 154 and a student body of 1,000, the Hebrew Institute of Technology in Haifa, and the School of Law and Economics in Tel Aviv grew up as institutions of higher learning. Reading for Jewish Palestine is supplied by a wide network of dailies and periodicals and a number of publishing houses. The cultural needs of the community are served by three or four theaters, a symphony orchestra, a conservatory of music, and a great number of extension courses, lectures, and the like.

BENEFITS TO THE ARABS

THE Arab League's claim that the Jewish development in Palestine has worked to the detriment of the Arab community is challenged by the report of the Anglo-American Committee, as well as by leading American experts.

The Arab population in Palestine has increased from 589,000 in 1922 to 1,061,000 in 1944. "The extension of the Arab community by natural increase has been in fact one of the most striking features of Palestine social history under the Mandate," reports the Anglo-American Committee.

The high Arab rate of natural increase is accounted for by a fertility which is among the highest recorded in the world and by the disappearance under the Mandate of such counterbalancing factors as conscription for the Ottoman army and a high incidence of malaria. The fact that the rate is still rising seems to be due principally to declining mortality, particularly infant mortality.

Royal Commission Cites Benefits

In 1937 the Peel Commission had called attention to this fact. The network of hospitals, child-welfare centers, and clinics, the establishment of a private water supply, the building of roads, and the renovation of the railroad system were attributed in largest part to the Jews and to the funds placed at their disposition by the Zionist organization and other bodies.

"In fact," said the Peel report, "the establishment of the Jewish National Home has so far been to the economic advantage of the Arabs as a whole."

The large import of Jewish capital into Palestine has had a general fructifying effect on the economic life of the whole country. The expansion of Arab industry and agriculture has been largely financed by the capital thus obtained. Jewish example has done much to improve Arab cultivation, especially of citrus. Owing to Jewish development and enterprise the employment of Arab labor has increased in urban areas, particularly in the ports. The reclamation and anti-malaria work undertaken in Jewish "colonies" have benefited all Arabs in the neighborhood.

Institutions founded with Jewish funds primarily to serve the National Home have also served the Arab population. Hadassah, for example, treats Arabs patients, notably at the Tuberculosis Hospital at Safad, and the Radiology Institute at Jerusalem admits Arab country-folk to the clinics of its Rural Sick Benefit Fund and does much infant-welfare work for Arab mothers.

The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development. A comparison of the census returns in 1922 and 1931 shows that six years ago the increase per cent in Haifa was 86, in Jaffa 62, in Jerusalem 37, while in purely Arab towns such as Nablus and Hebron it was only 7, and at Gaza there was a decrease of 2 per cent.

Opinions of American Experts

Robert R. Nathan, former deputy commissioner of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion and former chairman of the Planning Committee of the War Production board; Oscar Gass, former economist of the Treasury Department; and Daniel Creamer, economic expert for the Department of Commerce, spent two years of exhaustive research in Palestine, Europe, and the United States on the present and future outlook of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. Their conclusions were presented in a volume entitled "Palestine: Problem and Promise," published in 1946, in which they declare:

Zionist reconstruction has brought the Arabs of Palestine a higher standard of living than is found elsewhere in the Arab Middle East. Jewish demand has provided an important market for Arab agriculture, and Jewish enterprises have provided some employment for Arab labor. Jews paid Arabs perhaps £P 15,000,000 for the 380,000 acres of land (6 per cent of the area of Palestine) in Jewish ownership at the end of 1943. Jewish tax payments have been the principal support of the services in health, education, agriculture, and public roads furnished to the Arabs by the government of Palestine. The Arabs are healthier, longer-lived, and more numerous because of Jewish accomplishments.

In fact, they say:

No reliance can be placed upon the prospects of inducing the Arabs of Palestine to leave the country and migrate voluntarily to the non-populated areas of Transjordan, Syria, and Iraq. Only the most lavish compensation would induce any substantial number of Arabs to go to countries with a lower standard of living.

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States, in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise," points out that wages for Arabs in Palestine are three times those in Iraq. He says:

The beneficial effects of Jewish colonization is evidenced by the figures in Arab emigration from Palestine and neighboring countries. During 1929-1930, 9,500 Arabs migrated from Syria and Lebanon to Central and South America—seven times the number of those who emigrated from Palestine. Since the Arab population of Syria and Lebanon, is only three times as large as that of Palestine, there was proportionately twice as much emigration from these countries as from Palestine. In 1939, the demand for visas to America from Syria and Lebanon was about ten times that from Palestine.

Refuting the charges that the Jewish development has produced a landless class of fellahin, Dr. Lowdermilk points out that the total amount of land bought by the Jews "is comparatively small . . . only about 6 per cent of Palestine's 26,000,000 dunams. Most of this land was originally covered with swamps or rocks and considered unsuitable to cultivation; less than one-quarter of it was actually cultivated by the Arabs."

ARABS AND JEWS IN TWO WARS

THE record of the Arabs in and out of Palestine and of the Jews throughout the world in both wars discloses the sharpest contrast.

In World War I, in the course of which Palestine and the Arab states were freed from the Ottoman Empire, the record shows that whereas "practically the whole available Jewish youth of the colonies [in Palestine] and many of the townsmen of military age came forward for voluntary enlistment in the Jewish battalions, only 150 Arabs were recruited from Palestine out of a population ten times the size of the Jews." Moreover, said Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, "the Arab revolt in World War I cost British taxpayers eleven million pounds, one million of which went to King Hussein of the Hejaz."

Outside of Palestine Jews constituted 2½ per cent of the 42,000,000 men in the Allied forces, more than twice their proportion of the population in the Allied countries. Of the 1,055,600 Jews who fought in World War I, 116,825 were killed.

Jewish Contribution in World War II

In World War II, 1,300,000 Jews were in uniform in the armed forces of the United Nations: 550,000 Jewish men and women served in the armed forces of the United States; 500,000 in the armed forces of the Soviet Union; 65,000 in the armed forces of Britain.

In Palestine 85,800 men and 50,400 women volunteered for war service; 27,028 Palestine Jews served with the British forces in Palestine and France, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Liberia, Greece, Crete, Iraq, Italy, Austria, and the Low Countries. Sixty units of Royal Engineers, transportation, ordnance, electrical, and mechanical services served and ranked high in the estimation of their respective commands. Selected civilian volunteers carried out secret raids in the Middle East and parachute missions in enemy Europe. Half of them lost their lives.

When, as the Anglo-American Committee points out, "the spread of the war zone to the Middle East converted Palestine into a base as well as an arsenal" and "large numbers of troops had to be quartered there," the Jewish community of Palestine furnished the skill, the inventiveness, and the energy to provide for the needs not only of Palestine but of the surrounding countries. The report continues:

Supplies of food and other necessities of life and of war materials had to be provided locally or imported where possible from neighboring Middle East countries, themselves subjected by the same combination of causes to severe economic pressure. Existing industries were re-directed, as far and as fast as possible, into war production. Established undertakings were enlarged and new ones were set up, with government support, in order to contribute to the needs of the military campaign and build up a higher degree of self-sufficiency. In this development the variety of manufactures was broadened to include a number of more complicated mechanical and chemical processes.

Thus Palestine became an important source of supply of manufactured goods not only for military purposes throughout the area but for civilian needs in surrounding countries. The skill and inventiveness of the Jewish immigrants of pre-war years proved an invaluable asset, and the directed effort was supported by the Jewish Agency and the other established organs of Jewish settlement.

Jewish industry increased by over 100 per cent in order to meet the needs of the war. Six hundred new enterprises were established for this purpose; new products, essential for the war effort, were produced.

Arab Role in World War II

In World War II the Arab community of Palestine assumed a most indifferent attitude. The Arab states were in largest part pro-Axis, and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, still the most popular leader of Palestine Arabs, played an active role as an ally of the Axis.

Concerning the attitude of the Arab community in Palestine toward the war effort, the Anglo-American Committee said:

The Arab community in Palestine, though showing few signs of actual disaffection and offering slight response to Axis propaganda, showed itself largely indifferent to the outcome of the war. Out of a population twice as large as the Jewish, only 12,445 persons were recruited for military service, a figure less than half the Jewish total.

This number was reduced by 50 per cent through desertions and discharges before the war ended.

Of the Arab states only Transjordan declared war on Germany in 1939, and this could be attributed to the fact that the country, a British mandate, was still dependent on grants and aid from the British government.

Iraq declared war in January, 1943, after it was clear that the Nazis were losing.

Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Lebanon failed to declare war on Germany until February, 1945, three months before the war actually ended and when the victory of the Allies was certain. Even these declarations of war involved no direct part in military operations and were authorized only in order to qualify for membership in the United Nations, admission to which required a declaration of war before March 1, 1945.

The Iraqi Revolt

In April, 1941, the government of Iraq, under the leadership of Rashid Ali el Kailani, launched a revolt against the British, and on May 2, 1941, formally declared war on Great Britain.

The Iraqi revolt, fundamental to German strategy, took place at a time when the outlook for the British was darkest.

For two months a precarious battle raged. German and Italian airplanes, refueled in Syria, entered the fight. General Dentz, Vichy High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon, following the instructions of the Italo-German Armistice Commission, rushed trainloads of French arms to Iraq. At the same time the ex-Mufti, working in cooperation with the

Iraqi military forces, mobilized into activity the subversive elements throughout the Middle East. Because the Greek and British resistance in Greece and Crete held up the German armies, the Nazis were prevented from transporting reinforcements of men and material to Iraq. As a result the British were able to quell the revolt.

Other Arab States Support Iraq Revolt

The Iraqi revolt evoked sympathy in other Arab countries. Farouk, then and now King of Egypt, sent a telegram of congratulations to the rebel Iraqi Regent, Sharif Sharaf.

Hashim Atasi, President of the Syrian Republic from 1936 to 1939 and one of the leaders of the National Bloc (the party now in power in Syria), not only sent congratulations but called upon the Syrians to assist the Iraqi.

Riad as-Sulh, who subsequently served as the Premier of Lebanon from 1943 to 1944, and is now again Premier and was a member of the Lebanese delegation to the United Nations in 1946, also congratulated the rebels.

The Iraqi revolt was reflected in a mutiny against the British by the Transjordan frontier force, reacting to German propaganda. The Palestine Arabs made their contribution through the participation of their émigré leaders in Iraq.

In Syria and Lebanon Arab Nazi organizations flourished throughout the entire period of the Nazi development. Among these organizations were the Iron Shirts, the An-Nadi al-Arabi Club of Damascus, the Council for the Defense of Arab Palestine, the Syrian Popular Party, the National Bloc, and the Istiqlal Club. Baldur von Schirach, head of the Hitler Youth Movement, visited Syria and established close contact with the An-Nadi al-Arabi group and with the Arab youth organizations.

The Mufti's Complicity

The extent of the Mufti's role in the Iraqi revolt was described in a report of the British General Intelligence Service dated December 1, 1941. The report stated:

THE GRAND MUFTI IN WORLD WAR II

HAJ AMIN EL-HUSSEINI, the most powerful leader of the Palestine Arabs, has a long-time record of complicity with terrorism. Responsible for the Arab riots in Palestine in 1920, he fled to Transjordan to escape a ten-year sentence of imprisonment, to return to Palestine only after complete amnesty had been granted.

In 1922 he became the Mufti of Jerusalem and later the President of the Supreme Moslem Council, during which period he had at his disposal more than £100,000 a year.

The Shaw commission, appointed by the British government to investigate the 1929 riots, attributed to the Mufti a share in the responsibility for these riots, in which 133 Jews were killed and 239 wounded. No action was taken to curb his activities, with the result that in 1936 he again was responsible for new attacks upon the Jews of Palestine. At the same time he caused the assassination of hundreds of prominent Arabs, including twenty-four leading Palestine Arabs who refused to accept his leadership.

The ex-Mufti commenced his political activities without check from the first day of his arrival in the country. In these activities he was encouraged by the reception he was accorded on all sides, including parties given by responsible ministers and Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister himself.

The ex-Mufti soon had his old Palestine "Headquarters" established and modified to suit the new conditions under which he was working. Jamal Husseini was his Chief of Staff. Shaikh Hassan abu Saud was the Islamic religious adviser and expert. Musa bey al'Alami was the legal adviser and critic on Occidental affairs and, with the authority of his background, he spoke convincingly to responsible and willing listeners on the "British injustices." Fawzi al Quokji was the military member and contacted the Iraqi army, raising from this source arms and ammunition and the facilities to train men for guerrilla warfare. Salim Abdur Rahman was press officer and publicist. Ishaq, Munif, Musa and Towfiq Saleh al Husseini, Emil Ghorri, Izzat Darwaza, Ibrahim Darwish, Izzuddin ash Shawa, and others formed the foreign-relations committee who were responsible for propaganda, intrigue, and subversive activities inside and outside Iraq.

The ex-Mufti held the money bags and paid these, as well as many other refugees, their allowances, as most had no other livelihood but what they were paid from this source. The ex-Mufti's funds for this purpose were considerable, and it is known that he was voted ID. 18,000 by the Iraqi Parliament, was paid ID. 1,000 a month from Iraqi service funds, was paid 2 per cent of the salary of every Iraqi government official, including the military and police (all stopped at source), considerable sums raised by the Palestine Defense Society, by the Red Crescent Society, and through public collections. In addition, authoritative sources now claim he was paid ID. 60,000 by the Germans and ID. 40,000 by the Italians; he also raised other moneys from outside Iraq—including generous gifts from Ibn Saud and Egypt. This money enabled him, his followers, and even Syrian political reactionaries to live in affluence, many owning cars and keeping up reasonable establishments. Several were beyond doubt also getting additional allowances from Axis sources.

The captured files of the German High Command in Flensburg at the war's end reveal that the Arab riots of 1936 in Palestine were carried out by the Mufti with funds supplied by the Nazis. The report found in the files states: "Only through funds made available by Germany to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was it possible to carry out the revolt in Palestine."

After his escape from Palestine to Syria and later to Iraq he and his henchmen were directly responsible for the anti-Jewish pogrom, in which almost four hundred Jewish men, women, and children were stabbed or brutally clubbed to death in the streets of Bagdad.

After the failure of the Iraqi revolt the Mufti escaped to Teheran and found refuge in the Japanese embassy. From there he escaped to Italy. In October of 1941 he conferred with Mussolini, Ciano, and Dino Alfieri. From Rome he communicated with Balkan Moslems under Italian rule in Yugoslavia and Albania.

Agent of the Axis

In December, 1941, he went to Berlin. The Nazis established a special office for him in Berlin entitled "Buro des Grosmufti," with branches organized later in other parts of Germany and Italy. His activities included propaganda, espionage, organization of Moslem military units in Axis-occupied countries and in North Africa and Russia, establishment of Arab legions in an Arab brigade, and organization of fifth-column activities in the Middle East, including sabotage and parachutist expeditions.

In the course of his propaganda work the Grand Mufti had at his disposal not only the German-controlled radio but radio stations in Bari, Rome, Tokyo, and Athens. In addition, he was responsible for sending to the Middle East various propaganda publications in Arabic.

His espionage service extended throughout the Middle East. He had a sub-office in Geneva linking him to Egypt and Turkey, and another in Istanbul, branching out all along the Syrian-Turkish frontier in Mersine, Alexandretta, Antioch, Adana, and Diarbekr. These stations received information directly from the Mufti's agent's in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, and maintained close contact with members of the German Intelligence in Turkey.

In Athens the Mufti established a parachutist and sabotage school for Arabs.

At The Hague, under his direction, Arab students were trained in wireless transmission, high explosives, and demolitions. The Mufti's agents were parachuted into Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. A number of them were caught by the British. On a number of occasions these agents, with the help of local Arabs, cut telephone and pipe lines in Transjordan and Palestine and sabotaged railways and bridges in Iraq.

Another of the Mufti's accomplishments was the organization of Moslem military units. He attempted to recruit for the German military command some 500,000 soldiers from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. In Asiatic Russia he collaborated with Moslem Russian quislings and White Russian traitors, whom he helped to form pro-Axis legions.

In 1942 he started to organize Axis Arab legions of Arab students in Germany and Arab prisoners of war who had followed him to Germany. His legionnaires wore the German uniform with "Free Arabia" patches on their shoulders.

After the Jewish Brigade had been recognized by Winston Churchill in 1944, the Mufti on November 2, with the consent of Ribbentrop, called upon all Arabs in Germany hailing from Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, and Syria to join an Arab Brigade.

Accepting a proposal of the Japanese that he broadcast to Moslems in the South Pacific and India, the Mufti recorded numerous broadcasts which were beamed to India, Indonesia, and Java.

On September 3, 1941, Major General Erwin Lahousen, one of the top officials of the Abwehr, whose secret diary was among the captured German documents, wrote:

The Grand Mufti, who left Iraq to go to Iran, is currently in connection with the Abwehr II [sabotage division of the Abwehr]. According to reports from Teheran he is safe with the Japanese envoy.

A year later, on July 13, 1942, Lahousen made the further entry:

A meeting between the chief of the Abwehr and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem took place in the apartment of the chief. I [Lahousen] took part in the discussion. The Mufti made an offer to the chief that the followers of the Arabian Freedom Movement, which was led by him, as well as the followers of the former Iraq Prime Minister, Kailani [leader of the Iraqi revolt against Britain], were to be used for purposes of sabotage and sedition in the Near East in accordance with the purposes of Abwehr II.

The Mufti and Russian Quislings

Edgar Mowrer, in an article in the *New York Post*, revealed the efforts of the Grand Mufti against the Soviet Union. Mr. Mowrer's report was based on private and official papers left behind by the Mufti in his villas at Oybin and Bad Gastein, captured files of the Gestapo and the German Foreign Office, and the files of the Allied Military Tribunal at Nürnberg.

Mr. Mowrer revealed that the Grand Mufti in a series of anti-Russian broadcasts attempted to incite the Moslems of the Caucasus and eastern Russia to turn against Moscow and join the Axis. Mowrer reports that the Mufti was in close contact with numerous Asiatic Russian quislings, including Abbas Ali Dudanginski, chief of the "Azerbaijan Axis Legion."

The American legation in Berne, Switzerland, on November 16, 1943, in a dispatch to the Secretary of State of the United States confirmed the activities of Dudaginski.

Berlin dispatch November 8 reports meeting there of Azerbaijan conference attended by all Azerbaijan groups under leadership Dudanginski Major Azerbaijan Legion, and by Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and representatives of German state and army and people of Caucasus, Urals, and Turkestan. Conference described as symbolizing expansion of anti-Bolshevik front and emphasizing readiness of Azerbaijan people to fight on German side. First Azerbaijan field battalions steadily active on front for over one year proved their valor during this period were included in German storm troops and decorated by German army (*signed*—Harrison).

Mufti's Role in Extermination of the Jews

That the former Grand Mufti was responsible in large part for the Nazi program of extermination of the Jews was revealed by Edgar Mowrer and confirmed by Bartley Crum in the course of his investigations as a member of the Anglo-American Committee. Discussing his examination of the archives of the Allied Tribunal at Nürnberg, Mr. Crum says:

I saw another document—a deposition of Dr. Rudolph Kasztner, a Hungarian Jew, who conducted negotiations with the Nazis in an attempt to ransom Hungarian Jews. Many of these dealings were with Adolf Eichmann, the Gestapo specialist in Jewish affairs, who had been the confidant of the Mufti. During his negotiations Dr. Kasztner spoke frequently with one Dieter von Wisliczeny. Von Wisliczeny was at this moment held in a cell in Nürnberg as a war criminal and an important witness. "The Grand Mufti," he said, "has repeatedly suggested to the Nazi authorities—including Hitler, von Ribbentrop, and Himmler—the extermination of European Jewry." The Mufti told Wisliczeny that he "considered this a comfortable solution to the Palestine problem." And Nazi

records show that, accompanied by Eichmann, the Grand Mufti, incognito, visited the gas chambers of Auschwitz, where hundreds of thousands of Jews were exterminated. Hitler had instructed that in any ransoming of concentration-camp inmates no Jews were to be included because an agreement had been reached with the Mufti that all Jews be exterminated. I also learned that the Hitler-Mufti agreement included relegation of Ibn Saud to secondary importance by making the Mufti the supreme head of a new Pan-Islam. This became clear as I read on. It was the Mufti who insisted to the Nazi leaders that no matter what deals were made, no matter what moneys were paid for the ransom of the Jews, no Jews should be permitted to go to Palestine. Negotiations were under way at that time for the ransom of the Jewish community of Bratislava. These negotiations broke down because the Mufti refused to countenance their being ransomed, and as a result the entire community was liquidated.

Other letters of the Mufti showed that he encouraged the deportation of European Jews to Polish extermination camps. On June 5, 1943, he protested to the Prime Minister of Bulgaria against a plan by the Bulgarian government allowing emigration of 4,000 Jewish children. These children, he argued, presented "a degree of danger to Bulgaria whether they be kept in Bulgaria or be permitted to depart from that country." Instead, he said, they should be sent to a place in which they would be "under stringent control—as, for instance, Poland." The Mufti's protest was successful. No children's transport left Bulgaria after July, 1943. . . .

On July 27, 1944, the Mufti wrote to Heinrich Himmler. Von Ribbentrop and Himmler were too lenient toward the Jews, he declared, because though he had protested to both of them on July 5, 1944, some Jews had been permitted to depart from Germany. "If such practices continue," the Mufti wrote, they will certainly be "incomprehensible to Arabs and Moslems and provoke a feeling of disappointment in them," and he warned that such practices might also encourage the Balkan states to permit Jewish emigration.

Grand Mufti's Escape from France to Egypt

The Grand Mufti, who had been held in forced residence in France at the war's end, found it possible to escape on May 29, 1946, despite the fact that on May 8 it was announced that France had agreed to see that he did not leave for any country in the Middle East.

When news of this flight reached the world early in June, the British put on a great show of making a search for him to insure that he would not settle in the Middle East. On June 9 the Grand Mufti arrived in Damascus. From Damascus he moved to Cairo and was granted asylum by King Farouk, by whom he was received. A month later the Mufti moved from King Farouk's palace in Cairo to one of his villas in Alexandria. In addition to granting asylum King Farouk supplied the Mufti with special liaison officers and the Arab League supplied him with funds.

Under the pressure of the British the Egyptian government requested the Mufti to refrain from participating in politics. But within a few months, as the result of protests in the Arab press, the restrictions were lifted, and the Mufti resumed his role as leader of the Palestine Arabs and unofficial head of the Arab League. The record of the Grand Mufti has lost him no followers. Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, presented a written statement to the Anglo-American Committee which began with the declaration that the Mufti alone could speak truly for the people of Palestine. Moreover, Husseini opened his oral testimony with the statement: "We find ourselves in this inquiry deprived of the presence of our first leader, the Grand Mufti, for whom we can accept no substitute."

Asked about the attitude of the Arabs to the Mufti's war record, Jamal replied: "The Grand Mufti in Germany was working for the interests not of the English, who were warring with the Germans, but of his people, who had no direct interest at least in the controversy."

BRITAIN AND THE ARAB LEAGUE

IN FEBRUARY, 1945, a conference of the Arab states was held and a covenant signed. The signatories were representatives of the governments of Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen. Each country was given a single vote in the organization, and Palestine was left for a representative of the Palestine Arabs.

The conference adopted the following resolution with respect to Palestine:

At the end of the last war Palestine, like the other Arab states detached from the Ottoman Empire, was liberated from Ottoman domination. Having become autonomous, she was no longer dependent on any other state.

The Treaty of Lausanne proclaimed that her fate would be settled by the interested parties. But if Palestine has not been able to order her own destiny, it is nevertheless true that it is on the basis of the recognition of her independence that the Covenant of the League of Nations in 1919 settled her status.

Her international existence and independence therefore cannot de jure be questioned any more than can the independence of any other Arab country.

If, for reasons beyond her will, her independence has failed to materialize, this circumstance cannot constitute an obstacle to the participation of Palestine in the work of the Council of the League.

The state signatories of the present Covenant consider that, under these conditions and by reason of the special circumstances involving Palestine, until that country can exercise all the effective attributes of her independence, it behooves the Council of the League to designate an Arab representative from Palestine who will participate in its work.

The existence of the Arab League was officially registered at the organizing conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Since its creation, all its energies have been devoted to fighting the implementation of the Palestine Mandate.

The formation of the Arab League was the culmination of more than four years of effort which had been encouraged by Anthony Eden. A statement made by Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, on May 29, 1941, stated:

... It seems to me both natural and right that the cultural and economic ties between the Arab countries and the political ties, too, should be strengthened. His Majesty's Government for their part will give their full support to any scheme that commands general approval.

In the preliminary discussions, negotiations, and conferences leading up to the formation of the Arab League, a number of British officials were involved. Since its formal establishment Great Britain has recognized the League and its purposes by inviting it to participate in the various conferences on Palestine.

The Mufti and the Arab League

The Arab League backed an effort to bring about the release and reinstatement of the Mufti long before his escape from protective custody in France.

When the British failed to indict the Grand Mufti as a war criminal, the Arab League decided officially to request his release. After the Mufti escaped from Paris, members of the League discussed Palestinian problems with him in Bludan, Lebanon, in June, 1946. As a result of this conference, it was decided to reorganize the Palestine "Arab Higher Committee" and to leave the position of chairman

vacant for the Mufti. Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the Higher Committee, attends the meetings of the Arab League but he receives his instructions from the Mufti. Exiled Rhodesia by the British for four years as a dangerous pro-Nazi leader, Jamal was permitted to return to Palestine where he resumed his activities.

On August 15, 1946, the Mufti conferred with the Foreign Ministers of the Arab states and became the actual though not the official, leader of the Arab League. On September 30 an Associated Press dispatch from Jerusalem stated that "an Arab shadow government had been organized in Alexandria, with the Grand Mufti as the president of the republic; the shadow government presumably had a premier, ministers of state and of war, and a treasurer."

The importance of the Mufti may be gauged from the fact that immediately after his escape the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, joined by the member states of the Arab League, began insistent agitation to demand that an invitation be extended by the British to the Grand Mufti to attend the London Conference on Palestine. The British finally decided to refuse to admit the Mufti, whereupon the Palestine Arab Higher Committee announced that it would refuse to go to the conference and would ask the Arab League to abstain as well—a threat it did not keep.

On December 13, 1946, Jamal el Husseini announced that the Arab League had demanded that Great Britain permit the return of the Grand Mufti to Palestine.

BRITISH LABOR'S PLEDGES ON PALESTINE

SINCE 1917 the British Labor Party at successive conferences, has taken a firm stand in favor of the Jewish National Home and the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish commonwealth. The party and its leading spokesmen have consistently attacked the efforts of various administrations to whittle down the Mandate and its importance.

Pre-Election Pledges

In December, 1944, when the Labor Party prepared its proposals with respect to the international post-war settlement, it adopted a plank calling for the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and favoring the National Home. In this plank the Labor Party even suggested the possibility of extending the boundaries of Palestine. It set forth its position as follows:

There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There is a strong case here, based on human grounds, for promoting stable settlement on the one hand and for the transfer of population on the other hand. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land, and their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they should not seek to exclude Jews from this small area of Palestine by agreement with Egypt, Syria, or Transjordan. Moreover, we should

seek to win the full sympathy and support of both the American and Russian governments for the execution of this Palestine policy.

A year later, in April, 1945, the National Executive Committee adopted a resolution on Palestine which became one of its election planks, declaring:

The committee reaffirms the policy accepted by the annual conference in December, 1944, in regard to Palestine. It therefore calls upon the British government to remove the present unjustifiable barriers on immigration and to announce without delay proposals for a future Palestine in which it has the full sympathy and support of the American and Russian governments.

The resolutions of 1944 and 1945 expressed a policy advocated consistently since the granting of the Balfour Declaration.

Fought White Paper of 1939

In 1939, when the Chamberlain government adopted the White Paper limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine and restricting land purchase, the Labor Party conference adopted a resolution scoring this action on the grounds that it violated "the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate." It charged that "the White Paper represents a further surrender to aggression, places a premium on violence and terror, and is a setback to the progressive forces among both Arabs and Jews. It also im-

new and intolerable restrictions on Jewish immigration at a moment when racial persecution increasingly divides the other countries of the world into those which Jews are forbidden to enter and those in which they find it impossible to live."

In the same resolution the Labor Party reaffirmed its traditional support for the establishment of the Jewish National Home and called on the government to rescind the White Paper.

Promised Jewish State at War's End

Throughout the war period the Labor Party at successive conferences emphasized its historic position in Palestine. Thus at the Labor Party conference in 1940 a resolution was adopted declaring that "in order to remove the root cause of Jewish suffering, and to insure the existence and free development of the Jewish people, international assistance should be given for the continued growth of the Jewish

National Home in Palestine by immigration and settlement. The Jewish people should be allowed to make the most of the economic capacity of the country to absorb the immigrants."

In the same resolution the White Paper of 1939 was attacked and the Parliamentary Labor Party instructed to continue to fight against it.

In 1941 the Labor Party went a step farther. The annual conference asked that "the Jewish Agency be given authority to make the fullest use of the economic capacity of the country to absorb immigrants and to develop the country, including the development of unoccupied and undeveloped lands. It demands for the Jewish people equal status among the free nations of the world."

In spite of its consistent and outspoken position on Palestine, the Labor Party since it came to power in 1945 has about-faced and made the White Paper of 1939 the basis of its policy.

OIL, COMMUNICATIONS, AND BASES

WITH nationalism rising in all parts of the Empire and the threat of rival interests gaining a foothold in the Middle East, British government leaders have been afraid to cut loose from men and policies which in the past they have strongly opposed. The imminent withdrawal of British forces from Egypt has made Palestine even more important than before as a strategic area, both in relation to oil and to the defense of the Suez Canal.

To protect this key position, the Labor government has continued the Tory policy of placating and supporting the Arab rulers and in so doing has violated its pledge to the Jews of Palestine and its obligation to the displaced Jews of Europe.

In a debate in the House of Commons on July 3, 1946, Winston Churchill charged that the controversy over Palestine was born of the desire of the Labor government, in the light of "its precipitate abandonment of its treaty rights in Egypt, to look for a jumping off ground in Palestine in order to protect the Canal from outside Egypt. Now, apparently, the one place where we are at all costs and all inconveniences to hold on and fight it out to the death is Palestine. And we are to be at war with the Jews in Palestine, and, necessary, with the Arabs of Palestine—for what reason? Not, all the world will state, for the faithful dispatch of our long mission, but because we have need . . . to secure satisfactory strategic base from which to pursue our imperial aims."

Richard Crossman, British M. P., has also charged that the current policy of the British government is related to its desire for a military base in Palestine, particularly in view of the unwillingness of the Egyptian nationalists "to permit any arrangement under which Britain could use Egypt as base in the event of a threat to British interests in Persia or Iraq."

What these interests are Mr. Crossman explains in his recent book, "Palestine Mission."

For Britain [he says] Mosul and Abadan are not merely an important supplement to existing domestic supplies. They are her major source of oil; and both are dangerously exposed, both strategically and politically. Politically, because the oil fields are in countries which do not belong to Britain; a hostile power therefore, by ideological warfare, can easily exploit the natural hatred of foreign capitalists. Strategically, because the oil fields lie at the end of long lines of communication across the territory of independent Arab states. Though Suez has become of second importance to British strategy, Mosul and Abadan have become essential to British independence in peace as well as in war.

The determination of Britain to maintain its foothold in the Middle East is illustrated by its actions in the course of the past year in regard to the three Arab states of Transjordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.

Only such a purpose can explain why the British armed forces in Palestine now number 120,000. In contrast, British military strength in Palestine in 1935 was 2,000, in 1930 5,500, and even during the war, never in excess of 25,000.

British Base in Transjordan

In January, 1946, Great Britain, without the consent of the United Nations, announced the independence of Transjordan, which since 1922 had been governed under the Palestine Mandate. On March 22, the British announced the conclusion of a treaty of alliance with Transjordan which recognized that country as an independent kingdom and the Emir Abdullah as its sovereign. In an annex to the treaty provision is made for British bases in Transjordan and the training of the armed forces of that country.

Article 1 provides also that Great Britain "may station forces in Transjordan in places where they are stationed at the date of signature of the present treaty, and in such other places as may be agreed upon, and His Highness the Emir will provide all the facilities necessary for their accommoda-

tion and maintenance and the storage of their ammunition and supplies, including the lease of any land required. Any private rights on such land will, if necessary, be expropriated."

Article 2 stipulates that the Emir of Transjordan "will grant facilities at all times for the movement and training of the armed forces of His Majesty the King, and for the transport of the supplies of fuel, ordnance, ammunition, and other materials required by these forces, by air, road, railway, waterway, and pipe line and through the ports of Transjordan." Article 3 provides that "the armed forces of His Majesty the King will have the right to use their own systems of signal communication, including wireless."

In Article 8 the British government undertakes to defray "the cost of the military units of the Emir's forces, and the strength of such units will be agreed upon annually" between the two governments.

In addition, the British government undertakes to "provide any British officers whose services are required to insure the efficiency of the military units of the Emir's forces."

On April 2 the Lebanese delegation to the Arab League protested to the Council of the League against the treaty between Transjordan and Great Britain on the score that "at a time when other Arab states are seeking to rid themselves of foreign military forces Transjordan has made concessions to Britain that will be dangerous to her neighbors and harmful to the Arab cause as a whole."

British Arrangements in Iraq and Arabia

In Iraq, which was declared free of the British Mandate in 1932, an Anglo-Iraqi treaty gives Britain air bases, facilities for moving troops and supplies, the right to supply foreign military and civilian advisers and technicians, joint control of the British-built Iraqi railways and port of Basra, and the right to move in troops if war threatens.

The British occupy the key posts in the economy of the country. An Englishman is Acting Controller of Currency and Exchange Control Director. Iraq's foreign trade is controlled in the interests of British exports.

On August 4, 1946, although the treaty provides for the movement of British troops only if war is threatened, the Iraqi government approved a British request to send troops to Basra from India.

That British military supervision "will soon be extended to Saudi Arabia" is indicated in a dispatch printed on January 14, 1947, in the *New York Times*, which stated: "Authoritative quarters [in Cairo] confirmed today that Britain was sending a military mission to Saudi Arabia to organize legions in that country." The mission has undertaken to train and equip Saudi Arabian forces, now numbering 25,000. This is the area where the United States has its richest oil concessions.

Anglo-American Oil Union

A joint Anglo-American political and military policy is a distinct possibility as a result of merged economic interests in the Middle East. A world monopoly on oil is being established by British and American interests, with the participation of the British government and the knowledge and consent of the American government.

Today British and American interests jointly control 42 per cent of the world's oil resources; 42 per cent of the resources are to be found in the Middle East. Five American companies and two British companies, in which Royal Dutch Shell [in which British interests are dominant] has a minority interest, are involved in this combine, which has been in process of formation since the early days of the war and which completed its arrangements in December, 1946.

Iran: The exclusive concession to the oil deposits of Iranian and Kuwait fields is held by the Anglo-Iranian Company, which also owns the Abadan refinery, the largest refinery east of the Suez. The British government owns 50 per cent of the shares of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The Gulf Oil Company of the United States owns 50 per cent of the Kuwait concession.

Iraq: The Iraq Petroleum Company holds the exclusive concession to the oil fields of Iraq, Qatar (now about to be developed), the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Oman. It owns 1,200 miles of pipe line with terminuses at Haifa and Tripoli. The Iraq Petroleum Company is held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, of which the British government is the principal stockholder. Royal Dutch Shell holds a 23 3/4 per cent interest in the company, French interests 23 3/4 per cent; Socony-Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey own approximately 25 per cent of the Iraq Petroleum Company and all its products.

British interests in the Iraq Petroleum Company also own the Haifa refinery, with its 80,000-barrel capacity. Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum have a 30 per cent right to the Haifa capacity.

On July 31, 1928, British, Dutch, French, and American interests, the latter through the Near East Development Corporation representing Socony-Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey, agreed that the participants in the Iraq Petroleum Company would act only through joint operating companies in all matters pertaining to the exploration and production of crude oil within the defined area. This defined area referred to most of the old Ottoman Empire. This has since come to be known as the Red Line agreement.

Saudi Arabia: The Saudi Arabian concessions are owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company, each of which has a 50 per cent interest. The same companies own the concession at Bahrain Island, as well as its refinery.

On December 26, 1946, an agreement was announced under which the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Company acquired a 40 per cent interest in the Arabian-American Company.

As a result King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia receives monthly royalties annually in the millions, and is reported to have obtained advance payments totaling between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000. Some months earlier, on August 5, 1946, the Import-Export Bank granted a \$10,000,000 credit to Saudi Arabia. The loan was obtained on notes backed by the Arabian-American Oil Company. On January 26, 1947, the *New York Times* dispatch stated that an additional \$5,000,000 had been earmarked for Saudi Arabia by the Import-Export Bank.

On December 26, 1946, it was announced also that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum

gether with the Anglo-Iranian Company, in which the British government owns a 50 per cent interest, would investigate the possibility of constructing a jointly owned pipeline from the Persian Gulf to the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time Standard Oil of New Jersey undertook to buy for the next twenty years a substantial quantity of crude oil from the Anglo-Iranian Company.

Standard of New Jersey was bound by the Red Line agreement, however, not to enter into the Saudi Arabian oil development without sharing the entire enterprise with the Iraq Petroleum Company. British legal experts advised that as much as the French company, which was a partner in the Iraq Petroleum Company, was incorporated in France, the German occupation of France had the effect of dissolving the group agreement. France was thus eliminated and Standard Oil given a green light. However, French interests brought it in Britain to contest this decision, and it now appears that the Arabian-American oil deal will be modified to meet, at least, their legitimate demands under the Red Line agreement.

The Chase National Bank of New York heads a group of American banks which have agreed to make a loan of \$102,000,000 for the further development of the Saudi Arabian concession. The loan, which will extend for a period of ten years, is guaranteed by Standard Oil of New Jersey for the amount of \$76,500,000, and by Socony-Vacuum for the amount of \$25,500,000.

The United States government has given its sanction to these recent developments. The United States needs to secure oil imports, according to a statement made by the State Department on August 17, 1946. It believes that in twenty years there will be such a drop in the oil resources of the United States as to require in the year 1965 imports to the amount of 50 per cent of the country's needs.

It is interesting to explore the reasons why the Iraq Petroleum Company was willing to give up the Red Line agreement and its share in huge profits. Obviously, the British believed that if American investments in the Middle East were sufficiently large, the United States government could protect the interests of its nationals. In effect, it deliberately sacrificed profits from Arabian oil for the support of the United States. Moreover, Britain acquired at the same time needed American dollars for the building of its pipelines through the sale of the Anglo-Iranian oil to the American companies.

American Aviation Interests

Oil is not the only American interest in the Middle East. On November 23, 1946, C. L. Sulzberger, in a dispatch from Baghdad to the New York Times, reported that the United States army "is now developing numerous airports in Dhanan on the Persian Gulf coast of Saudi Arabia into its most important air base in the area of the Middle East. The Dhanan airport will be the only base under direct United States army control between Tripoli, Libya, and Karachi, India."

Under the contract with the government of Saudi Arabia any type of civilian or military aircraft may be based at the field. Although it is planned to turn the base over to Saudi

Arabia eventually, the contract has a clause guaranteeing future preferred rights to the United States. The American army has landing rights at Payne Field in Cairo, which was turned over to the Egyptian government by the United States.

According to James Landis, now the head of the Civil Aeronautical Authority and formerly United States Middle East economic representative, "No all-weather round-the-world route can be developed without the Middle East." Writing in the September, 1945, issue of *Fortune*, Mr. Landis further pointed out:

But thus far our rights to fly and land, even to use what we have built, rest everywhere on the most tenuous of war-time easements. Moreover, to reach around the world, or to reach eastward to China and the Pacific by water, we require free and untrammelled access to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea . . . American airplanes fly almost every route in the Middle East, and either directly, or through lend-lease, millions of American dollars have been spent in costly air installations.

The relationship of commercial air transportation to war preparation hardly needs to be stressed.

Who Benefits from the Oil Concessions?

Although millions of dollars are being poured into the Middle East and billions taken out in profits, the economy of the region is still based on a feudal land system which keeps the populations in a state of destitution, ignorance, and misery. Two per cent of the population controls the wealth and the power of all the Arab states.

In *Egypt*, with its territory of 386,000 square miles and a population of over 18,000,000, some 80 per cent of the people live under conditions of slow starvation. The great majority are infected with parasitic diseases which stunt the mind and body. Nine-tenths of the population suffers from trachoma and other serious eye diseases. Three-quarters of the population is affected by bilharzia and ancylostomiasis. In 1940 less than one-half of one per cent of Egypt's land-owners owned 37 per cent of the land.

In *Iraq* a population of 3,000,000 occupies an area of 175,000 square miles of great potential productivity. The majority of the population lives under the most primitive conditions, 80 per cent below the theoretical subsistence level. Ninety-five per cent is illiterate. Infant mortality up to the age of five is over 50 per cent. Despite the role of the oil industry in absorbing industrial labor, little more than one-half of one per cent of the population is employed in industry. The fellahin are insolvent, and archaic methods of land tenure are still in force.

In *Saudi Arabia* King Ibn Saud is an absolute monarch. In *Transjordan*, the Emir Abdullah also has unlimited power, except for the checks applied by the British. Neither country provides a decent standard of life for its people.

In all the Arab states modern industry has made only a feeble beginning, and there is the same range from the abject poverty of the masses to the great wealth of the very few as exists most spectacularly in Egypt. Hundreds of millions of dollars poured into Arab lands through oil royalties are the exclusive property of kings, sheiks, and effendis, without benefit to the Arab masses.

AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

THE United States played a primary role in the events leading up to and following the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. In fact, the Balfour Declaration was submitted to President Wilson for his approval in advance of its publication.

Since the time of Wilson other Presidents of the United States, successive sessions of Congress, and leaders in the national life of the country have indorsed the purpose of the Mandate. This indorsement reached its clearest expression in 1944, when both the Democratic and Republican parties incorporated into their platforms resolutions favoring the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Resolutions of Both Parties

On June 27, 1944, the Republican National Convention adopted the following resolution:

In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women, and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922 Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate while he pretends to support them.

On July 24, 1944, the Democratic National Convention adopted the following resolution:

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Franklin D. Roosevelt on several occasions reaffirmed the interest of the government of the United States in the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. In the midst of the war, in September, 1941, he found time to send a message to the forty-fourth annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, in which he said: "It is hardly necessary for me to say that the threat to Palestine does not differ in essence from the threat to this country. . . . I look forward to the day when the great work which has been accomplished in Palestine may be carried forward in peace and harmony."

President Roosevelt's attitude was stated explicitly in October, 1944, to the forty-seventh annual convention of the Zionist Organization through Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York. In this communication the President said:

Knowing that you are to attend the forty-seventh annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I ask you to convey to the delegates assembled my cordial greetings. Please express my satisfaction that, in accord with the traditional American policy and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July

convention this year included the following plank in its platform: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

One month before his death, on March 16, 1945, President Roosevelt reaffirmed this point of view, declaring: "I maintain my position on Zionism clear in October. That position have not changed, and I shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization."

Attitude of United States Congress

The position of the Congress of the United States has been consistent since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. On September 20, 1922, in a joint resolution, signed by President Harding, Congress declared:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

On December 3, 1924, a convention was signed by the United States and Great Britain in which the United States reaffirmed its indorsement of the Balfour Declaration, accepted the terms of the Mandate for Palestine as defined by the Council of the League of Nations on September 29, 1922, and asserted the rights of the United States with respect to decisions on Palestine as equal to those of the member nations of the League of Nations. Article 7 of this convention provides, "Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be met in the terms of the Mandate as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

On July 2, 1945, a majority of the members of both houses of Congress addressed a communication to the President of the United States in which they urged American assistance in establishing Palestine "as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth" open "to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization."

On December 19, 1945, a concurrent resolution was adopted at the first session of the Seventy-ninth Congress of the United States, declaring:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring): That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development,

so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

That same day the President of the United States received petition from the governors of forty states also urging American support for the establishment of a democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

President Truman's Position

In recognition of Jewish need and the traditional policy of the United States with respect to Palestine, President Truman, immediately after V-E Day in May, 1945, dispatched Earl G. Harrison, American member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and dean of the Pennsylvania Law School, to Europe to make a report on the plight of the Jews. Some months later, Mr. Harrison reported to the President as follows:

The main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-

repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria who wish it to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem for the military authorities who have to deal with it. The army's ability to move millions of people quickly and efficiently has been amply demonstrated. The evacuation of a relatively small number of Jews from Germany and Austria will present no great problem to the military.

On the basis of the Harrison report President Truman, on August 31, 1945, sent a communication to Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, asking him to make available 100,000 Palestine immigration certificates for Jews in the displaced-persons camps. After months of delay the British countered with the suggestion that a Committee of Inquiry be appointed by the United States and British governments. The United States agreed. On November 13, 1945, President Truman announced the establishment of this committee.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE AND WHAT FOLLOWED

ON JANUARY 4, 1946, the committee, consisting of six members representing the United States and six members representing Great Britain, met in Washington and inaugurated a series of public hearings which were later extended to London, the Continent, and Palestine.

Its functions were described as follows:

1. To examine political, economic, and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.

2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.

3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs one and two above, and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the government of the United States for an interim handling of these problems and their permanent solution.

Recommendations of the Committee

On April 20, 1946, the Anglo-American Committee issued from Lausanne, Switzerland, a report on its findings. Its proposals, based on the findings, follow:

Refugee Immigration Into Palestine

We recommend that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit.

Land Policy

We recommend that the Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 be rescinded and replaced by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease, or use of land, irrespective of race, community, or creed, and providing adequate protection for the interests of small owners and tenant cultivators; we further recommend that steps be taken to render nugatory and to prohibit provisions in conveyances, leases, and agreements relating to land which stipulate that only members of one race, community, or creed may be employed on or about or in connection therewith.

No Arab, No Jewish State

In order to dispose, once and for all, of the exclusive claim of Jews and Arabs to Palestine, we regard it as essential that a clear statement of the following principles should be made:

(1) That Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew in Palestine; (2) that Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state; (3) that the form of government ultimately to be established shall, under international guaranties, fully protect and preserve the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths.

Thus Palestine must ultimately become a state which

guards the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews, and Christians alike, and accords to the inhabitants as a whole the fullest measure of self-government consistent with the three paramount principles set forth above. . . .

Mandate and United Nations Trusteeship

We have reached the conclusion that the hostility between Jews and Arabs, and, in particular, the determination of each to achieve domination, if necessary by violence, make it almost certain that now and for some time to come any attempt to establish either as independent Palestinian states would result in civil strife such as might threaten the peace of the world.

We therefore recommend that until this hostility disappears the government of Palestine be continued as at present under mandate pending the execution of a trusteeship agreement under the United Nations.

Arab Needs

Looking toward a form of ultimate self-government consistent with the three principles laid down in Recommendation No. 3, we recommend that the mandatory or trustee should proclaim the principle that Arab economic, educational, and political advancement in Palestine is of equal importance with that of the Jews and should at once prepare measures designed to bridge the gap which now exists and raise the Arab standard of living to that of the Jews, and so bring the two peoples to a full appreciation of their common interest and common destiny in the land where both belong.

Future Immigration Policy

We recommend that pending the early reference to the United Nations and the execution of a trusteeship agreement the mandatory should administer Palestine according to the Mandate, which declares with regard to immigration that "the administration of Palestine, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions.

The well-being of all the people of Palestine, be they Jews, Arabs, or neither, must be the governing consideration. We reject the view that there shall be no further Jewish immigration into Palestine without Arab acquiescence a view which would result in the Arab dominating the Jew. We also reject the insistent Jewish demand that forced Jewish immigration must proceed apace in order to produce as quickly as possible a Jewish majority and a Jewish state. The well-being of the Jews must not be subordinated to that of the Arabs, nor that of the Arabs to the Jews. The well-being of both, the economic situation of Palestine as a whole, the degree of execution of plans for further development, all have to be carefully considered in deciding the number of immigrants for any particular period.

During the London hearings of the Anglo-American Committee a formal luncheon was tendered the members by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. Bartley C. Crum reports that Bevin on this occasion definitely assured the committee he would accept its recommendations if they were unanimous.

On the strength of this promise the committee brought out a unanimous report, although two members, Richard Crossman and Bartley C. Crum, favored partition, while Frank W. Buxton favored the establishment of a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine.

Truman Accepts; Attlee Rejects

When the Anglo-American Committee report was issued President Truman expressed his support of the recommendations with respect to immigration, land restrictions, and the canceling of the White Paper. He reserved judgment on the remainder of the recommendations.

The British government did not accept the provisions of the report. Instead, Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons on May 1, 1946, stated that Great Britain could not undertake to carry out the recommendations single-handed and wanted to know to what extent the United States would "be prepared to share the resulting military and financial responsibilities." He declined to implement that portion of the report calling for the early admission of 100,000 refugee Jews and demanded the disarmament of the Haganah, as well as the Arabs, as a condition precedent to a discussion of the possibility of putting the recommendations into effect.

In a communication to President Truman the British government went beyond the Attlee statement and announced that it would be willing to consider admitting the Jews or if illegal Jewish armies were disbanded before the Jews were permitted to move, and asked whether the United States would share responsibility in disarming these forces.

Committee of Experts Set Up

On June 11, 1946, President Truman created a special Cabinet committee to assist him in formulating and implementing "such policy with regard to Palestine and related problems as may be adopted by this government."

Henry F. Grady of San Francisco was named as an alternate for Secretary Byrnes and left for London with an advisory staff to discuss a plan for Palestine with a similar committee appointed by the British government. This joint body issued what became known as the Morrison-Grady Plan, on July 10, 1946.

While the committee was meeting, President Truman announced that the United States was ready to assume responsibility for transporting 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

Terms of Morrison-Grady Plan

Under the Morrison-Grady Plan four administrative areas were to have been set up. First, a Jewish province consisting of the most highly developed industrial and agricultural Jewish settlements, including Tel-Aviv and other settlements already populated by Jews; second, a Jerusalem district consisting of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and surrounding territory to be administered by the central British government; third, the Negev or south country, a largely uninhabited triangle with its apex on the Gulf of Aqaba and bounded by Sinai desert and Transjordan, to be administered in the immediate future by the British authorities; and, fourth, a province to be known as the Arab province, which would consist of the rest of Palestine.

The Negev area, it was revealed, was to become a base for British military activity in the Middle East.

Under the scheme, two Arab and Jewish provincial governments were to be set up and to include local elected legislatures. The central government—namely, Britain—would

charge of the administration of law and security, for affairs, customs, and taxation. Both Jews and Arabs were to be permitted to admit or exclude as many settlers in their areas as they wished within the absorptive capacity of each province, subject, however, to the approval of the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner, moreover, could veto any legislation in the provincial legislatures. A principal point in the Morrison-Grady Plan was the proposal that the Negev, comprising 45 per cent of Palestine, a likely source of oil, was to become a British reservation, ultimately to be added to either a Jewish or an Arab state. But whatever the disposition of the Negev, the rights were to be retained by Britain in perpetuity. If the scheme was accepted, Herbert Morrison said, 100,000 Jews would be admitted into the country in twelve months.

United States Rejects Plan

The United States, under the plan, was called upon to provide the transportation of refugees, supply two months' food for them, and, in addition, assume financial responsibility for improving the living standards of the Arabs. The United States was expected to assume short-term financial commitments, including the financing of all health services and an educational system for the Arabs comparable to that of the Jews, and the development of light industries and other economic improvements. In addition, the United States was to pay \$300,000,000 to the Arab states, of which \$100,000,000, in the words of Bartley Crum, could be regarded as "an outright bribe to the Arab leaders in Syria, Saudi Arabia, King Abdullah, and all the rest, that should permit Great Britain to permit some Jews to settle what will become a small elongated ghetto." The scheme was rejected by the United States and by the Jews and the Arabs.

George Huthcheson, chairman of the American section of the Anglo-American Committee, called the plan a "com- sell-out—a very pretty, even grandiose sell-out, but a sell-out nevertheless."

Further American Proposals

On October 4, 1946, the President again asked Prime Minister Attlee for the immediate admission of considerable numbers of Jewish displaced persons into Palestine. The request was refused. This refusal was countered with another message from the President reiterating his request. This plea was also refused.

President Truman pointed out that among the members of the major political parties, both in Congress and throughout the country, opposition had developed to the Morrison-Grady Plan and for that reason he "could not give support to the plan." He continued:

The British government presented to the conference the so-called Morrison Plan for provincial autonomy and stated that the conference was open to other proposals. Meanwhile, the Jewish Agency proposed a solution of the Palestine problem by means of the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic activities in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine. It proposed further the immediate

issuance of certificates for 100,000 Jewish immigrants. This proposal received widespread attention in the United States, both in the press and in public forums. From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and good-will. To such a solution our government could give its support. . . .

The President further urged that immigration into Palestine be started promptly and again promised American assistance. He agreed, if this policy was carried out, to recommend to Congress measures liberalizing this country's immigration laws and providing economic help in the development of Palestine.

Truman to Ibn Saud

On October 15, 1946, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, in a letter to President Truman, demanded the stoppage of Jewish immigration, which he chose to call "Zionist aggression."

In reply to this letter, on October 28, President Truman refuted the points raised by Ibn Saud and affirmed American responsibility for seeing to it that the Jewish National Home was established in Palestine. He pointed out that "the Jewish National Home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

Britain's Last Attempt

Subsequent conversations held by Great Britain with Arab and Jewish groups failed to achieve anything, and it was decided by the British government to hold another conference with Arabs and Jews in January, 1947, in London. When the time came, the conference was held with the Arab leaders alone. The representatives of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency refused to attend in view of the lack of advance assurances that the partition proposal favored by them as a possible compromise solution would be fully considered by the British. Informal discussions with the Zionist leaders, however, went on during the entire period of the conference.

The outcome of the conference was a British plan based on a scaled-down version of the Morrison-Grady Plan: it was acceptable to neither party concerned.

On February 26, 1947, the British government made its first advance to the United Nations, requesting an extraordinary session of the Assembly on the Palestine question. By consent of the member nations that session was called for April 28.

British Pressure on Inquiry Committee

That Britain, despite its responsibility for the creation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, was opposed to a settlement favorable to the Jews was made evident to American members of the committee from the very start, and Bartley Crum, in his book, cites numerous instances of this attitude.

Harold Beeley, Near East expert of the British Foreign

Office attached to the committee, now attached to the British delegation at the U. N., told Mr. Crum that the purpose was to reach a solution which would establish an Arab *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union.

One British member described Zionism as Jewish fascism. Another characterized it as communism in disguise. Harold Beeley told Crum "that Britain's honor was at stake. The 1939 White Paper pledged independence to the Arabs in Palestine and we must carry out the pledge."

In London witnesses tried to deny that the pledges of the Labor Party on Palestine were intended to be carried out. General Sir Edward Spears, who in 1942, 1943, and 1944 had been Britain's Minister to Syria and Lebanon, was called as a witness as a so-called expert on Middle Eastern affairs. Spears, who had been recalled after the French denounced him for intriguing behind the scenes, charged the Zionists "were spiritually Nazis and *agents provocateurs*, and that during World War II Britain had to keep military forces in the Middle East in order to guard against Jewish revolt against Britain."

When Mr. Buxton, an American member of the Anglo-American Committee, asked Spears if he knew the relative enlistments in the last war of Arabs and Jews of Palestine and said, "My understanding was that per capita enlistments among the Jews in Palestine were a great deal heavier than the enlistments among the Arabs," General Spears tried with his spectacles and said he "had not seen the figures."

In Palestine Sir John Shaw, chief secretary of the Palestine government, told Crum that only if the Jewish Agency were liquidated and the Haganah disarmed would he be ready to recommend the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine over a period of three to four years. Crum also revealed that a number of General D'Arcy's aids, as part of their evidence, had offered the committee photographs

of "extreme military importance," allegedly showing and ammunition discovered during a raid on a new collective in Syria. Crum took up one of them and looked at the back. "It was a commercial postcard, the type of in any Jerusalem shop," he reports.

Richard Crossman, in his book, states that the British Palestine "are anti-Jewish and are either pro-Arab or impartial in detesting both."

State Department Prejudice

If the British were guilty of prejudice, officials of the United States State Department were responsible for actions which contradicted the publicly announced policy of the American government with respect to Palestine, as was the viewpoint of Truman, according to Bartley Crum.

Loy Henderson, chief of the Near East Division of the State Department, in briefing Mr. Crum echoed the comments of Harold Beeley, his opposite number in the Foreign Office. He said to Mr. Crum, "There is only one facing both the United States and Great Britain, and that is the Soviet Union. It would be wise to bear that in mind when you consider the Palestine problem."

The practical effect of this attitude on the part of the State Department was revealed in the confidential file supplied by the Near East Division of the State Department for the use of the American members of the committee.

Seventeen items in the file disclosed, according to Crum, that since April 15, 1938, "each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent a message to Arab rulers disavowing it and reassuring them in effect that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine." According to Crum, even President Truman knew of the existence of this

IMMIGRATION AND REPRESSION

THE refusal of the British to admit more than a thin trickle of the displaced Jews of Europe to Palestine has mobilized the entire Jewish community in opposition to this policy. Boatload after boatload of Jewish immigrants in past months has made its way to Palestine, only to be forcibly removed and sent to the Island of Cyprus. Each transfer has been accompanied by resistance, first on the part of the immigrants themselves, and, second on that of the Jewish community.

Regarding restrictions of the White Paper as illegal, the Jews of Palestine decline to regard any Jewish immigration as illegal.

The "illegal" immigration is carried out under the direction of the Haganah, the Jewish defense organization.

In August, 1945, the last of the 75,000 immigrant visas available under the 1939 White Paper's five-year plan were assigned. Under the pressure of the United States government the British have agreed to allow 1,500 immigrants to enter the country each month. These visas are assigned to the so-called illegal immigrants in Cyprus, which now has a refugee colony of more than 12,000.

The Jews as a Nation

All observers in Palestine report that the Jews will reject any solution which fails to satisfy their demands for the admission of refugees and for the right to conduct their own affairs. In discussing their present attitude toward Palestine, Richard Crossman says:

History, reaching its climax in the Nazi persecutions, had made these few survivors of the Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian Jewish communities into the members of a Jewish nation. . . . Nothing could stop this movement to Palestine, although it could be halted for a period. The National Home was not a synthetic colony composed of Jews of fifteen different nationalities but a new Palestinian community. . . . the nucleus of a brand-new Western state planked down on the seaboard of the Arab world. The fact that the home of the Jews was also the home of the Arabs complicated the problem, but it was not for that reason, trying to believe that the Jewish nation should be given a home elsewhere. Nations cannot be constructed in this way, and Jewish nationalism would not be content until a Jewish commonwealth had been established in the Eretz Israel. . . . I had to admit that

Jews had set going revolutionary forces in the Middle East which in the long run would benefit the Arabs. . . . But what should not be done was to attempt to hold an even balance between the two communities and thereby to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of both.

In the opinion of Crossman and others the Jews will fight to the finish to achieve their goal. Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, told Crossman in Palestine:

In deciding our destiny don't make the mistake of thinking of us as Jews like the Jews you have in London. Imagine that we are Englishmen fighting for our national existence, and calculate that we shall behave as you would behave if you were in our situation. . . .

Palestine a Police State

A small element of the Jewish community is organized into two terrorist groups, one known as the Irgun Zvai Niti and the other as the Stern Gang, which have organized a series of reprisals against the British military administration, including bombings and assaults on British administrative officers and other personnel.

In retaliation the British administration has introduced repressive measures which have turned Palestine into a police state. It has made many attempts to induce the Jewish Agency for Palestine to act as informer and turn over the terrorists. While disclaiming any identification with the terror, in fact strongly opposing it, the Jewish Agency has agreed to accept this function and has demanded instead of the British government "end the terror by admitting immigrants and restoring civil rights to the people."

Today, Palestine under Britain is, according to the Anglo-American Committee, a semi-military or police state. The expenditures on so-called law and order in 1944-45 amounted to \$18,400,000, as against an expenditure of \$10,000,000 for health and \$2,800,000 for education.

Censorship is absolute. Every item of Palestine news and every editorial comment must be submitted, and there is no appeal from the decision of the government. Civil liberties are non-existent. Anyone can be arrested for being a member of a group any other member of which has done something illegal.

The Anglo-American Committee, in describing the situation in the country said:

The regulations confer on the authorities wide powers of arrest and search without warrant. Searches may be made in the absence of the owner or occupier, provided the mukhtar of the area or two responsible citizens are present. Military courts possess considerable jurisdiction and can impose the death sentence. The principle of group responsibility has been extended, and the authorities are empowered to impose collective fines as punitive measures. The regulations provide also for forfeiture of property of any person who, in the considered opinion of the High Commissioner, has committed or abetted the commission of certain specified offenses.

In Palestine there is a police-and-prisons establishment of over 15,000 persons, exclusive of supernumerary police. These police are habitually armed and are conspicuous everywhere.

Defense Regulations or Martial Law?

On September 27, 1945, forty new regulations on security were introduced by the Palestine government, necessitated, it stated, "by conditions in Palestine." The regulations were based on special war-time practices.

Four months later, on January 28, 1946, even more drastic regulations were issued, which had the virtual effect of martial law. Military courts were established with single officers appointed by the general officer in command in whom were vested practically unlimited powers to impose punishments.

Made punishable by death were: discharge or carrying of firearms or explosives; damaging or obstructing property; interfering with property, vehicles, communications, plant installations, or supply services of the government and the armed forces.

Punishable, but by less drastic means, were: aiding or abetting offenders or attempted offenders; wearing clothes resembling uniforms; wearing a disguise while at a place where such disguise would be prejudicial to the public safety or defense; unlawful drilling of any kind and possessing of wireless transmitting apparatus or parts of apparatus without the authority of the military commander.

The regulations gave the authority to issue detention orders to officers or persons named by the military commander. The High Commissioner was empowered to deport any person from the country for an indefinite period, and to refuse entry to any person as long as the regulations were in force.

Most stringent was the provision which made it necessary for the suspect to prove his innocence, instead of placing the responsibility on the authorities to prove his guilt.

Under these regulations the British Palestine administration arrested the highest leaders of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, although admitting that they had no connection with terror, and for weeks kept them in detention camps without trial. British troops and police carried out searches in Jewish settlements, destroyed property, arrested innocent men and women.

A new phase was inaugurated on March 2, 1947, when statutory martial law was imposed on Tel-Aviv, Ramat Gan, Petah Tikvah, Bnei Brak, and the Mea Shearim district of Jerusalem. This action was in retaliation for the bombing of the officers' club in Jerusalem and, as the government put it, because of "lack of cooperation against bloodshed and terrorism" on the part of the Jewish institutions.

Statutory martial law remained in effect for fifteen days until March 17, 1947, and Jewish community losses are estimated to have totaled some \$7,000,000.

On April 9, 1947, statutory martial law underwent a further transformation, and it was announced that "what have been called statutory martial-law areas will in the future be known as 'controlled' areas." Under this new decree, issued as an amendment to the defense emergency regulations, the High Commissioner gave himself the power to declare any part of the country a "controlled area" and to close all public offices, civil courts, banks, and communication services in such areas. An explanatory note warned that "these conditions are much more restrictive than under martial law."

SOME PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

VARIOUS proposals have been made for a solution of the Palestine problem. The Arabs demand an independent Palestine immediately; this would of course mean an Arab-controlled state since the Jews are in a minority. The British have proposed a form of federalization or cantonization under the ultimate authority of the British crown. Various groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, favor an independent bi-national state in which power would be divided equally between Jews and Arabs. Other groups and individuals advocate partition on a basis which would create in Palestine what has come to be called "a viable Jewish state." This last scheme, which has won some backing among moderate Zionists, involves a serious modification of the traditional Zionist aim—namely, the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in the whole area of Palestine.

Let us examine briefly these various proposals:

The Bi-national State

The idea of a bi-national state in Palestine in which Jews and Arabs shall have equal rights—either on the basis of numerical equality in the population or through equal representation without regard to population figures—has a strong democratic appeal. It was suggested, rather vaguely, as a possible solution by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

It is not one, however, which will satisfy the need of the Jews to migrate to Palestine—particularly in view of the consistent opposition of the Arabs to the admission of *any* Jews—or to develop their own institutions there. Nor will it satisfy the ambitions of the Arabs for sovereign control in a country of their own. Moreover, if the scheme were actually put into effect, conflict would inevitably develop between two peoples whose cultural and industrial development is on such contrasting levels and whose approach to social and political problems is so different.

Cantonization

Twice since the end of the war the British government has sponsored a scheme for the division of Palestine into Jewish and Arab cantons, or districts, under a central government which would be controlled by Britain. Such a plan was worked out at the London Conference of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee and made public in July, 1946.

Nine years earlier, in 1937, the Royal Commission had also examined the idea of cantonization and rejected it on the ground that "cantonal autonomy would not satisfy for a moment the demands of Arab nationalism; it would not raise the status of Palestine Arabs to the level of that enjoyed or soon to be enjoyed by Arabs in neighboring countries; nor would it give the Jews the full freedom they desire to build up their own national home in their own way at their own pace, nor offer them the prospect of realizing on a small territorial scale all that Zionism means. Cantonization presents most, if not all, of the difficulties presented by partition without partition's one supreme advantage—the advantage it offers of eventual peace."

Despite the rejection of this plan Great Britain renewed its proposal for cantonization on February 10, 1947. At that time Mr. Bevin advocated even more restricted Jewish immigration. The end effect of the proposal was to prepare Palestine for eventual independence under circumstances which would insure a permanent Arab majority.

Partition as a Solution

The proposal that Palestine should be divided into states was first made by the Royal Commission in 1937. Thereafter the British government received authority from the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council of the League of Nations to explore the practical application of the principle of partition. In December, 1947, it appointed a committee to investigate partition and draw up a practical scheme. This committee unanimously adopted against the recommendations of the Royal Commission proposed instead two other plans which would have reduced the Jewish state to much smaller dimensions than were suggested in the Peel report. These proposals were bitterly opposed by all Zionists.

As a result the British government in November, 1947, "reached the conclusion that this further examination has shown that the political, administrative, and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Jewish and Arab states inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable."

Seemingly the experience of World War II and the need to provide a refuge for European Jewry brought the British government, before the war's end, to the belief that partition might provide the best solution after all. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, then president of the Jewish Agency, in his testimony before the Anglo-American Committee said: "I had a promise from Mr. Churchill that if he were returned to office in the summer of 1945, he would immediately go forward with a generous partition plan."

Leopold S. Amery, former British Secretary of State for India and former Colonial Secretary, told the committee in January 30, 1946, that "the division of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state is the only solution. Both sides have aspirations for self-government and both feel fit for it."

Even today, however, there is little enthusiasm in Jewish circles for a partitioned state. It represents a sacrifice which Zionism feeling naturally resists. This feeling was reflected in the resolution of the Basel Zionist Congress in December 1946, which asked for full implementation of the terms of the Mandate encompassing the whole of Palestine.

Attitude of the Zionists Toward Partition

But even if the Zionist movement is officially opposed to partition, there is reason to believe that the promise of a Jewish state in an area adequate to allow for the admission of the remnants of European Jewry would be acceptable to most Jewish leaders.

Moshe Shertok, political secretary of the Jewish Agency, stated in 1946 that the Agency would accept partition with

tain conditions. Even Ben-Gurion, thought to be more extreme in his views, told Crossman a year ago that a firm decision by the British and a speedy execution of partition would be accepted.

Could the Jews Be Safe in an Arab State?

The Arab states are demanding an independent state in Palestine immediately. In such a state the Jewish population, aggressive and technically advanced, would be at the mercy of a backward and antagonistic Arab majority led by the enemy, the Mufti. Moreover, in decisions involving any disputes with the Jews, Palestine Arabs would have the backing of the other Arab states.

To be sure, in all their demands for an Arab state in Palestine the Arab states, singly and collectively, have emphasized that all sections of the population would be on a level of equality. M. Fadhel Jamali, director-general of Foreign Affairs of the Iraq government, in his testimony before the Anglo-American Committee, underscored this view and held the status of the Jews in Iraq as an example of how different elements in a population can live in peace and harmony. This is the same official who in 1937 visited Germany, and according to a British Defense Security report of April 11, 1945, "he was accorded an official welcome and lavishly entertained."

In examination of the record, however, clearly indicates there is nothing to justify confidence in the attitude of Arab states toward any minority in their population. The experience of the Kurds, Christian Lebanese, Copts, Arrians, and Jews offers striking refutation of such assurances. In 1937 the Royal Commission emphasized, "We cannot, in the present state of affairs, abandon them [the Jews of Palestine] to the good intentions of the Arab government." The situation is even greater today than in 1937.

In recent years pogroms have taken place in Bagdad, Mosul, and Cairo.

In Syria, as recently as March 24, 1947, the government announced that the death penalty would be imposed on Jews in Syria, numbering 13,000, unless they publicly denounced Zionism and surrendered all Jewish refugees attempting to enter Palestine. In the last years Jews have been fleeing from Syria to India, Egypt, the United States, and Palestine. The Jewish population today is half of that of 1937.

The situation of the *Lebanese* Jewish community is like that of the Syrian, although the existence of a small Christian minority serves for the time being as a safeguard.

Iraq celebrated its independence in 1932 by persecuting and slaughtering its minority groups, including Assyrians, Kurds, and Jews. In 1935 Jews were discharged from all public posts under pretense that "unsuitables" were being eliminated. But the largest category of so-called unsuitables were the Jews. Subsidies have been withdrawn from Jewish schools; the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden.

In 1941 a pogrom took place in Bagdad in which the British and his followers played an important part. An investigating committee reported that 110 Jews were killed, including 28 women; 586 stores were looted; 911 houses, in which 12,311 persons lived, were destroyed. In reality, the number of Jews killed exceeded 400.

In *Egypt* pogroms have taken place in Cairo and Alexandria. These spread from Egypt to Tripolitania, where three days later 170 Jews were massacred. Jews are discriminated against in every possible way, politically and financially.

In *Yemen*, one of the most backward of the Middle Eastern countries, the Jews, numbering some 45,000, are homeless wanderers in the desert. They are exposed to robbery and torture, burdened with all kinds of special taxes, and are on the verge of death by starvation.

Immigration Impossible in an Arab State

If Palestine were an Arab state, the primary need of European Jewry—immigration—could not be met. Apart from the restrictions proposed by the Arabs in the plans under consideration, their opposition to immigration has been consistent and open. Dr. Hitti, testifying before the Anglo-American Committee in Washington in behalf of the Institute for Arab Affairs, when asked if the Arabs would agree to Jewish immigration if the goal of a Jewish state were eliminated, replied, "Frankly, no. Jewish immigration seems to us an attenuated form of conquest."

Arab Rights in a Jewish Commonwealth

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in its testimony before the Anglo-American Committee, set forth its views as to the rights of all citizens in a Jewish state, as follows:

A self-governing state is contemplated in which all citizens, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights, and all communities shall control their internal affairs. The state will not be Jewish in the sense that the Jews in it will have more rights than the non-Jews, or that its Jewish community will be superior in status to other communities, or that other religions will have an inferior status to the Jewish religion. In what sense will it then be a Jewish state? It will be Jewish because Jews will have a right of entry to it not limited by any political consideration; because in it Jews will be free to create a society according to their own way of life; because, in addition to its ordinary function of insuring the welfare of all its inhabitants, the state will have the special function of serving as the Jewish National Home and providing refuge for oppressed Jews; because by its existence it will normalize the status of the Jewish people.

The attitude of the Jews toward the Arabs in areas of Palestine where Jewish institutions are established supports the Agency's claim that the rights of the Arabs would be fully respected in a Jewish state. The facilities of Jewish hospitals, social-welfare organizations, the Hebrew University, agencies for agricultural information and advice, and other similar institutions are uniformly made available to both communities on equal terms.

Possibilities of Arab-Jewish Cooperation

That Jews and Arabs can live together in peace is attested to by certain Arabs themselves. An Arab leader with considerable influence whom Bartley Crum identifies as Yusefd told him: "If we were sure that Britain and America wished the Jews and Arabs to get together, we would." Mayor Nashashibi of Jerusalem told Bartley Crum that he favored partition for the following reasons: first, the

Jews could have an independent democratic state with a Jewish majority; second the Arabs could have a large Arab state comprising Transjordan and the Arab-populated part of Palestine, all under King Abdullah of Transjordan; third, the British would be eliminated.

Other Arab leaders expressed their belief that the Arab politicians were making a great mistake in not recognizing that the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews share a common destiny. "If the Arab leadership were convinced that the Jews were not part of a creeping invasion engineered by England to destroy their position, the Jews and Arabs even at the top would be able to reconcile their differences." Bartley Crum reports the opinion of the Nashashibi family, representing the moderate Arab groups in Palestine.

"It was the old story of appeasement," Nashashibi told me, "and like all appeasement, it proved a major error."

CAN A JEWISH STATE BE ESTABLISHED?

ALL evidence points to the certainty that the establishment of independent Jewish and Arab states is feasible.

Bartley Crum reports his "feeling" that Sir Allan Cunningham, High Commissioner for Palestine, favors partition, "not partition along lines of the Peel report, but with a far more generous territorial allowance to the new state of Judea." Sir Allan told members of the Anglo-American Committee, "Whatever you do, I would suggest that you make a bold and forthright recommendation and then see to it that it is carried out with boldness and determination."

General J. C. D'Arcy, general officer commanding Palestine, told the Anglo-American Committee that "purely from the military point of view he could enforce a pro-Jewish solution without much difficulty. In enforcing such a solution the Haganah can be most helpful." Whereas, according to D'Arcy, in case of a pro-Arab solution he would have the Haganah to contend with.

Asked what would happen were Britain to withdraw her troops from Palestine, General D'Arcy said, according to Crum: "The Haganah would take over all of Palestine tomorrow and . . . hold it against the entire Arab world."

When one of the British members of the Anglo-American Committee asked him: "Are you implying, sir, that it is impossible for His Majesty's Government to disarm the Haganah?" General D'Arcy replied: "You cannot disarm a whole people. I rather think the world will not stand for another mass murder of Jews."

Crossman reports that the Arab experts in Cairo told him that the Haganah was the most powerful military force in the Middle East apart from the British army. In Crossman's view a pro-Arab policy would entail the heaviest military commitment since it would be resisted not only by the Irgun but by the whole Haganah, backed by nearly all the Jews.

Can the Arabs Stage a Revolt?

For the past twenty-five years the Arabs have held over the heads of the British mandatory and world public opinion the threat of an Arab revolt in the event of decisions favor-

As soon as Haj Amin came to power, he was more intransigent than ever. He purged the Arab leadership of every Arab who threatened his domination, and I do not exaggerate when I say the Mufti's gangs simply eliminated by murder hundreds of his political opponents. The Mufti, he added, was publicly charged with "direct responsibility" for the murder of twenty-eight men, all distinguished Palestine Arab leaders, in an affidavit entitled "Voice from the Arab Tombs of Palestine," published in Cairo on January 2, 1939, by a Sheik Ali Yassin, who had escaped to Egypt from Palestine. "The Mufti is a great problem for us, as you can see," he added.

Militating against Arab-Jewish understanding are the Arab kings and effendis on the one hand and British imperialism on the other. The rich Arabs are opposed to Zionism on ground that Jewish social and technical innovations are lifting the masses from their ignorance and serfdom.

able to the Jews. This threat has been reiterated by the Arab League and has been given point in the announcements from Cairo and Jerusalem that Palestine Arabs are forming semi-military youth organizations in every town and village.

Despite this fact seasoned observers do not believe that the Arabs will revolt or have the strength to maintain a revolt. As far back as 1937 the Royal Commission dismissed the idea of serious trouble on the part of the Arabs: "It would not suggest that it would be formidable. It would be ludicrous to suppose that it is beyond the resources of Your Majesty's Government to deal with a rebellion on so small a scale and so ill-equipped for modern warfare."

More recent observers on the spot acquiesce in that opinion. Mr. Crossman says in his book: "I do not believe that the admission of 100,000 Jews would cause any Arab disturbance which could not be comfortably dealt with by the British army on the spot. . . ."

American correspondents who have visited Palestine at the Near East share and amplify that view. Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, returned from a visit to Palestine in the Middle East last June and said that no Arab state combination of states could start a war in Palestine without British connivance.

The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt.

Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult.

In Iraq British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine. Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlord. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Richard Mowrer, foreign correspondent of the New York Times, in a dispatch to his paper on April 30, 1946, also expressed the belief that if the Arabs revolt the British will be lame.

Ibn Saud Will Not Cancel Oil Concessions

The fear that a settlement in Palestine favorable to the Jews will also jeopardize foreign oil interests seems to be without foundation in so far as Saudi Arabia is concerned.

On March 1, 1947, Clifton Daniel, in a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Cairo, said:

Ibn Saud is notably content with his arrangement with the American companies and does not care to have any other power put its foot in his door. Ibn Saud also accepts the distinction between the companies and the American government. He does not penalize the Arabian-American Oil Company for the American policy in Palestine, which he abhors.

This was a repetition of a statement made by Ibn Saud on November 28, 1946, when he told a representative of the Arabian-American Oil Company that "rumors that he might withdraw the oil concessions because of American support of the Zionists were 'hot wind.'"

On December 4, 1946, in response to a threat by Jamal Husseini that the oil concessions would be jeopardized, King Ibn Saud said that "he has never even considered selling or even voiding the oil concessions that are being developed in his country by the United States companies."

POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANSION

WOULD a divided Palestine be equal to supplying the needs of present-day European Jewish life? The answer of experts is in the affirmative. Belgium, with an area of only 11,780 square miles, supports a population of 8,159,185. Holland, with an area of 102 square miles, supports a population of 8,061,571. In the United States, Massachusetts, with an area of 8,266 square miles, supports a population of 4,313,000; New Jersey, with an area of 8,224 square miles, 4,193,000. "There be little doubt," said the Anglo-American Committee, "that, given some central direction, more cooperative effort, and a peaceful political administration, Palestine can be made to provide further opportunities for prospective settlement, concurrently with an improvement in the living standard of its present population."

Alfred Nathan, Gasser, and Creamer, in "Palestine: Problem and Promise," estimate that "between 615,000 and 1,125,000 Jews could be admitted to Palestine within the next ten years, provided that a basic political program is enacted, backed up by the moral and material weight of the United Nations. Under such a political program," they say, "Palestine can become a source of self-sustaining livelihood for many more Jews and an outpost of Western culture for the whole of the Middle East without being an outpost of Western imperialism."

100,000 More Immigrants

Dr. Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States, in his "Land of Promise," goes farther. He proposes the establishment of a Jordan

Valley Authority for Palestine and Transjordan. The full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression and adjoining drainage areas for reclamation and power would, in his judgment, "provide farms, industry, and security for at least 4,000,000 Jewish refugees from Europe, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Transjordan." Pointing out that Palestine has two primary needs, water and power, Dr. Lowdermilk says that the River Jordan could irrigate 300,000 acres and develop power facilities having a minimum capacity of from 76,000 to 110,000 kilowatts, with an installed capacity of twice these amounts. Additional power generated in connection with other projected irrigation schemes would bring the total to 150,000 kilowatts. This capacity, he says, "would be sufficient to serve the needs of well over 1,000,000 additional population."

In such a development Dr. Lowdermilk sees great benefits to the Arabs of both Transjordan and Palestine. Recalling that Transjordan was once one of the granaries of Rome, he points to the fact that today 80 per cent of the country is desert or semi-arid. He believes that under the JVA 200,000 acres of Transjordan could be irrigated, with an estimated increase of at least 50 per cent in agricultural production.

Dr. Lowdermilk proposed that the JVA should be financed jointly by the United Nations and public Jewish organizations, as well as by private capital, and should be administered under a quasi-public authority. He expresses complete confidence in the ultimate ability of the project to pay for itself.

Why They Read "The Nation"!

Chester Bowles

"Too often these days we read a great many facts without necessarily getting at the truth. *The Nation*, I have found, can usually be relied on to give its readers the truth as well as the facts about world events."

Raymond Swing

"I can think of no single periodical in the United States whose continued existence is of more importance to American democracy than *The Nation*."

Joseph E. Davies

"*The Nation* adheres to a policy of enlightenment and liberal service in the public interest, in an effort to promote a wider knowledge and more intelligent understanding of the facts motivating present events in the world, the outcome of which is so vital to us all."

Clifton Fadiman

"To every American who treasures, particularly in these trying times, our national ideals of justice, decency, and democracy, *The Nation* continues to be both a necessity and a stimulus."

• SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER •

You can subscribe to *The Nation* for the next 26 weeks for only \$2 by tearing off and mailing the convenient order form with your remittance today.

Tear Off and Mail this Convenient Order Form
THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York
Please send me *The Nation* for the next 26 weeks
which I enclose \$2.
Name _____
Street _____
City _____
Zone _____ State _____
Foreign and Canada _____
Postage 50¢
2-1747

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 24, 1947

NUMBER 21

The Shape of Things

AS THE TRIAL OF THIRTY-ONE WHITE MEN for the lynching of a Negro enters its second and probably final week in the crowded courtroom of Greenville, South Carolina, it has become evident that one Southern state is determined to end an evil tradition. Veteran trial reporters who came expecting the customary "show" have witnessed a judicial process of which any state might be proud. Thirty-seven-year-old Judge Robert J. Martin, Jr., and the prosecuting and defense attorneys have rigorously observed the rules of court procedure. There has been no disorder, little flamboyant oratory. The case against thirty-one men, twenty-six of whom admitted being members of a lynch party, has been energetically pressed. Since Willie Earle, accused of the fatal stabbing of a Yellow Cab driver last February, was taken from the Pickens County jail, mutilated, and shot to death, events have moved fast. From the beginning, the newspapers demanded action. Governor J. Strom Thurmond assigned as special prosecutor the brilliant solicitor Sam R. Watt, who last year secured the conviction of 471 of the 473 persons he brought to trial. The jury's verdict will likely be handed down this week. It is perhaps too much to expect that inveterate custom will be overturned and white men will be sentenced for a Negro's murder. The jury, faced with the extraordinary circumstance of thirty-one defendants, may return verdicts of varying degrees of severity. But whatever the outcome, the fact stands that the governor, the courts, and the responsible white citizens of South Carolina have made a bold attempt at a new definition of Southern justice.

✱

IN THE CHOICE OF NITTI AS ITALIAN PREMIER two considerations surely played a part—his mastery of economic questions and the insignificance of his party. At a moment when the lira is selling on the black market at 900 to the dollar and when many conflicting interests delay the general progress of reconstruction, the presence at the head of the Cabinet of a financial authority like Nitti might have an excellent effect. In Parliament he leads a small group, the National Democratic Union, made up of proved anti-fascists like himself but with no chance of developing into a major national party. It is an ideal position from which to preside over a coalition, and a coalition in which three almost equally strong parties—Communists, Christian Democrats and Social-

ists—must be included. The general elections are scheduled for October, and for months past Italy has been in a state of political tension. De Gasperi came back from the United States with greatly increased personal prestige, but his tactics after his return succeeded only in convincing the left that he was using his augmented power as Premier to escape an almost certain electoral defeat. Nitti, as leader of a small party, will not provoke the same sort of suspicion. As this is written, the composition of his Cabinet is still undecided. It seems certain that he will have to reduce the representation of Communists and Socialists to include Pacciardi's Republicans, Saragat's dissident Socialists, and the remnant of the Action Party. But the diminution of left strength will be partly offset by the exchange of premiers. On social issues Nitti is far more progressive than De Gasperi, who is considered too close to the Vatican. Besides which, Nitti's old, deep-rooted anti-clericalism will facilitate his relations with the other left parties upon which he must finally depend.

✱

CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS AND AGAINST the advice of Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach, President Truman has signed H. R. 2157—the bill outlawing all pending portal-to-portal suits except those based on activities compensable by contract or custom. Thus Mr. Truman has associated himself with a piece of class legislation of doubtful constitutionality. For this is a measure which retroactively prevents the courts from passing on the validity of claims to unpaid wages—that is, claims to a particular kind of property. Imagine the same principle applied to claims for corporation tax refunds, based on an interpretation of the law which the courts had upheld! No doubt many of the portal-to-portal suits filed would eventually have been thrown out of court: some, in fact have already been withdrawn following the decision of Judge Picard in the Mt. Clemens Pottery case that claims for as much as fourteen minutes unpaid time per day were too trifling to warrant court interference. But this new act condemns good and bad claims alike. Moreover it goes beyond the portal-to-portal issue by making it easier for employers to evade their obligations under the wage-hour law and the two acts which regulate labor standards of government contractors. In future, even though claims made under these

: IN THIS ISSUE :

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	615
The Assembly's Decision	617
Federal Aid and Catholic Schools	618

CARTOON

All Aboard for Yesterday! by <i>Ezekiel Schloss</i>	619
---	-----

ARTICLES

The Greek Frontier by <i>Constantine Poulos</i>	620
The Tacoma Agreement by <i>Carey McWilliams</i>	623
"The American Question" by <i>Alexander Werth</i>	624
Terror in Taiwan by <i>Peggy Durdin</i>	626
Isabelita Has Lost Her Reason by <i>Kay Boyle</i>	628
In the Wind	629
Brest-Litovsk Again? by <i>Del Vayo</i>	630
Everybody's Business by <i>Keith Hutchison</i>	631

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way by <i>Margaret Marshall</i>	632
Oil and Politics by <i>Keith Hutchison</i>	633
Family Portrait by <i>McAlister Coleman</i>	634
Man's Burden by <i>Albert Guérard</i>	634
Outside of History by <i>David T. Bazelon</i>	635
Fiction in Review by <i>Diana Trilling</i>	636
Drama Note by <i>Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	637
Records by <i>B. H. Haggin</i>	639

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

640

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 213

by <i>Jack Barrett</i>	641
------------------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor Literary Editor
J. King Gordon Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

acts are found to be valid, courts will be permitted to waive or reduce the now mandatory double-damage provided employers can show "reasonable grounds" for believing that they were not violating the law. Mr. Truman, in his message to Congress, voices doubts about the "possibly ambiguous language" of this section and says he will ask for remedial action if necessary. But does he really expect to get such action from a Congress which has shown that it is interested only in remedies prescribed by the N. A. M.?

*

THE PRESIDENT MAY HAVE HOPED THAT BY signing the portal-pay bill he would offset the effect of his probable veto of the Taft-Hartley labor bill. He had been warned that if the House-Senate conferees should accept in substance the Senate measure, abandoning the more savage provisions of the House bill, they would put the President in an awkward spot politically. This seems to us a most dubious estimate of the situation. The Taft-Hartley bill is far more drastic than the Case bill which Mr. Truman vetoed last year. The assinine provision that a union may lose its bargaining rights if a single officer is "reasonably" thought to be a Communist opens the way to endless abuse. Exposure of unions to law suits is a threat to their treasuries that is not balanced by any corresponding right on their part to sue an employer for breach of contract. The flat ban on the closed shop is purely punitive. If the President vetoes the bill and the Senate overrides his veto, his political position will be better, not worse, than if he signed it.

*

SOME DEGREE OF BUSINESS REACTION IS NOW unavoidable, according to the Committee on Economic Stability sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action, but we still have a chance to head off the kind of collapse which occurred at the end of 1920. To this end, the committee, which comprises eleven top New Deal economists headed by Chester Bowles, has put forward a short-range emergency program which could be set into effect within the next sixty days. "The heart of our present danger," it declares, "lies in the lack of balance between wages, prices, and profits" which has developed since stabilization was jettisoned last year. The cost of living has rapidly outstripped the rise in salaries and wages, with the result that income currently being paid out is insufficient to clear the markets of goods being produced. To close the gap the committee proposes an average reduction in prices of 10 per cent—bigger cuts, it suggests, would put in motion a deflationary spiral—through the machinery of a federal price-adjustment board. It also urges the generalization of the 15 cents-an-hour wage increase won by some unions and the raising of the legal minimum wage floor to 65 cents an hour. Other points in its program include an increase

unemployment-insurance coverage and payments, extension of rent control, tax reductions designed to swell the purchasing power of the lower brackets, a much enlarged federal-housing program on lines promoting a cut in construction costs, and a great expansion of credit to foreign nations. The whole plan, of which only the bare bones can be outlined here, is moderate and realistic. In an early issue we hope to devote more space to it. Meanwhile we urge our readers to study the report for themselves and to press their Congressmen to do likewise. It can be obtained from Americans for Democratic Action, 1740 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

✱

THE SUPREME COURT MADE HISTORY WHEN by seven to two it upheld action taken by the Interstate Commerce Commission to equalize rail freight rates as between the East and the South and West. It was in May, 1945, that the commission at long last heeded pleas against discrimination and ordered a reduction of "class rates" in the South and West by 10 per cent and an increase of the same proportion in "official territory," which covers the area east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac. This decision was announced as an interim measure pending the elaboration of a program by the ICC, for "national uniformity in the classification of freight and a greater degree of national uniformity in the class rate structure." The protests of Northern states against the prospective loss of their present advantage in transport costs failed to impress the court. A majority of the justices found that existing discriminatory rates do, in fact, serve as "trade barriers," impeding established industries in the regions where they apply and checking the rise of new ones. It is true that "class rates" apply to only a small proportion of rail traffic but, since they are charged mainly on manufactured goods, they have burdened business in the South and West. Apart from its direct economic effects, condemnation of this particular discrimination has symbolic significance, marking as it does the beginning of the end of internal "colonialism." Next week *The Nation* will publish a fuller discussion of the subject by Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia.

✱

THE CONNECTICUT STATE SENATE HAS defeated by a voice vote of 23 to 12 a bill permitting physicians to prescribe contraceptive devices for married women—surely a moderate proposal and one which the House of Representatives had the sense and courage to pass by a vote of 180 to 40. The fight against the bill was conducted chiefly by the Catholic church, which held that the measure would weaken public morality. The statute of 1879 which forbids the use of contraceptive devices remains in effect. And it will be just as effective in the future, no doubt, as it has been in the past. The

law, as everyone knows, is neither accepted nor enforced. Contraceptive devices are bootlegged in Connecticut, and the statute of 1879 has occasioned many a ribald joke. Is this the sort of public morality of which the church approves?

The Assembly's Decision

THE United Nations passed its first test on the Palestine question with surprisingly high marks. Palestine was lifted from the doorstep of a single state and brought before the world assembly for its judgment. Those most deeply involved in the fate of that strife-torn land—Jews, Arabs, and Great Britain—had a full opportunity to state their case. And the General Assembly, in handling a situation that was keeping the entire Near East in a dangerous state of tension, showed a new maturity. Much credit for its achievement goes to the able chairman, Señor Aranha of Brazil, who presided over the plenary sessions, and perhaps even more to Canada's Lester B. Pearson, who handled the rugged sessions of the Political Committee with wisdom, firmness, and imagination. Both chairmen allowed wide freedom of discussion but never lost sight of the prime task for which the Assembly was called—the appointment of a commission of investigation and the assignment of its duties. The final vote showed for the first time since the end of the war that an international body can reach a solid moral judgment when kept clear of the entanglements of big-power dissension.

The course of the three weeks' debate revealed the strength of a moderately stated case. At the outset, all the advantage seemed to be on the side of the five Arab states, which presented with all the eloquence at their command the argument for an independent Arab Palestine. But they overplayed their hand, and the extremism and threats of open war that came increasingly into their arguments swung the majority of member states against them. In contrast, the representatives of the Jewish Agency, Messrs. Silver, Shertok and Ben-Gurion, showed restraint and reason and a willingness to accept the findings of the United Nations commission.

One of the most interesting role features of the whole session was the subordinate play played by the big powers. Such states as Poland, Norway, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Australia, Guatemala, Colombia, Chile, and Panama carried the fight to a clear-cut conclusion. It was clearly to Britain's advantage to say little. Its presentation of the Palestine problem to the United Nations was a tacit confession of failure to discharge its mandate. It became clear that Britain was prepared to accept the United Nations findings provided they were supported by United Nations authority. Cadogan's speeches were few, brief, and almost always to a procedural point.

The Soviet Union throughout most of the discussion seemed to be taking a moderately pro-Arab position in supporting immediate Palestinian independence. But it favored hearing the Jewish Agency and was quite willing to have the case of immigration and the Jewish refugees in the D. P. camps considered as an integral part of the Palestine problem. Mr. Gromyko's most dramatic intervention, however, came in the closing hours of the plenary session when he outlined the kind of solution his government would favor. The most satisfactory settlement would, in his opinion, be a bi-national state in which the rights of both Jewish and Arab communities were guaranteed. But if existing tensions made such a scheme unworkable, then the Soviet Union would favor a partition plan setting up a Jewish and an Arab state.

Over against such a bold stand, the United States delegation's role appeared both negative and picayune. Senator Austin opposed, on procedural grounds, the demands of the Arab states for an independent Palestine. However, in a particularly weasel-worded amendment he made an attempt to steer the investigating committee toward some kind of independent-Palestine solution. This was properly voted down. For the rest, he seemed content to insist upon a small-nation rather than a big-power commission and managed to get his seven candidates designated in a block to the eleven-man investigating commission. Those who sat through the long session at Lake Success and Flushing listened in vain for a restatement of the American stand on a National Home for the Jews, a stand taken by every American President since the Balfour Declaration was enunciated. They listened in vain for a reiteration of President Truman's demand that 100,000 Jewish refugees now in D. P. camps be allowed to make a new home in Palestine. They listened in vain for a slight whisper that the United States was prepared to take moral leadership in an issue that pressed so sharply on the conscience of the world.

The commission of investigation now sets about its task. Its terms of reference are broad. It is obligated to examine fully every aspect of the Palestine problem. And it is charged with working out the intricate and thorny details of a plan for Palestine that will satisfy the just claims of all the Palestinian peoples. It will help rather than hinder the work of the commission if the United States government now states with a clarity equal to that of the Russians what it believes to be essential to a just Palestine settlement. The Russian stand gives the committee hope that a settlement may be arrived at that will not be upset by big-power dissension. But the ultimate authority behind any settlement must be the authority of the United Nations, and of all the member states none must be prepared to accept as much responsibility as the United States. The time has come, therefore, for the United States to declare itself.

Federal Aid and Catholic Schools

SO FAR has the American school system deteriorated that the most ardent champions of states' rights, and the most penny-pinching legislators, now see federal aid as the only solution. The shocking figures are well known: more than five million children between the ages of seven and seventeen—one child out of every six in the country—either deprived of schooling entirely or subjected to part-time, substandard instruction at the hands of unqualified teachers; three million illiterate adults; six thousand schools closed down for lack of instructors; and 50 per cent of our antiquated school buildings in need of replacement. With financing left entirely to state and local communities, we have been spending a third as much for our schools as we spend for recreation, smoking, liquor, and cosmetics. As a people we spend three billion dollars on education and scatter five billion on horses at the track.

Apart from the emergency appeal, an unanswerable argument can be made for federal aid in principle. Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, putting the case simply, says: (1) All school children are future citizens and voters, and their conduct as such will determine the kind of nation we are to live in; and (2) we are a mobile people, our towns crowded with citizens born and raised elsewhere. There is certainly as much reason for New Yorkers to contribute to the education of a Kentuckian who will spend his adult life in Manhattan as to that of a Brooklynite who will one day make his home in California.

There is nothing new about these arguments or about the dire need of the schools for more money, and bills calling for federal aid have been introduced in Congress with monotonous regularity for years. States' rights fanatics could not have blocked them, any more than they prevented legislation for social security, a wage-hour law, or the National Youth Act. What has blocked every attempt to provide federal aid for the public schools of this country—it had better be said bluntly—is the power of the Catholic church.

The issue is simple. In a letter addressed to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education in 1943, the National Catholic Welfare Conference warned: "The Catholic position is one of opposition to any measure for federal aid to education that would: . . . (b) fail to make mandatory the inclusion of Catholic schools in its benefits."

We consider this approach a clear violation of the spirit—and of the letter—of the constitutional provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Archbishop Cushing of Boston

says that no objections to state provision of buses for parochial school children "or any other democratic aids to education, no phony plea of conflict between church and state . . . must be permitted to obscure the sovereign right of the parent to choose the teachers of his children." That right, speaking of "phony pleas," is not challenged by anyone. It is guaranteed by the same Constitution that forbids the state to finance a parent's preference for private rather than public instruction.

Feeling for the tradition of complete separation of church and state, as old as the Republic, is still strong—witness attacks on the Catholic position at the recent session of the Methodist Council of Bishops, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the seventy-third convention of the American Association of School Administrators. But against it is the desperate need for federal funds. Many educators, convinced that no help will be forthcoming from Washington unless the parochial schools get a cut, have been willing to make concessions, and the two principal bills now before the Senate reflect this spirit of resignation.

Of the two measures, the one sponsored by Senator Taft is considerably less dangerous on this issue than that of the more liberal Senator Aiken. The Taft bill, backed by the National Education Association, would direct each state to spend proportionally as much of its

federal grant on parochial schools as it now spends for this purpose out of its own funds. Since sixteen states at present make some allowance for parochial schools, thirty-two would be unaffected by the provision. The Aiken bill, on the other hand, would allow a fixed proportion of federal money to be given to non-public schools in all forty-eight states. In every other respect it is a better measure than Taft's, entailing far larger appropriations. It is supported by Senate liberals like Murray and Morse, who rightly regard as "niggardly" a bill whose sponsor himself calls it only a "humble beginning." Nevertheless, we hope the Senate will choose the Taft bill, raising its amounts, rather than accept the Aiken bill and its dangerous precedent.

The Vermont Senator seems to us much too cavalier in dismissing so fundamental a tenet of the American faith as the separation of church and state—an argument, he says, that "falls down when under the G. I. Bill of Rights the United States is paying today to educate priests, Protestant ministers, and rabbis." There is a difference between the government's giving a sum of money to an individual for an education of his choice and granting a fixed and permanent proportion of taxpayers' money to religious institutions. The first is legitimate aid to a deserving individual; the second, a systematic undermining of the public-school system.



ALL ABOARD FOR YESTERDAY!

The Greek Frontier

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Salonika, May 5

AT THE height of the December, 1944, "outbreak" in Athens, the British Foreign Office rushed that excellent Beaverbrook cartoonist Osbert Lancaster to Greece in an attempt to "correct the erroneous interpretations" being made by two-thirds of the American and British correspondents who were covering the tragic events. Thereafter Lancaster sat in on the daily press conferences held by Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Rouse of the British Headquarters Intelligence Section and gave his interpretation of the political news.

One morning in late December Lancaster announced that several hundred Bulgarians had crossed the border to help the Greek leftists. When he refused to divulge his source or to elaborate on the report, correspondents turned to Rouse, who, obviously embarrassed, declined to confirm, deny, or discuss Lancaster's statement. It was, of course, pure fabrication and entirely in keeping with the Foreign Office's frantic efforts to smear the Greek left and the resistance movement. The report, however, opened old wounds, and after its publication the walls of Balkan nationalism began to be built up again.

Almost a year earlier, when the Foreign Office realized that post-war Greece might have a leftist government oriented toward the Soviet Union instead of a royalist right-wing government oriented toward Great Britain, it had started playing on the old slavophobia of the Greek people. This line, cleverly upheld by Foreign Office diplomats in Egypt and its agents in Greece, coincided with the anti-Slav propaganda spread by the Nazis in Greece. The British line also encouraged the Greek quislings to pretend that they were collaborating with the Germans and organizing armed anti-resistance forces only because it was necessary to prepare a bridgehead for the British when they came to liberate Greece from the "Slav-loving" Communists.

This was very effective propaganda in Greece, and two new words were added to the Greek language, *Eamobulgar* and *Eamoslav*. Every member of E. A. M. (the resistance organization) was called either a Bulgarian or a Slav-lover and was accused of wanting to give Macedonia and Thrace to the "barbarians in the north," who now were not only Slavs but Communists, too. The charges were plausible because the Greek Communist Party had advocated "an autonomous Macedonia

and Thrace" at a time when "autonomy" plainly meant the incorporation of Greek Macedonia and Greek Thrace in Bulgaria.

THE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE

In May, 1922, at a meeting of the leading members of the Bulgarian, Greek, and Yugoslav Communist parties held in Sofia, the Bulgarian party wanted the "autonomy" of Macedonia (Greek and Yugoslav) and Thrace placed at the top of the agenda, arguing that if the 50,000 Bulgarian refugees leaving those territories in the exchange of populations were given some hope of getting their lands back, they would join the Bulgarian Communist Party instead of the terroristic, reactionary I. M. R. O. (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). The suggestion was opposed by the Greek and Yugoslav delegations, and the matter was dropped. At the fifth congress of the Third International in Moscow George Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov again raised the question, and the Greek and Yugoslav delegations again opposed it. They argued that it was intended to serve only the questionable purpose of the Bulgarian party, which at that time was the strongest in the Balkans, that it would ruin the growing Greek and Yugoslav parties, and that instead of using a nationalistic slogan the congress should call for a Socialist federation of Balkan states. Dimitrov and Kolarov prevailed, however. The Yugoslav delegation withdrew from the congress, but the disciplined Greek party accepted the new policy and worked for it for a few years.

When the Communist Party was outlawed in Bulgaria, the cry for Thracian and Macedonian autonomy died out. After 1931 the Comintern seemed to forget about it, and the Greek party followed suit. But the bitter taste was still there, and Communist activities were hampered. At a meeting of the Central Committee in June, 1935, the Greek Communist Party went on record as abandoning the old goal and standing for the inviolability of Greek boundaries, making the excuse that the "ethnological composition" of Macedonia and Thrace had changed. The sixth congress of the party, held in December of the same year, indorsed the Central Committee's decision, and the Communists have not sounded the autonomy slogan since that time.

In 1943 the E. A. M.'s guerrilla army, the E. L. A. S., rejected a proposal of the Yugoslav partisans that they enter Greek territory and organize the Slav minority there into a resistance movement under Tito's control. In October, 1944, the E. L. A. S. attacked, disbanded,

CONSTANTINE POULOS is the Balkan correspondent of the Overseas News Agency.

and drove over the Yugoslav frontier one of its own battalions (belonging to the 28th Regiment of the 9th E. L. A. S. Division), made up largely of Slavs from Greek Macedonia, which had come out openly for autonomy during the withdrawal of the Germans.

The British were aware of these actions but preferred to ignore them—as they ignored the fact that in the period between the withdrawal of the Germans from Greek Macedonia in October, 1944, and the arrival of British and regular Greek troops in March, 1945, the E. A. M. prohibited all autonomist demonstrations, and the E. L. A. S. put down by force such armed autonomist elements as still attempted to operate.

And so, in December, 1944, E. L. A. S. prisoners were killed in Athens, a block away from British headquarters, because the small royalist mobs had been inflamed to the point where they actually believed that every E. L. A. S. fighter was pro-Slav and a traitor. Just as every Greek in the resistance movement was called a "Bulgarian" and "Slav-lover," every Slav in Greek Macedonia was called a "Communist." And when the carefully screened Greek troops entered the area, the Slavs suffered doubly, first for being Slavs, and secondly for being Communists.

WHAT MAKES A GUERRILLA?

The population of Greek Macedonia is now more than 90 per cent Greek. The handful of Slavs there, roughly seventy-five to eighty thousand, consists of those who elected to remain when the exchange of populations was made after the First World War.

Between 1918 and 1936, according to the testimony of Slav witnesses before the United Nations Commission of Inquiry, the Slavs in Greek Macedonia were treated "even better than the Greek refugees from Turkey." But when the King George-Metaxas dictatorship was established in 1936, the Slav minority was looked upon as second-class citizens and placed under various legal handicaps. It became a legal offense to use the Macedonian Slavonic language in public: witnesses before the U. N. Commission told of old women being beaten and jailed for asking the price of potatoes in the only language they knew.

After the war, the occupation, the liberation, and control by the E. A. M., royalist-rightist control was finally established and the persecution started all over again.

Pericles Eliadou, member of Parliament from the Florina-Kastoria district, which has the largest concentration of Slavs in Greece, writing in the royalist Athens daily, *Ethnikos Kyrix*, of March 30, called for the forced removal of all "this refuse" from Greece.

When automobile trouble forced a subcommittee of the U. N. Commission to make an unscheduled stop at the Greek Macedonian town of Verga on March 13,

Slav villagers gathered around the beaming Mr. Eliadou—who had hopped on the subcommittee's motor convey just as local politicians in the United States climb aboard the Presidential special to prove to the voters that they have the official blessing—and told him they were fed up. "You have cut off our UNRRA supplies since September," one of them said. "We worked fifty days clearing the snow from roads and you haven't paid us. We have no rights; we have no justice. If these conditions continue, we too will go to the mountains."



Caricature by Seligson
Premier Maximos

Only a small percentage of these Greek Slavs want an autonomous Macedonia—as yet. But the number of eager Slav peasants and mountaineers who crowded around the young Yugoslav liaison officer with the subcommittee to ask about the "new" Yugoslavia and to pour out their bitter stories of persecution should have served as a warning to the Greeks. A real movement for autonomy within the Yugoslav federation will grow with very little outside prodding when the Slavs on the Greek side, continuing to live in squalor and fear, begin to envy life across the frontier, where houses are being rebuilt, and there are new state

tractor stations, and those who work can at least eat.

The government in Athens is not intelligent enough or unselfish enough to see this. When it was suddenly frightened by the strength and fervor of the new guerrilla forces in the mountains, it decided to camouflage its own deficiencies by accusing its northern neighbors of organizing internal revolt for the purpose of tearing Macedonia and Thrace away from Greece; at the same time it tightened the screws on the Slav minority.

The Athens liberal center daily, *Ta Nea*, correctly placed the responsibility for the existence of the new guerrilla movement when it said recently in an editorial: "The Vice-President and leader of the present government, Constantine Tsaldaris, and his colleagues, with their moronic policy, have been the best recruiting officers for the guerrillas. Unquestionably Tsaldaris has sent more men to the mountains than were sent from Yugoslavia. They are those who were beaten, those who were persecuted by state and quasi-state agencies, those who were dismissed without cause from their jobs. They are the farmers to whom the rightist local authorities would not give seeds to sow their fields; they are the men who were in the resistance movement and cannot return to their homes."

ROLE OF BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

The new Greek guerrillas are carrying on a bitter, bloody, and just struggle against persecution, exploitation, and open fascist terror. But their cause is being hurt by the obscure and ambiguous attitude of the Bulgars and Yugoslavs, whom the Greek government accuses of instigating and supporting the guerrilla warfare.

Dimitrov and Kolarov are now in the driver's seat in Bulgaria. They no longer need the chauvinist slogans they once used to bring them to power, but they still mumble about "an outlet to the Aegean." In Yugoslavia the Macedonian Communist Dimitar Vlahov, who in 1924 split the I. M. R. O. and headed a faction that worked for a truly autonomous Macedonia within a Balkan federation, is now high in Tito's councils and is reported to be scheming again for "Macedonia for the Macedonians," this time as a federated state within Yugoslavia. The old idea of incorporating both Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia in Bulgaria has given way to the idea of bringing the entire region into Yugoslavia. By declining to declare frankly and clearly that they have no territorial claims against Greece, the Communist governments of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia make it easy for the Anglo-American bloc on the U. N. Commission to maintain that Greece's internal situation is mainly due to external factors.

Yugoslavia naturally granted refuge to E. L. A. S. refugees. Just as naturally, it urged many of those who were still in Yugoslavia when the new guerrilla army sprang up to return to Greece. Bulgaria naturally allowed the new guerrillas to cross its frontiers when they were pursued by the Greek army or gendarmerie.

Bulgarian and Yugoslav aspirations to expand southward have their source in old nationalist ambitions, ideological arrogance, and big-power politics. Neither government is sure about the Greeks. Tito and Dimitrov may think they can bully Zachariades into some kind of "autonomy" agreement, but they have a feeling that all Greeks, Communists and non-Communists, would unite to prevent its fulfilment. The Yugoslavs know that the new Greek guerrillas, like the old, are executing the "autonomist" agents who cross the border to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in Greece. That is why the Yugoslavs are not sending arms into Greece.

Little of all this was taken into consideration by the U. N. Commission. Nearly all its members had made up their minds before they arrived in Greece. The Anglo-Americans were determined to prove that the whole Greek guerrilla movement was inspired, directed, and armed by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The Russian bloc was equally determined to prove that it was strictly an inside job, and that the Yugoslavs and Bulgarians were blameless. Too often the Anglo-Americans and their satellites, insisting that the commission's terms of reference called only for an investigation of frontier inci-

dents, deliberately choked off witnesses who were explaining why they took to the mountains. On the other hand, when Greek Slavs called by the Yugoslav liaison officers firmly declared that they were opposed to autonomy, the Yugoslavs closed the subject. Further questioning would have revealed that class as well as minority persecution was driving the Slavs in Greek Macedonia to the mountains.

The Greek government presented a miserable case. It failed to prove any of its charges conclusively. Most of its exhibits were crude forgeries. Its witnesses were prisoners under sentence of death, adventurers, criminals or men who were black marketeers during the occupation; one of them was a man who had deserted from the army during the Greek-Italian war in 1940-41.

MYOPIA OF THE U. N. COMMISSION

The commission did not study the Greeks' bizarre dream of a revival of their ancient glory, of a Greater Greece. It did not see the maps of the royalist right wing picturing a Greece which included half of Bulgaria, half of Albania, a good chunk of Yugoslavia, all of Turkish Thrace, Constantinople, and Asia Minor. It did not take note of the irredentist military league (the R. A. N.) which was organized in Athens during the German occupation by the Greek army's present chief of staff; or of the provocations suffered by Bulgaria in 1945, when Greek government leaders and the Greek press called for an immediate invasion of Bulgaria with the avowed aim of occupying the whole country and "setting the torch to Sofia." It paid little attention to the well-documented case against the Albanian quislings who fled to Greece after the German withdrawal and then returned to Albania in August, 1946, with weapons provided by the Greek army, to carry on underground activity against the government. It did not inquire as to the whereabouts and present activities of the Bulgarian war criminals whom E. L. A. S. had captured and turned over to the Greek government two years ago. It did not see the Chetnik officers who moved freely around Athens, in regular contact with the Greek general staff and the American military attaché's office.

The commission was too sunk in wishful thinking and self-deception to search earnestly for the truth. Its "terms of reference" barred from its consideration the studies of experts which show that the economy of northern Greece will collapse unless healthy trade relations with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are established.

The commission watched the organized demonstrations of the Greek government, in which little children carried posters with nationalist and expansionist slogans written in English and French, but as their cars passed quickly through destroyed villages, they paid little heed to the ragged Greeks who flung themselves toward the cars and shouted, "We want peace."

The Tacoma Agreement

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, May 20

THE action of the House Appropriations Committee in slashing the budget of the Department of the Interior—going so far as to cut the Bureau of Reclamation 58 per cent—has thrown Western Republicans into a state of panic. They know that unless the cuts are restored, the Democrats stand a good chance of recovering a number of the Congressional seats they lost in 1946. Apparently the Eastern wing of the Republican Party intends to sacrifice the political interests of the Western wing in an effort to win the Eastern states' large blocks of electoral votes. Once the Western Republicans might have acquiesced in such a scheme, but now their principal supporters have been compelled to line up with the proponents of large-scale reclamation and power projects in the West.

This new orientation of Western Republicans, which moves Governor Earl Warren of California to support Secretary Krug's budgetary requests for the Central Valley project, is exemplified in an agreement signed at Tacoma, Washington, on January 22, 1947, by the Washington Water Power Company, the Portland General Electric Company, the Pacific Power and Light Company, the Northwestern Electric Company, the Puget Sound Power and Light Company, and the municipally owned utility systems of Seattle and Tacoma. The agreement clearly recognizes that continued public-power development is essential to the expansion of industry in the Northwest. It declares that the federal government must furnish 318,000 kilowatts of new generating capacity between now and November 1, 1949, "to meet the present critical power-supply problem," and 1,565,000 kilowatts more by November 1, 1953. The signatories urged the government to make the necessary appropriations, including those for backbone transmission facilities, as rapidly as possible. A few years ago one would have been thought mildly balmy for suggesting that Kinsey Robinson, the adroit generalissimo of the private-utility interests in the Northwest, would ever join with municipal systems in memorializing Congress to increase its appropriations for the Bonneville Power Administration. But the signature of Mr. Robinson as president of the Washington Water Power Company is the first on the Tacoma agreement. General recognition by private-utility executives of the absolute necessity for further power development puts Western Republicans in a bad spot.

As early as May 2, 1946, Dr. Paul J. Raver, astute administrator of the Bonneville project, warned the private power interests of an imminent power famine in

the Northwest, but they paid no heed. In fact, Kinsey Robinson testified before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations in March, 1946, that the Bonneville Power Administration had "a tremendous power surplus." Today, one year later, the Bonneville Administration cannot meet the demands of industry for power, and no substantial relief can be expected until 1952—and then only if the recent budget cuts are restored.

How does it happen that a power famine of this proportion has developed so rapidly in the Northwest? The chief reason is that the end of the war did not bring the expected cancellations of orders for power. Even the Bonneville Power Administration was caught somewhat off guard. As a result of the partial break-up of the monopoly position of the Aluminum Company of America, Reynolds and Kaiser in one year have required power in amounts that Bonneville expected would remain unused for perhaps three years. The availability of cheap power has also greatly stimulated its use in rural areas and for domestic purposes. A year or so ago, when I was in the Northwest, the Bonneville officials were dreaming up all sorts of new uses for power—for heating houses, running railroad trains, and so on. Today the use of electric power for house-heating has been pushed far into the future, for Bonneville cannot supply the prime industrial requirements of the region. Moreover, new industrial "loads" are clearly foreseen—the supersonic load, the electrolytic load, the chemical load, and the load of the new phosphate development in southern Idaho. Recently the Alcoa Mining Company announced its discovery of important deposits of laterite, a ferruginous bauxite, that will make possible a vastly expanded aluminum industry in the Northwest.

The same need for public power affects local politics on the West Coast. After the defeat in Washington of Initiative No. 166, which sought to hamstring the public-utility districts of the state, the private-utility interests tried to push a similar measure through the Washington legislature, which for the first time in years is controlled by the Republicans, but this tactic also failed. Oregon is not so strongly for public ownership as Washington, but support for public power is developing rapidly in many areas.

All of this does not mean that Western private-utility interests have capitulated. Having failed to obtain the privilege of buying power from government projects at the dam sites, they now seek to control feeder transmission lines and connecting systems. The Tacoma agreement, for example, urges appropriations for "backbone

transmission facilities," that is, for the large transmission lines from the dams to the local centers. In his appearances before the Committee on Appropriations Mr. Robinson has made it clear that the private utility companies seek to control the transmission and distribution of power once it has reached the load centers. While these interests will not be displeased if their Eastern colleagues succeed in pushing through measures designed to force federal agencies to sell power at the dam sites, they know they must get more power some way, or else, in the near future, they will be unable to supply markets which they have long controlled.

Governor Warren's recent appearance before a House committee to urge appropriations for the Central Valley project and for the construction of transmission lines brought out clearly the new point of view of an important section of Western industry and business. The change does not, of course, imply conversion or consciousness of sin, but it reveals a new and realistic appreciation that public power has become indispensable to the industrialization of the West. For industry to expand in the Northwest, the supply of energy must be consistently developed in anticipation of demand. New

sources of energy must therefore be planned years ahead of immediate needs. From the time an appropriation is first obtained, it takes at least five years to build a new dam and to instal generators. Today it is apparent that by 1955 the Northwest will require two and one-half times the present available supply of power. This means that plans for additional power installations at Grand Coulee, at Hungry Horse, at McNary, Foster Creek, and Snake River must go through on schedule, with no interruptions or delays. In view of the peculiar dynamics of Western industry, the cuts that have been made in the budget for the Department of the Interior are nothing short of calamitous and may, as Secretary Krug has warned, bring on a major depression.

At a recent meeting in Seattle a spokesman for the Republican Party in eastern Washington warned his audience that "what happens to reclamation is the biggest single issue on our side of the Cascades. If Republicans recognize the problems peculiar to our area, our fortunes will rise; if not, they will fall." The bigwigs of the Republican Party had better heed this warning if they expect to retain in 1948 the gains scored in the West in 1946.

"The American Question"

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, May 15

THIS first fortnight of May was Moscow's festive season: May Day was celebrated for three days, and Victory Over Germany Day for two—nobody makes much song and dance about the victory over Japan. With the trees bursting into leaf almost overnight and the people changing from drab winter clothes to bright new summer garb, the general mood has suddenly improved. Everybody is planning vacations, or excursions down the Moscow-Volga Canal, where the pleasure steamers have started running.

The sufferings of the war years and the thrill of the victory over Germany still make a strong emotional appeal. On the night of May 9 a million people must have gathered in and around the Red Square to see the illuminations and hear the victory salutes—a much larger crowd than gathered there on May Day. Russia is faced with immense reconstruction difficulties, which are not underrated, but these holiday crowds in Moscow seemed to have confidence in the future as far as the country's internal progress is concerned. The government and the party have used every conceivable means to get the largest possible harvest this year; economically as well as politically this is a matter of the utmost importance. The snow was heavy all winter. In the south April was

mild and rainy, and the old people in the villages say that it will be a good summer for crops. In anticipation of the harvest, bread, potatoes, and other commodities went down some 20 per cent in the open market in the past month. Consumer goods are in much greater supply, and ration stores have plenty of inexpensive cotton fabrics for summer wear. There are also more shoes, stockings, and household goods. Altogether there is a general feeling that with respect to consumer goods and food Russia's difficulties will soon be over. Housing is another matter; in war-damaged cities and large centers like Moscow the housing shortage will remain acute.

Much less reassuring is the international outlook, and the ignorant old women are already saying that Hitler is in America and is plotting against the Soviet Union with his American cronies. Awareness of "American imperialism" has spread through every layer of the Russian people. It is significant that of the hundreds of plays written since last autumn in conformity with the Central Committee's instructions, the play picked for production in more than 600 theaters throughout the country should have been Konstantin Simonov's "Russian Question," which shows the struggle of a "good American" against the "bad Americans" who are plotting a new war against the Soviet Union.

Obviously it is considered vitally important to make everybody extremely conscious of the "American question." As it is seen here, America is trying to infringe on the Soviet Union's lawful rights; in many places it is rearing dangerous spearheads against the Soviet Union. I have not the space to enumerate all the media by which "American imperialism" is denounced. I have already mentioned the theater; incidentally, Simonov's play is being played not only in the Soviet Union but also in the Russian sector of Berlin, at the Max Reinhardt Theater—the American authorities are reported to have tried in vain to sabotage the production. The satirical journal *Krokodil* is now devoting much of its space to "American imperialism" and the weaknesses of "American democracy," of which the treatment of Negroes is called only one instance. There is anger over the Voice of America broadcasts—much greater anger than over the BBC's Russian broadcasts.

In hundreds of cinemas next week a new documentary in North Korea will be presented. Its dominant theme is that the Russians have a capacity for dealing with Asiatic peoples shown by no one else, least of all the Americans. Russians feel no racial superiority toward yellow, brown, or black people but are "like brothers to them." A people's government has been set up in North Korea. Land tenure has been reformed. Hundreds of schools are being opened for children and a thousand schools for adults, "to liquidate illiteracy." According to the film, "with an eight-hour day the Koreans are producing more than they did with a sixteen-hour day under the Japanese system of sweated labor." In the higher grades Koreans are now taught Russian, and we see a pretty little Korean girl writing the word "Stalin" on the blackboard. The film then demonstrates how this happy land of progress ("rice is more plentiful in North Korea than ever before") contrasts with South Korea. There one finds no land reform, no nationalization of industries, no eight-hour day. The country is run as it was under the Japanese by a "reactionary clique" with American protection. The South Korean sequences are shown to the accompaniment of gloomy funereal music. In South Korea the people are still nothing but coolies; in North Korea they are self-respecting citizens. Throughout the film runs the theme: the Thirty-eighth Parallel dividing North from South Korea is the dividing line between two worlds.

The statements by Marshall and Dulles and by Bevin are considered the most significant events since the conference. Dulles was perhaps more outspoken than Marshall, though little difference is found between their viewpoints. Bevin tried to argue that the conference was a step in the right direction, in the direction of compromise, but Dulles said, "Convictions are more important than compromises." In other words, two wills and two

systems are facing each other in Europe—the Soviet will and the American will—and one must prove stronger than the other.

Typical, perhaps, was the Austrian reaction: One prominent Austrian who had come here for the conference wrung his hands and said, "The one thing we all prayed would not happen has happened: Austria has become the bone of contention between the great powers, between the United States and the Soviet Union. The chances of the occupation troops getting out are much worse now. A clash of wills can get us nowhere. Only a compromise can save us, and here is Dulles saying that European nations are more interested in convictions than in compromises. Jesus Maria! Austria is not interested in convictions. We want a quiet life. Can nothing be done to neutralize us so that we can live quietly like Switzerland?"

Bevin, on the other hand, no doubt with some domestic considerations in mind, was remarkably conciliatory, even cordial. Standing on the station platform with Vishinsky, he burst into song—"The more we are together the merrier we'll be"—and Vishinsky, grinning broadly, beat time like a bandmaster. In an aside Vishinsky said, "What a jolly, convivial man Minister Bevin is."

Decidedly, a change is in the air. Hardly anything is being said in the Russian press against Britain these days or against the British Empire. On the British policy in Egypt and Palestine the Russians are extremely discreet. Perhaps Bevin has seen the light? Whether he has or not, the Russians have suddenly realized that the Truman policy has become a cause of disquiet to the whole of Europe. A sort of mobilization of popular opinion against "American imperialism" is now beginning, somewhat like the mobilization of popular opinion against Hitler in 1934, only with probably better prospects of success. The Russians are gratified that half the Socialist Party in France wished to side with the Communists. They are gratified to learn that much hard thinking is being done inside the British Labor Party, which is obviously scared by the necessity for a new American loan.

When a member of the British government, Harold Wilson, Secretary of Overseas Trade, came to Moscow to prepare the ground for the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement, he was received with open arms. Mikhoyan personally presided over all nine plenary meetings of the British and Soviet experts and was "always available" during the three weeks Wilson was here. Wilson said before leaving that the Russians had been most friendly and charming and that valuable progress had been made. There will not be extensive Anglo-Soviet trade in the immediate future—there obviously cannot be—but a long view is taken by both sides, and "a very large Anglo-Soviet trade, much larger than before the war, is anticipated." Technical cooperation is being planned to put the Soviet timber industry on the same high level of mechan-

zation as the North American timber industry, and Britain will supply a large part of the equipment: that is one of the significant results of the Wilson mission. Before long Russia may have food and tobacco to sell; cotton is already being shipped in substantial quantities. A number of technical and financial difficulties which discouraged some British firms from engaging in trade with Russia were eliminated during the Anglo-Soviet talks.

In short, various new political and economic friends are being acquired and are expected to counteract in

some measure the Truman policy. Not every European, or Asiatic, country's political and economic interests coincide with America's, and these divergences are being brought into focus. To counteract by every possible means the conception of a *Pax Americana* is one of the principal objects of Russian foreign policy today. One cannot help feeling that Washington has made a serious mistake in creating an atmosphere in which such a drive against "American imperialism" has a fair prospect of success.

Terror in Taiwan

BY PEGGY DURDIN

Nanking, China

ON FEBRUARY 27 a policeman of the Taiwan (Formosa) Monopoly Bureau saw a woman selling smuggled cigarettes on the streets of the capital, Taipeh. When he tried to seize her tray and money, she pulled away, and he struck her a crashing blow on the head with his revolver butt. She died at his feet. An angry mob gathered, and the police shot into the crowd, killing one person and wounding others. Forthwith a year and a half of gathering hatred for an inefficient, autocratic, corrupt administration exploded into unarmed demonstrations against the mainland Chinese.

China put down the revolt with brutal repression, terror, and massacre. Mainland soldiers and police first killed thousands indiscriminately; then, more selectively, hunted down and jailed or slaughtered students, intellectuals, prominent business men, and civic leaders. Foreigners estimate that at least five thousand Taiwanese were killed, and executions are still going on.

Governor General Chen Yi has turned a movement against bad government into one against any Chinese government. Nanking has again demonstrated that its chief solution for political and economic crisis is force. In spite of a curtain of censorship and official misrepresentation, the tragic events that took place in Formosa in March are well known here.

The Chinese government owns, controls, and operates—for government profit and personal squeeze—almost the entire economy of Taiwan. One of the articles whose importation and sale are rigidly controlled is tobacco. Many Taiwanese street vendors sell smuggled cigarettes. It was in the course of a campaign against the sale of smuggled goods that the woman was killed in Taipeh.

The rioting which followed was not consciously revolutionary but was against the hated monopoly police, which symbolized for the people the government's exploitation of their island. Unarmed processions marched to the government offices to demand punishment of the policemen, compensation for the dead and wounded, and dismissal of the head of the tobacco monopoly. They beat to death two policemen in front of the tobacco monopoly's office and burned the stocks of tobacco. Police guarding the Governor's office raked the crowd with machine-gun fire without provocation.

Barricaded in its offices, the government lost control of the city. Shops closed. Transportation broke down. Mobs of Taiwanese, still unarmed, beat up a number of mainland Chinese and burned their possessions, though not their homes. Truckloads of police rushed through Taipeh's streets machine-gunning the demonstrators while Governor Chen Yi was busily broadcasting conciliatory promises. During this period not a single foreigner saw an armed Taiwanese.

With calculated trickery Chen Yi continued his efforts to appease the people while he waited for military reinforcements. On March 2, over the radio, he expressed his love for the Taiwanese, and promised that no one would be prosecuted for rioting, that the families of the dead would be compensated, and that he would appoint a committee to settle the incident. This group, composed of mainlanders and representative Taiwanese, most of whom have since been shot, was to be known as the "Committee to Settle the February 28 Incident" and was to present to him by March 10 their suggestions for the reform of the administration.

Though the efforts of the committee Taipeh and the nearby port of Keelung became quiet. Students patrolled the streets, keeping order. Many of these students are now dead.

Meanwhile the spark ignited in Taipeh had spread down the whole length of Taiwan. In the first few days

PEGGY DURDIN is The Nation's correspondent in China. A second article on Taiwan will appear soon.

of March the Taiwanese took over the administration of almost every city. As far as can be discovered, they seized control in most instances without the use of firearms. Violence was usually limited to beatings, though some officials were killed.

On March 7 Chen Yi's committee handed in its recommendations. Reasonably enough, they included the following: that Taiwan be given provincial, not colonial, status; that provincial magistrates and city mayors be elected before June; that a larger proportion of Taiwanese be given administrative, police, and judicial posts; that all special police be abolished and no political arrests be permitted; that freedom of press and speech and the right to strike be granted; that managers of all public enterprises be Taiwanese; that committees be elected to supervise these public enterprises and the factories taken over from the Japanese; that the trade and monopoly bureaus be abolished; that the political and economic rights of the aborigines be guaranteed; that Taiwanese be appointed to as many army, navy, and air-force posts in Taiwan as possible; that detained "war criminals" be released (Taiwan was part of the Japanese Empire for fifty-one years); that the central government repay Taiwan for the expropriated sugar and rice; that garrison headquarters be abolished "to avoid misuse of military might." These proposals were not presented as an ultimatum. They were clearly a basis for negotiation. Chen Yi had already agreed to most of the points.

At noon on March 8 the commander of the Fourth Gendarme Regiment told the committee that its demands for political reform were "proper," but asked that it withdraw its demand for the abolition of garrisons. He said, "I will guarantee with my life that the central government will not take military action against Taiwan." At this point, although most of the island was still in the hands of the people, Chen Yi could have reached an agreement with them which would have insured the Nanking government's continued control of Taiwan and the cooperation of the Taiwanese. He only needed to move honestly toward reform. But he had at no time any intention of establishing peace by compromise. This was revolt; he would crush it. He was obliged to temporize and deceive until his troops arrived.

On the afternoon and evening of March 8, without warning or provocation, the streets of Keelung and Taipei were cleared with gunfire to cover the entry of mainland troops. These reinforcements consisted mainly of the Twenty-first Division, a Szechuan outfit with a reputation for brutality. In the next four or five days more than a thousand unarmed Taiwanese in the Taipei-Keelung area alone were massacred. A year and a half earlier many of them had joyously welcomed the arrival of the Chinese troops. Now truckloads of soldiers armed with machine-guns and automatic rifles shot their way through the streets. Soldiers demanded entry into homes,

killed the first person who appeared, and looted the premises. Bodies floated thick in Keelung harbor and in the river which flows by Taipei. Twenty young men were castrated, their ears cut off, and their noses slashed. A foreigner watched gendarmes cut off a young boy's hands before bayoneting him because he had not dismounted from his bicycle quickly enough. The radio advised students who had fled from the city to return to their homes, but when they did so they were killed. Any prominent person was in grave danger.

By March 14 the killing had tapered off in Taipei. In other cities the terror followed the same pattern.

While this legalized slaughter was at its height, Chiang Kai-shek told the audience at the weekly memorial service in Nanking that Taiwan would have constitutional rights "at an early date." The recent riots, he revealed reassuringly, were "instigated by Communists." He admonished the erring people of Taiwan to "abide by law and not become an instrument of traitorous cliques."

Terror has won temporarily in Taiwan; the island is sullenly quiet. At this writing Governor Chen Yi has not yet been dismissed, in spite of a resolution passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang several weeks ago.* Chen Yi has important friends. Moreover, to dismiss him promptly would mean loss of face; it is more tactful to let him resign, in good time. A Taiwanese who had spent his adult life in anti-Japanese activity said to me bitterly during the height of the terror, "The Generalissimo won't dismiss Chen Yi now. That would be an admission that he and the government had made mistakes. But hundreds of Taiwanese die every day that Chen Yi saves face."

The Minister of National Defense, Pai Chung-hsi, sent by the Generalissimo to Taiwan to investigate the affair and "comfort" the mainland Chinese, has denied any reprisals against the Taiwanese; the rioters were simply pursued, arrested, and punished. There were no atrocities, he said, giving the lie to foreign eyewitnesses. "Chinese troops have been instructed by the government not to commit any atrocities; so it is not possible for them to commit any atrocities in Formosa or anywhere in China," he explained. While he admitted that there were defects in the Chinese administration of Taiwan, Pai blamed the revolt on Japanese influence and on the Communists. Not a single neutral observer, however, accepts Pai's or the Generalissimo's statement that Communists instigated or directed the riots. None believes that Communists have any influence at present in Taiwan. However, shortly after news of the massacre began to leak through to China, the Yenan radio claimed that hundreds of Taiwan soldiers in Kuomintang armies on the Shantung front were deserting to the Commu-

* Since Miss Durdin wrote, Chen Yi has been removed, and Dr. Wei Tao-Ming has been appointed governor of Formosa.—EDITORS THE NATION.

nists. Certainly Chen Yi has followed the procedure most likely to cause the development of a flourishing Communist movement in Taiwan.

A group of Japanese-trained gangsters and *ronins* undoubtedly participated in the uprising, but they did

not start it. Foreign observers in Taipeh state categorically that the sole cause of the revolt was the flagrant misrule of the Chinese mainlanders. The Taiwanese had repeatedly and fruitlessly petitioned for reform. It is not surprising that they finally acted.

Isabelita Has Lost Her Reason

BY KAY BOYLE

Paris, April 30

I DID not reach Spain in time for the anniversary of the Spanish Republic. I crossed the border on the morning of the sixteenth of April, two days too late. The words of commemoration which had been written up on the walls had been effaced long since, for a bare quarter of an hour after they were boldly written there by clandestine hands, I was later told, official hands had wiped them away. It was just after eight o'clock, and there were only two of us crossing that morning—an Englishman and I. The sun was brilliant, and instead of taking a taxi at the frontier, we got into the electric train which runs through the fields and villages to San Sebastian on the Sea. The wind was strong in the port town, and the waves broke high, flinging slaps of water and salty spray as high as the Paseo de la República, and as I walked there with the Englishman I thought of Isabelita. I knew she was in prison and that she had lost her reason, but I did not know any more.

From San Sebastian it is another fourteen hours to Madrid (and as each taxi leaves the North Station of the city, the police record the address to which the passengers have directed it to go). Within an hour I had learned from Spanish friends that there had been, about three weeks before, a new round-up of professional people and intellectuals. As usual, it had all been done very quietly, no word of it appearing in the press. Enrique Díaz, a former professor of the French Lycée of Madrid, had been picked up at his house, and his notebooks, containing the names and addresses of friends, had led to the arrest of others. (The husband of my friend, J—, had been taken, and now she had destroyed not only all personal letters and the address books she had kept over a period of years but also every doctor's prescription, every wedding announcement, and any other piece of paper which might bear an innocent name or address.) Still others had been rounded up wholesale in a café—as were Frenchmen in the days of the occupa-

tion—and even the bootblacks who happened to be shining shoes there at the moment had been taken along to jail as political offenders.

Another recent arrest had caused a great deal of surreptitious talk, J— said. Although the identity of the prisoner had not been divulged, rumor had it that he was a highly placed official. Packages were being sent to him at the Prisión Central de Alcalá de Henares addressed simply to "Señor the Unknown"; but the story persists that he is the chief engineer of the Constructora Naval, and that he was suspected of having passed on atomic information to a foreign power that has made no secret of its animosity to Franco Spain. When I asked J— about Isabelita, she said it would not be easy to see her. She and the other children, J— said, were at present being held *incomunicado*, and not even members of their families were permitted access to them.

That was the seventeenth, and at six o'clock that morning four men were executed by a firing squad in the Retamares camp. On the eighteenth two entirely unrelated things happened: two more political prisoners were executed, this time at Alcalá de Henares, and a demonstration by the Falangist student organization (the S. E. U.) took place in downtown Madrid. Members of the S. E. U. (the Syndicate of Spanish Universities) paraded through the streets carrying an actual coffin, with a contrived corpse lying in it. Other Falangist students followed in the funeral cortège bearing lighted tapers and chanting: "Death to the King! Death to the King!" Opposition was shown them by the crowds in the street, and the police broke up the ensuing *mêlée* by bringing their sticks down right and left. That same day I talked with officials at our embassy about the possibility of seeing Isabelita, and they told me what they knew.

Isabelita Torralba is fifteen or sixteen years old, and she has become "mentally deranged as a consequence of the ill treatment" to which she was subjected during her stay in the Dirección General de Seguridad. This much, at least, seems to be clear. It is also known that Isabelita is one of a group of nine children—the three oldest are nineteen years old, the others between fifteen and eighteen—who have been accused of terrorism, and who are at present confined in the provincial prisons of Caraban-

KAY BOYLE, the well-known novelist, sends The Nation frequent accounts of significant happenings in Europe.

chel Alto y Ventas. The children have not been condemned to death, one American official took great trouble to point out to me; but the prosecutor is expected to ask the death sentence for four of them and thirty-year prison terms for the other five. "People are apt to go off half-cocked on these matters," the American official said.

The same American told me more of the tragic story, and the part he told me went like this: When the children were first arrested they were held in isolation—in an isolation "so severe and inhuman," states the National Committee of United Socialist Youth of Spain, that several of the children, in this strict confinement, "contracted incurable diseases." Late in 1946 a delegation from the other political prisoners in the Prisión Central de Alcalá de Henares made a formal protest against the treatment being accorded the children. The prisoners then went on hunger strike for seven and a half days, at the end of which time the children were removed to another gallery, where living conditions were apparently somewhat more bearable. (But in the meantime, or before that, or somewhere along the way, Isabelita had managed to lose her reason.) And then, on Christmas Eve, it became known in the prison that the nine children were being punished, and were not to be allowed to partake of the special dinner which would be served the following day. So every prisoner in that wing refused to eat Christmas dinner if the children were not to have it too, but this time the authorities did not give in. So, because of a little group of children whose names are José Luis Sánchez Cano, Germán Sanz Esteban, Juan Arranz Lafont, Luis Berlinches Raso, Adolfo González Barona, Angel Goya Arroyo, José Yuste García, Isabelita Torralba, and Luisa González Barona, none of the prisoners in that wing ate dinner on Christmas Day.

More of the story was told me by M—, who has been out of prison on parole since February, and who has seen children like them die. "In Spain," M— said, "three classifications of people are protected under present conditions. They are the military, the clergy, and the Falangists. Isabelita and the other children cannot appeal to any of the three." He said he had seen girls of Luisa's and Isabelita's age go out to their execution, walking two by two across the prison courtyard in the gray of the morning, like young girls on their way to school. "We could see them from our cells," he said. "Sometimes they passed close under our windows. We could see they had put their lipstick and mascara on, like cheap women. But they were not cheap women. It was their way of saying they were not afraid to die."

Tonight one more paragraph is added to the story. It is contained in a few lines on the front page of a Paris evening newspaper. Following the condemnation to death of three of the nine children on trial, Franco's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has found it necessary to make a public statement to the effect that under Spanish law

sixteen years of age constitutes "penal majority." Therefore an accused of that age is, in the eyes of the law, fully responsible for his acts. "Cardinal Segura," says M—'s voice across the brilliant sunlight, "has been occupied barring from sacred communion people unchristian enough to attend dances. He has not had time yet to ask Franco for clemency for nine Spanish children who have been nearly a year in prison."

A military court, concludes the newspaper notice, will shortly determine what their fate will be.

In the Wind

IT GIVES this column the utmost pleasure to reproduce herewith extracts from a long editorial which appeared in the *Boston Herald* just fifteen years ago next week:

The Democrats probably reelected President Hoover last night when they nominated Governor Roosevelt. . . . They have chosen a man who . . . is deficient in the qualities of leadership and statesmanship, and in character, ability, and intellectual impact, to . . . a score of other possible candidates, including Senator Walsh.

Not since 1896 . . . has the party picked a candidate in whom the country has so little confidence. There is nothing in his career to justify a classification with his predecessors—Judge Alton B. Parker, Woodrow Wilson, James M. Cox, and John W. Davis. One of his most ardent supporters has said that he has never been associated with a man whose public career gave so little foundation for a speech of praise. . . .

Republicans . . . think frankly that he is the weakest candidate in the Democratic Party. . . .

What sort of campaign will Governor Roosevelt make? It is to be expected that he will have more to say about "the forgotten man" . . . The chances are that the Governor will dispense doctrines which are dear to the ["so-called progressives"] and will also woo the conservatives.

We doubt that he will have the courage . . . to make an uncompromising fight for his political principles, if he has any.

ON THURSDAY, MAY 8, the United States Senate met at eleven o'clock in the morning, and its chaplain, the Reverend Peter Marshall, offered a prayer, which closed as follows: "Help us to do our very best this day and be content with today's troubles, so that we shall not borrow the troubles of tomorrow. Save us from the sin of worrying, lest stomach ulcers be the badge of our lack of faith. Amen." You can look it up in the *Congressional Record*.

THE CANADIAN INFORMATION SERVICE announces that a boycott of the eight-cent candy bar first organized by teen-agers in the Vancouver Island town of Chemainus is now spreading to many other centers across the country. It has already kicked back as far as wholesalers and distributors.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

BREST-LITOVSK AGAIN?

SINCE the most important issue of our times is the relationship between Russia and the Western nations, we are more than justified in studying any aspect of it that can throw a ray of light on today's difficulties. One indispensable source is the collection of official documents on the early years of the Russian Revolution. I have recently gone through a lot of them. They are fascinating, and they serve to remind us again that there is nothing new in the present policy of "getting tough" with Russia. Among its possible many merits that policy certainly has not the merit of originality.

It began nearly thirty years ago. From the summer of 1918 until today stretches a period of misunderstandings and tension broken only by brief intervals of reconciliation when Russia joined the League and when it entered the fight against Germany on the side of the Allies. Let us jump back for a moment to the start of the trouble.

Toward the end of May, 1918, the first skirmishes take place between the Czechoslovak troops, acting as vanguard of the interventionist powers, and the Soviet forces. Later in the month the Allies land in Murmansk and among the landing forces is a small contingent of Americans. In a note dated June 12, Chicherin, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, charges an unprovoked act of intervention in the internal affairs of his country; Soviet officials are being arrested and sometimes even shot; Russian railroad guards have been disarmed; railroads and telegraphs taken under Allied control. Chicherin asks for the removal of foreign troops from Soviet territory and warns of "the feeling that is being developed among the wide masses of Russia by the unprovoked British invasion, and the results this feeling will have in the future." The Allied reply takes the form of a British coup d'état in Archangel that results in the overthrow of the local Soviet. A proclamation addressed to the "Peoples of Russia" by the British at Archangel assures them that the invaders "come as friends to assist in the struggle against Germany."

Chicherin knows better. He knows, among other things, that on December 23, 1917, twenty-four hours after the first session of the preliminary Brest-Litovsk conference, representatives of Great Britain and France met secretly in Paris to discuss the best way to finish with the Russia of the Soviets. A plan was worked out there by the experts of each country whose aim was the elimination of the Bolshevik regime. With this plan in mind, Chicherin's note protesting the Archangel coup is firm and even violent in tone. Some important British agents in Russia, fearing that intervention will more and more push the Russians into the hands of Germany, advise London to go slow. But official London believes that only "getting tough" with the Bolsheviks will bring results.

The Allies, in these days, are heading back toward 1917. The pattern was set at Brest-Litovsk by the gigantic General Hoffman, speaking in the name of the Imperial German Army, at a series of meetings with the Russians during which he used his fist on the "peace" table so energetically as to smash it to smithereens. Lenin, who wanted peace against

the advice of his collaborators, fixed a limit to his desire; he was not going to allow General Hoffman to treat the Soviet regime and his country like a bunch of bushmen if he could help it. The czarist army had disintegrated; the people had demanded peace—and "seized" it. But the Red Army was already in the field, defending the revolution, and Lenin was prepared to go on fighting if he received some help from Russia's former Allies. The best hope was America. The All-Russian Congress of the Soviets had received a cable of sympathy from President Wilson; Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, had also sent an encouraging word. At the request of Colonel Robins (head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia) Lenin agreed to draw up a formal note to the United States government asking, "in case (a) the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets refuses to ratify the peace treaty with Germany or (b) if the German government, breaking the treaty, renews the offensive in order to continue the robbers' raid, can the Soviet government rely on the support of the United States, Great Britain, and France?" Lenin's decision was held up to give time for a reply from Washington. No reaction; no reply. Silence may be also an expression of toughness.

War approaches its end. On the eve of the Armistice the Soviets try again to improve their relations with the Allies. On October 24, 1918, a long, reasoned letter is sent by Chicherin to Wilson. On December 2 a combined protest and peace proposal is sent to Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. On December 24, Litvinov from Stockholm sends another statement to Wilson. There follows an entire year of attempts by the Russians to arrive at some kind of *modus vivendi*. On December 5, 1919, the Seventh Congress of the Soviets adopts a resolution recalling all these earlier appeals and "once more confirms its unchanging desire for peace" by renewing its proposals for negotiations. Clemenceau rejects this offer on December 21 and insists on the policy of "economic encirclement of the Bolsheviks [in French the *cordon sanitaire*] and the organization of order by the Russian elements"—the Kolchaks and Denikins. The Allied policy toward Russia remains the same until the entire machinery of intervention breaks down with the rout of the counter-revolutionary armies.

Does this record of the earliest relations between Russia and the West explain the suspicion and hostility, the intransigence, that strangle those relations today? Perhaps only partly. Conflicting interests, conflicting social philosophies, are still major causes of trouble as they were in 1918. But no one who has been in Russia would deny that the "get-tough" tactics of the Allies in 1918, so long forgotten in the West, are still a living issue there. Nearly thirty years have passed. But in the last issue of the London *New Statesman and Nation* to reach my desk I read: "It seems clear that Mr. Marshall is relying on American toughness to prevail in a diplomatic war of attrition and to succeed in the end in extracting compromises from the U. S. S. R. The indications so far are that the U. S. S. R. will go on meeting toughness with toughness."

DEL VAYO

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Financing the Monnet Plan

THE first operation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—a \$250,000,000 loan to France—is designed to forward both objectives included in the bank's title. For if France is to regain its position as a pillar of European economy, and to provide an adequate standard of living for its people, it must proceed beyond a mere reconstruction to the development of new resources and the increase of productivity above pre-war levels. In the period between the two world wars French industry and agriculture stagnated. Too large a proportion of national savings was swallowed up in providing for defense, and investment in modern equipment was insufficient to keep France abreast of other industrial countries. In the thirties production in Britain, Scandinavia, and other European countries recovered from its depression lows to reach levels higher than in 1929. In France it never did, as the following table shows:

	1929	1938
Coal production (million tons)	55.0	47.6
Steel " "	9.7	6.2
Cement " "	5.3	3.8
Rail freight (million tons transported)	224.0	133.0

The effects of the Second World War on an already weakened economy were devastating. Population was reduced by 1,400,000; property damage was enormous; stocks of raw material—working capital—were completely exhausted; industrial equipment seriously deteriorated owing to lack of proper maintenance for five years; the transport system was half wrecked; the very soil was badly depleted by lack of fertilizer. Considering all these factors, the degree of recovery achieved since liberation is truly remarkable. By the end of 1946 the volume of production had risen to about 90 per cent of the pre-war figure and the volume of exports to 75 per cent.

But recovery is not enough; it must be followed by expansion if the French people are to realize true economic security. Early this year, therefore, the French government adopted a four-year program of development drawn up by a great body of experts headed by M. Jean Monnet. This plan aims to raise the national production level 30 per cent above the 1938 figure by 1950 and to this end proposes the investment of a sum equivalent to \$18,900,000,000 during the next four years. For the most part, expenditure is to be concentrated on six key sectors of the economy—coal, power, steel, building materials, agricultural machinery, and transport. The modernization of these industries, the raising of their output, and the increased productivity per capita of the workers they employ will, it is believed, stimulate greater activity in all directions.

The capital required to finance the Monnet Plan will be

derived to the extent of 84 per cent from domestic sources. That means that savings over the next four years must equal about 20 per cent of the net national income, a very high proportion for a country as poor as France now is. For the sake of a future improvement in living standards, the French people are being asked to restrict present consumption to little more than bare essentials.

Fulfillment of the Monnet Plan will not be possible without large imports of coal and oil, raw materials, and machinery of all kinds, most of which will be bought in the United States. Orders amounting to \$700,000,000 for such equipment as locomotives, freight cars, tankers, tractors, and power plants have already been placed, and tentative schedules call for further purchases totaling \$1,230,000,000. But the French balance of international payments is heavily adverse at this time, and the restoration of equilibrium through the expansion of exports can hardly be expected before 1950. Imports of capital goods, therefore, must be paid for by the mobilization of external resources. The liquidation of foreign investments and other overseas assets, together with the partial proceeds of existing loans from the United States and other countries, will, it is anticipated, furnish about \$2,170,000,000. This leaves some \$850,000,000 to be raised by new credits, or \$600,000,000 after taking into account the loan just granted by the International Bank.

The problem of the external financing of the Monnet Plan, therefore, remains to be solved. And this is only one of many formidable obstacles to its successful completion. Among these coal supply takes a foremost place. By heroic measures the output of the French mines has been pushed above the pre-war level, but this source was never adequate for French needs. In order to maintain industrial production, let alone increase it, larger coal imports must be obtained. But where are they to be found while fuel shortages hinder recovery throughout Europe?

Another major difficulty is lack of man-power. In order to fulfil the Monnet Plan nearly 1,000,000 new workers must be recruited before 1950. Efforts are therefore being made to persuade hitherto unemployed women to enter industry, and agreements are being negotiated for the immigration of foreign workers, particularly Italians. It is also hoped that some of the German prisoners of war, who must shortly be released, will be induced to stay in France as free workers. But even if all these and other measures being taken succeed, the labor supply will hardly equal the demand.

Even more momentous for the success of the Monnet Plan is the solution of the political problem that it poses. Commenting on this aspect of the program, the London *Economist* of December 14, 1946, asked: "How far will a sovereign people, in peace time, allow its rulers to impose upon it more effort and less consumption than it would choose, on its own initiative, as a collection of individuals?" In other words can democratic economic planning which calls for voluntary acceptance by the workers of long hours and frozen wages, and by the population at large of burdensome taxation, rationing, and shortages of all kinds, be successfully achieved? The future of European democracy depends, in a large measure, on the answer which France and other nations find for that question.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN "THE BIG SKY" (William Sloane Associates, \$3.50) A. G. Guthrie, Jr., has attempted to recreate the landscape and the life of the early Northwest, the West of the fur trapper and the voyageur. It is an authentic subject—for the emotional impact of the Far Western experience is still unspent and so far has remained part of the unfinished business of art. The creative imagination of a Mark Twain seized upon the rough stone of another phase of American experience and handed it back in its intrinsic, final, and therefore possessable form. The essence of the Far Western experience has yet to be extracted and possessed.

The landscape, for lack of a larger word, is the central theme of "The Big Sky." Scattered through the great expanse of mountains and forests and river valleys are the mountain men, the traders, French boatmen plying the streams, the Indians at war and peace, who are Mr. Guthrie's *dramatis personae*. Three mountain men and an Indian girl are his principal characters, of whom Boone Caudill and Teal Eye occupy the foreground.

The characterization of the three mountain men is carried out by contemporary and realistic means, including the stream-of-consciousness technique for revealing their thoughts and feelings. Bernard De Voto assures us that Mr. Guthrie's delineation is accurate, that this is actually "how they were, how they lived, most of all how they felt." Perhaps. The trouble is that, however well Mr. Guthrie understands them, his rendering of their thoughts and feelings is not very convincing. I doubt whether any contemporary rendering could be. It would be almost impossible not to ascribe to them, as Mr. Guthrie often seems to do, the thoughts and feelings about the early West of a present-day American. The fact that the two sets of thoughts and feelings may be similar only complicates the problem. As for his handling of the romance of

Caudill and Teal Eye, it is, to say the least, anachronistic.

As I have indicated, the landscape is the object and motivation of the emotional drive out of which Mr. Guthrie writes. At times, notably in the account of men marooned in a mountain pass in winter, he succeeds in communicating its reality. And the reality turns out to be a fabulous realm of snow and peak and sky of which the most fabulous element of all is a rock goat, alive and real, yet also an emanation of the ghostly landscape. The human characters here become mere figures in the landscape pointing up its overwhelming presence, yet are none the less real. This is the best passage of the book and I think it is no accident that it takes on a legendary quality.

Throughout the book it is the characters who are allowed to remain figures in the landscape who seem most real. The Indians, whose stream of consciousness Mr. Guthrie does not attempt to plumb—including Teal Eye, except when she is drawn too far into the orbit of her white man's consciousness—are more convincing than the three mountain men on whom he spends so much effort and space. (The little beaver trying to free herself from the trap, whose eyes remind Boone of Teal Eye, is more completely realized, in a couple of paragraphs, than Teal Eye herself. Mr. Guthrie does very well with animals.)

I can't help feeling that Mr. Guthrie has applied the realistic technique to material of which the reality cannot be captured by the documentary method. This method serves him well in one respect. The brutality and the plain squalor of life in the early West come through. On the other hand, one suspects that its rather solemn and pedestrian compulsions inhibit him in another respect. Though a few tall tales are spun around campfires, he makes very little use of the humorous myth-making which was and still is a constant and deeply indigenous American way of coping with the overwhelming presence.

The realistic approach, the technique of dogged documentation, has a prestige akin to that of virtue in this country.

Yet the American fiction which has survived and will survive is the fiction which may and usually does start off on the ground, along "a bright trail of fact," as if in propitiation, but ends in the fabulous. Melville and Mark Twain were realists in that they dealt with contemporary reality. But "Moby Dick" and "Huckleberry Finn"—and "The Great Gatsby," to take a more recent example—are fables, not documentaries. Aspiring writers should learn this, and let themselves go.

Mr. Guthrie's mountain men would be more believable if they were more legendary—by which I do not mean romantic. As it is they are not only unconvincing; they impose upon the wilderness, and they narrow the dimensions and wonder of the big sky. Mr. Guthrie is a competent and sensitive and conscientious writer. But the spirit of the West, whatever it was, has escaped him—partly I think because he used a realistic trap.

I went to the ballet at the City Center the other evening. I noted ruefully that the rows in front of me were only half filled, but hoped for the best. The worst ensued. Throughout the performance of the first number late comers, all of whom seemed preternaturally tall, slow, and awkward, stumbled into their seats—they always have seats in the middle of a row. They whispered, they panted from hurrying, they looked around to take their bearings as if they had been standing on a peak in Darien. By the time they had all helped remove each other's coats, had squirmed, sighed, and settled, the ballet was over. A least I assumed so because I heard clapping. I hadn't seen anything but a few stray motions of the dancers, glimpsed through the far less skilful but all enveloping motions of the late comers. And then of course it was time for them to move in reverse. They must get out into the lobby in order to come in late for the second ballet. At that point I yielded the field. Seeing the ballet at the Metropolitan, I might add, is beset by the same hazards, with the ushers aiding and abetting.

A friend of mine who has protested to City Center against being subjected, along with hundreds of other people, to the maddening interruptions and eruptions of not one or two but dozens of late comers, has been told that it is a "ticklish situation," that it is not legal to keep ticket holders out, that City Center patrons are a "pretty mixed lot" who feel that the Center is an informal place, that it is hard to get anywhere in New York on time, that when people are held in the lobby a representative of the press is likely to appear and demand admittance, that perhaps the answer lies in slow education!

All of which becomes ludicrous when you discover that at City Center, as at Carnegie Hall, people who arrive late at symphony concerts are held outside until they can be admitted without interrupting the performance.

Sometimes it is difficult to get to a performance on time. It is also sometimes difficult to get to a railroad station on time. Yet, as my friend points out, a railroad doesn't worry about late comers, and as a result of fast education relatively few people miss trains, and if they do they never think of reproaching the management. Yet railroad patrons are a pretty mixed lot.

People who go to the ballet and the opera are surely capable of understanding why they should not be admitted in the middle of a performance. It is too much perhaps to expect that they will insist on being kept out, but the idea that they will object is ridiculous. And no newspaper is going to penalize City Center for not allowing its critic the privilege of coming in late.

The people who are really entitled to the solicitude of the management are not the late comers but those who arrive on time—and the performers themselves. To dance or sing before an audience which is carrying on a noisy undirected performance of its own, complete with the double shuffle and the flying leap, cries of pain, and excuse-me-pleases, must be very trying. I wish the unions involved would specify, among other minimum working conditions, a relatively quiet and stable auditorium. If it would eliminate the people who go not to see the ballet but to be seen—and heard—seeing the ballet, the financial loss would surely be small, and it would be a gain in every other way.

Oil and Politics

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEAR EAST. By E. A. Speiser. Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

Americans know that they are up to their necks in the politics of the Near East, but few of them are well informed about the history and problems of that region. The editors of the American Foreign Policy Library did well therefore to choose this subject for the second volume of their series. They did even better when they persuaded Professor Speiser to write the book, for he combines a profound knowledge of the region's historical background with an acute understanding of its current affairs. Moreover, he has approached his task with a cool objectivity that contrasts pleasantly with the superheated emotionalism of much contemporary discussion of the Near Eastern question.

For the purposes of this book Professor Speiser rather arbitrarily considers the Near East as coincident with the territories of the Arab League nations

plus, of course, Palestine. This area, he believes, is the new "strategic center of gravity" of the world—the point where the interests of the great powers converge and conflict. Here Britain has long been dominant, protecting its communications with the Far East, blocking the advance of Russia toward warm waters. And now the United States has appeared on the scene because as a world power it cannot ignore so politically tender a spot, because it has a major interest in Arabian oil, and because, in the new air age, the Arab lands are as much an international crossroads as they were in the age of caravans.

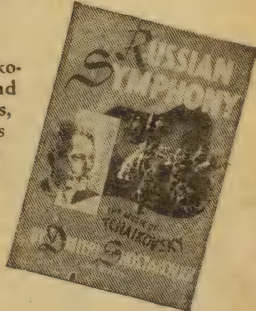
Stimulating, and stimulated by, the rivalries of the great powers are the boiling passions of the pan-Arab movement. This is a phenomenon sometimes treated as an artificial growth. Professor Speiser, though he recognizes the dynastic and sectarian obstacles to Arab unity, does not agree. He is impressed by the influence which the Arabs, by virtue of their historic prestige, exercise in the great Moslem belt which runs

RUSSIAN SYMPHONY

THOUGHTS ABOUT TCHAIKOVSKY

BY DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH and others

Dmitri Shostakovich, Stalin prize-winner and composer of nine symphonies, takes the lead in writing this most unique volume in contemporary musical criticism. Fellow composers and musicians offer a fascinating study of Tchaikovsky, master of the art of composition. The book includes an extensive chronological survey of Tchaikovsky's works. \$3.75



At your Bookstore, or mail Coupon:



LIMITED
EDITION
ORDER
NOW!

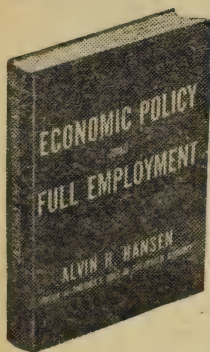
PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers

The Philosophical Library, Dept. N,
15 East 40th St., New York 16, N. Y.
Please send me.....copies of RUSSIAN SYMPHONY,
at \$3.75 per copy. Enclosed are \$.....
NAME.....
ADDRESS.....

Alvin H. Hansen

"returns the barb to those who try to pin the label of 'visionary' on the planners."

(N. Y. Times Book Review)



ECONOMIC POLICY and FULL EMPLOYMENT

by the author of
AMERICA'S ROLE IN
THE WORLD ECONOMY

"A SANE, balanced effort to place sturdy crutches under the arms of an arteriosclerotic economy."
—*The Nation*.

"A WELCOME addition to the rapidly expanding American library on the subject of economic stability and full employment. . . . We can learn a thing or two from one of the best of America's economists as we grope around for our own answers to the many complicated questions which he raises."—*The Commonwealth*.

"PROVIDES an excellent foundation for understanding the nature of economic cause and effect."
—*Hartford, (Conn.) Courant*.

2nd PRINTING

At all bookstores • \$4.00

WHITTLESEY HOUSE

A Division of the
McGRAW-HILL BOOK CO., N. Y. 11

from Gibraltar to Singapore. Nevertheless, he does not support Arab claims to Palestine. The problem of the Holy Land, he declares, can only be solved by compromise, with all three interests involved—the Jews, the Arabs, and the British—making concessions. Such a solution will only be feasible if it has real international authority to back it.

On Palestine as on other Near Eastern questions Professor Speiser believes that America should pursue a more independent policy that it has in the past. Such a policy, he writes, "based on enlightened self-interest, may reduce general tension. But automatic American support of British policy in the region threatens to increase tension to the explosive point."

This book, it will be realized, is extremely topical, and like all topical books these days it has already been overtaken by events and needs revision. In view of developments in the last few months, for instance, it is no longer possible to speak of the United States as a junior partner in the exploitation of Arabian oil. Under American pressure the former British policy of restricting development has collapsed.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Family Portrait

AN AMERICAN DYNASTY. By John Tebbel. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

THE strange clan—spell it with a K if you like—which peddles the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, and the *Washington Times-Herald* to buyers of advertising space and to a huge cross-section of America has been posed by John Tebbel, a former newspaperman, for an anything but flattering family portrait in this well-written book.

Here is the story of the publishing Medells, McCormicks, and Pattersons, and no more fantastic yarns could be dreamed up by the writers for the *Sunday News* than are told here by Mr. Tebbel in documented detail. Mr. Tebbel is rightly concerned with the survival of what Henry Luce's \$200,000 committee recently called "A Free and Responsible Press." His conclusion, however, after brooding over the antics of the essentially ignorant, hopelessly prejudiced, decidedly obnoxious persons

who have such a seeming power over public opinion, is in reality no more helpful than the conclusions of the Luce committee—namely, that the newspaper publishers should clean up their own house. There is consolation in the fact that, as the author points out, the influence of the McCormick-Pattersons in terms of politics is "negligible." "I get a man or a measure soundly licked all you have to do is to get the indorsement of the *Chicago Tribune*. Consider the Chicagoan who announced that he was 100 per cent for coronary thrombosis—because he had read an attack on in the "world's greatest newspaper." Yes, Mr. Tebbel concludes that the American press can only be free "by ending the abuses of its freedom perpetrated by its own members." Which is like asking the Kluxers to throw away their nighties, burn down their Klaverns, and hand over their treasury to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Zionist Organization of America. The awful truth is that there ain't no such animal as a "free and responsible press," not even the *New York Times*, as Mr. Tebbel freely admits. Not under any system of "free enterprise" which makes millionaire out of dope peddlers, and "molders of public opinion" out of night-riding bigots. But cheer up, folks, Congress hasn't yet passed a law making it compulsory to read the *News* or the *Tribune*, or the *Times-Herald*.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Man's Burden

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER? By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. An Asia Press Book. John Day Company \$2.25.

IF BY being "my brother's keeper" we mean the white man's burden, the right and duty to impose upon benighted natives our own idols—gadget worship, the profit motive, the party system, and an exclusive theology—then the answer of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy is an emphatic no. He is a skeptic—and so am I—even about universal literacy, which we mistake for universal education. His challenge is well worth pondering, even by advanced liberals. Many are advocating a world state in which representation would be weighted

According to Western standards: industrial output and literacy. The Nazis were industrialized and literate.

But in another sense, according to Coomaraswamy, I am my brother's keeper. He believes in cultures which are happy because they have reached equilibrium: everyone knows his place. He even upholds the caste system, so dear to the Admirable Crichton. In such a community a non-conformist spoils the pattern and should be discouraged. We are familiar with this philosophy: it is that of the British Tories, of Marshal Pétain, and of the Un-American Committee. The remedy is to break up the reactionary and totalitarian idol of the anthropologists, *culture*, and to invite the whole world, not to be like ourselves, but to seek with us. It might spoil Bali, or Barchester. But it might help India as a whole.

The gist of the last essay—Gradation, Evolution, and Reincarnation—is found in the words of Schrödinger: "Consciousness is a singular of which the plural is unknown." This leads to solipsism as well as to pantheism. Metaphysics, like theology, is a paradox, because it attempts to express in human terms that which lies beyond human thought. The only valid metaphysical approach is that of the mystic, and as Ernest Hello put it, the only proper language of the mystic is silence.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Outside of History

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI. By Carlo Levi. Farrar, Straus and Company. \$3.

PLOT is always the essential—even, or perhaps especially, when it is so subdued as to seem negligible or secondary. When moments are big, it is the context that enlarges them. Overtly, "Christ Stopped at Eboli" is merely sensitive reporting of a year (1935-36) spent in exile by a cultured Italian anti-Fascist. Most of the book consists of description of the daily life and mind of the peasants who live in Gagliano, a village in Lucania, where Christianity—in its ancient or its modern version—has never become an integral form in life. Thus, to some extent outside of history, the peasants are pictured carefully, with interest, in detail. The silent

plot of the book, however, resides in the attempt of "history" or "Christian civilization" or "consciousness"—in the person of Mr. Levi—to see, or establish continuity with, something that is very much not itself. The product of this attempt is a new kind of modern lyricism: the book is a well-wrought, lyrical vase.

There are two very striking aspects of this new lyricism: one is its great objectivity—the calm, almost total submission to the reality of the Other; the second is the silent, pervading dream quality which is created by this admission of an alien but genuine reality. Consider-

ing the material dealt with—the submerged, hopeless lives of peasants whose chief and almost exclusive relation to the civilization of the West (which we so much treasure) has been that of a deadly, even senseless exploitation—considering this, the rather complete lack of tension in the book is surprising. Its primary quality is charm! And Mr. Levi seems to represent, quite adequately, moreover, the highest expression of Western values. Justifiably one might expect an explosion—at least in Mr. Levi, if not in the peasants. But on the contrary the two come together as

History Is on Our Side

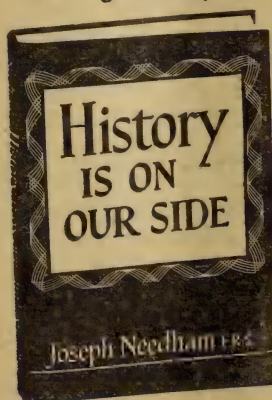
A CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL RELIGION AND SCIENTIFIC FAITH

By Joseph Needham

This volume is an expression of Joseph Needham's faith (based on science as well as religion) that out of the evolutionary process will arise the good society. The diverse subject matter (see below) is unified by the author's keen social conscience.

CONTENTS:

1. The Two Faces of Christianity (An anatomy of western religion)
2. History Is on Our Side (An address to the clergy)
3. Father Aldous' Treatise on Politique Power (A critique of Aldous Huxley's book on Joseph du Tremblay)
4. Religion and Politics (A sermon in a college chapel)
5. Cambridge Summer (A digression)
6. University Democracy (A letter to an American friend)
7. Pavlov and Lenin (A commemoration of two great men)
8. The Gist of Evolution (A plain statement concerning the coming into being of our world)
9. Science, Capitalism and Fascism (A broadcast talk on history)
10. The Nazi Attack on International Science (A detailed indictment and a solemn warning)
11. The Liquidation of Form and Matter (An account of new ways of thought in science)
12. Aspects of the World Mind in Time and Space (A Wellsian confession of faith)



\$2.75 at all bookstores

MACMILLAN

lovers, with satisfaction. Essentially, I think, Mr. Levi was fulfilled by a thrilling awareness of the peasant sense of timelessness and death (p. 255, read in relation to his failure of will as a doctor). And the peasants were able, in their own way, finally to incorporate Mr. Levi into their pattern of life as a symbol of future good from the Christian civilization which had heretofore always manifested itself as a vile but powerful thief. They made of him a kind of witch-doctor.

I believe Mr. Levi got the best of the bargain, as is clear from the book. He had cleaned out of him enough of the Christian world to be able to perceive the basic meanings that that world attempts—so successfully—to deny. But this denial can never match the eternal *willingness to wait* of the underworld of instinctual reality. The peasants of Lucania have waited more than two thousand years. Mr. Levi seems to be saying that this fact is not to be bewailed too loudly, that it is perhaps just as well that Christ stopped at Eboli. But one likes to think that it would have been good if he had traveled farther, even all the way to Gagliano. One likes to think that he might have learned something from the peasants there. DAVID T. BAZELON

Next week: MARVIN LOWENTHAL will review "Behind the Silken Curtain," by Bartley C. Crum.

Fiction in Review

THE publishers of Herman Wouk's novel about the radio business, "Aurora Dawn" (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75), announce that they are going to put a new, more modest jacket on the book. I suppose we must acknowledge this achievement as all to the credit of the reviewers. They have been pretty unanimous in objecting to Simon and Schuster's claim that Mr. Wouk has rescued the beautiful English language from Hemingway and restored it to the tradition of Fielding. But while I join in rejoicing that an author is going to be allowed, however belatedly, to make his way without the embarrassment of excessive promotion, I am afraid I cannot become very excited about this token of the wholesome influence of the reviewers upon our literary life. The critics neglected several rather important opportunities in the case of "Aurora Dawn." They did not point out, for instance, that Mr. Wouk's eighteenth-century affectations are pretentious and immature, that stylization is never style, and that there is something wrong with a society which thinks it is. Nor did they point out that the selection of "Aurora Dawn" by the Book-of-the-Month Club indicates that Mr. Wouk's mistakes have a considerable cultural backing.

Mr. Wouk should most certainly be

spared the advertising genius of his publishers. But he should also be saved from the perversion of his own pleasant gifts. Behind the rosy anachronisms of "Aurora Dawn" there would seem to be a nice talent for light fiction; and talent for light fiction is no drug of our market. Of course, the reason we have no decent light fiction in this country is because we respect no literary work that is not heavy with portent or pretension. Mr. Wouk gives us plenty of evidence that he could write simple colloquial English if he thought it desirable. He is naturally witty. He is well educated. It is the sad mark of our times that he should nevertheless find it necessary or favorable to roll in the full periods of a bygone prose and display his book learning like a sophomore.

This perjury of a talent proceeds, of course, from the same intellectual unease that manifests itself throughout our culture. Mr. Wouk, it is important to note, affects his eighteenth-century manner chiefly in his chapter titles and in his pages of discursive comment, not in his pages of straight narrative. He uses it, that is, as a device for ridding his story of intellection and moralization for separating plot and commentary. He wants to take sides on his subject and to make moral and intellectual comment on his situations and characters; he therefore turns to the manner of a century which expected the novelist to do just this; and because the style of these excursions is so flamboyantly out of date, he is not only forgiven the excursions but celebrated for his style. How different would have been the response if he had taken it for granted that he had the right to digress from his narrative, and if he had incorporated his comments directly and colloquially into his story! He would have been accused of the very faults of which he is now guilty but of which he would then have been innocent. He would have been told he was pretentious, over-intellectualized, old-fashioned.

Obviously what is involved here is a deep distrust, on the part not alone of Mr. Wouk but of our whole literary culture, of mind. We feel that mind has no rightful place in fiction. If it insists upon intruding itself, we demand that it not try to act as if it belonged but that it proclaim itself a rank outsider—a comic echo from a past age. And it is

UN HEADQUARTERS

By Le Corbusier

U. N. Headquarters, by Le Corbusier, is in effect a complete report by this world-renowned architect of the entire story of the selection of the United Nations site. Le Corbusier was appointed by his country, France, as an expert in architecture and urbanism attached to the United Nations Headquarters Commission. The latter part of the book, written during the heat of the conflict, so to speak, carries the story right up to the final approval of the Manhattan site offered by Mr. Rockefeller. The whole book is an important historic document as well as an expression of the author's urbanistic philosophy.

\$3.50

At your bookseller, or order direct

REINHOLD PUBLISHING CORPORATION
330 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.

his distrust of mind, this profound unease about our ideas and our relation to the people to whom we address our ideas, that accounts for the extremes of earnestness and sonority in current writing, for our inability to create a clear, honest, flexible contemporary prose.

Similarly—and this is the connection between Mr. Wouk's anachronistic style and the self-consciousness with which he parades his learning, his endemic references to the Hundred Best Books—we are very uncomfortable about education. We should like to think that knowledge is a private affair, but we now it is also a form of authority and power. And if it is power, best to wear it like a badge.

The fact that Mr. Wouk has to go back to the eighteenth century to find a style which permits him to make moral comment on his story does not mean that ours is any less a moral literary age than the eighteenth century. Quite the contrary; I doubt that there has ever been a period that matched ours for its emotional breast-beatings and threshings of conscience. But "Aurora Dawn" is not typical of the contemporary novel in this respect. That other novel about radio, "The Hucksters," is far more so. Mr. Wakeman was concerned with his share in the sins of radio; whereas Mr. Wouk, with commendable self-respect, does not believe himself to blame for his evil—except, perhaps, in so far as every member of society shares all its responsibilities. Indeed, it is precisely because Mr. Wouk wished to keep a moral distance between himself and his subject that he had to borrow a style so distant in time.

I have dealt only with the prose and use of "Aurora Dawn," to the neglect of its story. For the most part the story is neat enough—a matter of a young radio executive who has to choose between his true love and the daughter of his chief sponsor. The book ends with Mr. Wouk's hero reunited with his true sweetheart and saving his soul by deserting from the radio business entirely. We must pause, however, over the instrument of this salvation. Young Andrew Hale has come to fame by signing up for the Aurora Dawn programs a certain Reverend Stanfield, a Virginia preacher who captures the American radio audience by combining a short sermon with a public confessional; his

followers come on the air to announce their misdoings and be forgiven. But this preacher and program, although they have their comic aspects, are not presented as part of the nonsense of radio. They are offered in salutary opposition to the cheapness and lack of integrity of the president of Aurora Dawn and his other programs. In other words, just as Mr. Wakeman answered radio with an apocalyptic dedication to art, Mr. Wouk answers radio with evangelistic religion. Perhaps even more than his affectations of manner, this false vision of virtue makes one hesitant about Mr. Wouk's future of comic seriousness. The good comic-serious writer lives by common sense, not by big gestures of the spirit. DIANA TRILLING

Drama Note

THE TELEPHONE" and "The Medium" are two operas in English by the Italian American composer Gian-Carlo Menotti. The second was first performed last year at Columbia University, and both are now being presented at the Barrymore Theater in a production made by the Ballet Society. They come within my province since they are being offered to theatergoers as experiments in music drama and since I found them interesting as such. The first is merely a curtain-raiser which is hardly more than a superior sort of revue sketch, but the second, billed as a tragedy, is both ambitious and original.

It deals with the story of a shabby

*"If we don't turn Left
we must turn Fascist."**

YEARS OF CRISIS

By Kenneth Ingram

*So says the author in his book, just published—the first complete International History of events from 1919-1945 including the War.

Tightly packed with information, YEARS OF CRISIS presents a complete survey of our world, from the League of Nations to the United Nations. It is the detailed story of a colossal, perhaps unprecedented, human failure to maintain peace.

Writing from a Liberal point of view, Kenneth Ingram exposes facts, hitherto unknown, to help the reader see his way through all the confusing maze of contemporary history.

487 pages,
\$5.00

MACMILLAN

60 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, 11

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
81st ST.
58th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW

"A LOT OF FUN."—N. Y. Times
BUD LOU
ABBOTT • COSTELLO
"Buck Privates Come Home"
— and —
Merle OBERON
George BRENT in "TEMPTATION"
From Robert Hitchen's novel "Bella Donna"

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

"GOOD EXCITING STUFF."—N. Y. Sun
ANN SHERIDAN AS
'NORA PRENTISS'
If you were Nora Prentiss would
you keep your mouth shut!
— and —
REX BEAUM's
JON HALL • VICTOR McLAGLEN
In Fiery Color

QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 42 St.

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny
play, brilliantly
written, acted
and staged."
—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4258
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

"A completely
satisfying and
enjoyable com-
edy."
—Chapman,
News

MAX GORDON Presents
FREDRIC FLORENCE
MARCH ELDREDGE "
YEARS AGO
The New Smash Hit by RUTH GORDON
Directed by Garson Kanin
MANSFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way. CI 9-9058
Eves. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:40

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE
Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon
New York: NATIONAL Thea.—with Jane KEAN
Chicago: Blackstone Thea.—with Betty KEAN
"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
DEFINITELY A HIT!—Morehouse, Sun
JOHN LOVES MARY
A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA
Directed by NBL LOGAN
MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40
"A HAPPY HIT." Coleman, Mirror
HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY
A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A SMASH HIT!"—Life Magazine
ETHEL MERMAN
In the Musical Smash
ANNIE GET YOUR GUN
Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN
Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
With RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

MOTION PICTURES

ON STAGE — IN PERSON

JACK BENNY

— plus —

PHIL HARRIS • ROCHESTER
MARJORIE REYNOLDS

— plus —

JACK BENNY'S SPORTSMEN QUARTET

— ON SCREEN —

"THE BRASHER DOUBLOON"
GEORGE MONTGOMERY with NANCY GUILD

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

RAY MILLAND • TERESA WRIGHT

IN

"The IMPERFECT LADY"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— IN PERSON —

BUDDY CLARK • JAN MURRAY
The Acromaniacs
Extra! **BOYD RAE BURN**
AND HIS ORCHESTRA

Doors Open
at 8:15 A.M.
55¢
TO 1 P.M.
(Tax incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

PLANNING TO GO AWAY

for the

DECORATION DAY WEEKEND?

Why Not Use Our Resort Columns to Help
YOU FIND THE RIGHT PLACE!

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

THE NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

ake spiritualist who falls victim to a fear of her own ghosts, and certain of the scenes, notably that of the seance rigged up for her dupes, are grotesquely very effective. I speak hesitantly of the music, which I am not competent to judge, but it struck me as both melodious and, especially, expressive; so that the emotional effect of the rather sketchily written text was often quite powerful. The conception of the text is better than its rather fumbling development, but I gladly joined the audience in hearty applause.

Whether music drama of this sort can ever find a real place in our theater I do not know, but it is worth experimenting with. American playwrighting seems to be dying of its own prosiness. If we can't get poetry, we might try music.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE Spanish idiom, as Falla uses it with twentieth-century sophistication and fastidiousness, loses much of its vitality; and his works, for me, are exquisitely fashioned and moderately enjoyable miniatures. Of these, "El Amor Brujo" has been recorded for Victor by Stokowski with the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra and Nan Merriman (Set 1089; \$3.85), and for Columbia by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony and Carol Brice (Set 633; \$4).

Stokowski's performance occasionally has more verve and more supple grace than Reiner's and more tonal beauty, and also occasionally the characteristic excesses of emphasis, inflection, and manipulation of beautiful one that distort the shape of the music; however even Reiner's more straightforward performance is not without its tussy details. Both singers are excellent; but Miss Brice's American enunciation of the Spanish *t* grates on my ears. The Reiner performance is reproduced with harper distinctness of detail, and also with sharp stridency of the violins; the recorded sound of the Stokowski performance has more natural softness, warmth, and luster. And finally the Columbia surfaces are not perfect, but the Victor surfaces are disturbingly noisy, and a couple of the Victor sides waver in pitch.

Chopin's E minor Piano Concerto is

one of his loveliest works; but the F minor—which Rubinstein has recorded for Victor with the N. B. C. Symphony under Steinberg (Set 1012; \$4.85)—I find extremely uninteresting. And the hectic, brash playing of the orchestra in the first movement sets the stage for the exaggeratedly impassioned and mannered playing of Rubinstein throughout. The performance is well-reproduced; surfaces are poor.

On a single disc (11-9414; \$1) Victor offers *Pari siamo* and *Cortigiani, vil razza dannata* from "Rigoletto," sung by Leonard Warren with an orchestra under Weissmann. Warren's baritone is a delight to the ear when, in the quieter passages, he gives it to us in modeled phrases, but not when he hurls it at us in a deafening mass, which the Victor engineers make worse by stepping up the volume-level. The performance is well-reproduced; the surfaces of my copy are very noisy.

On another single (11-9262; \$1) is Piston's Prelude and Allegro for organ and orchestra—the Prelude with some agreeable passages among the sour, the Allegro rattling along characteristically with a lot of rhythmic zigzagging in place of interesting ideas. The performance by Biggs and the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky seems good and is well-reproduced.

Victor also has issued five more records in its Heritage Series of red vinylite pressings (\$3.50 each) of recordings made by the legendary singers of the past. McCormack's voice and phrasing are a delight in the duet *Parigi, o cara* from "La Traviata" (15-1009), which he sings with Bori, whose voice has its 1914 freshness, but whose singing already has the tremulous archness that was to become unendurable. On the reverse side, which is somewhat noisy, McCormack sings with Sammarco in an undistinguished performance of the duet *Ab, Mimi, tu più non torni* from "La Bohème."

Those of us who have heard Rosa Ponselle, Rethberg, and Milanov will not be bowled over by Boninsegna's voice in *O cieli azzurri* from "Aida" and *Ma dall' arido stelo divulsa* from "Un Ballo in Maschera" (15-1006; a little noisy)—a clear and powerful dramatic soprano which she uses with impressive authority and style, and occasionally with the liberties in tempo and phrasing that those old singers permitted themselves. I have heard early recordings by Amato (a superb "Trovatore" duet with Gadschi) in which his voice has its youthful rich-

ness; but in the 1913 recordings of arias from Verdi's "I Due Foscari" and Franchetti's "Germania" that Victor has issued (15-1005) it has the hardness and dryness and strain that it had when I began to hear him in 1914. I find myself unimpressed by Gerville-Réache's voice, a good contralto, or her style in the Habanera from "Carmen" and the Song of the Tiger from Massé's "Paul et Virginie" (15-1008; quite noisy). And I am at a loss to understand the release of Plancon's recordings of an aria from "The Magic Flute" and two trashy little encore songs (15-1007; extremely noisy).

DICTIONARY of
Philosophy
ED. BY DAGOBERT D. RUNES

"ALL-embracing in content, clear in exposition, objective in viewpoint and earmarked by a correctness that is inescapable. Research is made easy by bibliography and quotations."
—Dean J. F. Carroll, Duquesne U.

\$6.00

Philosophical Library
15 E. 40 St., Dept. N.
New York 16, N. Y.

4 lbs. FINEST CHOCOLATES & CANDY DELICACIES
TO ALL PARTS of the U. S. A.
\$5.95
J. KOHLS
Personal Parcel Service
315 West 102nd St. New York 25, N. Y.

YOUR HAIR AND ITS CARE

By O. Levin, M.D., & H. Behrman, M.D.

Two medical specialists tell you what to do to save and beautify your hair, stimulate healthier hair growth, and deal with many problems, as:

Dandruff—gray hair—thinning hair—care of the scalp—baldness—abnormal types of hair—excessive oiliness—brittle dryness—hair falling out—infection—parasites—hair hygiene, etc., etc.

"A worthwhile book full of important information."
—Ohio State Medical Journal.

Price \$2.00, incl. postage. 5-Day-Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 901-C, 251 W. 41 St. N. Y. 11

★ BUY BONDS ★

Letters to the Editors

A Life of de Leon

Dear Sirs: I am preparing a work on the life and times of Daniel de Leon and should appreciate hearing from anyone possessing letters of his. All letters will be treated with the utmost care and returned promptly. I am also eager to learn of experiences and anecdotes from those who knew de Leon. My address is 167 East Thirty-third Street, New York 16, N. Y.

LOUIS LAZARUS

New York, May 15

Babs on Tour

Dear Sirs: Credit is given to Miss Barbara Hutton for the desire for freedom inspired in the Arab women of North Africa. To keep the spirit of freedom alive, I have encouraged an active, responsible group of cultured citizens of this city to form a League of Freedom of Women's Rights.

Many of the advanced business men have contributed to the fund, and I am happy to report for the benefit of American women that in a short time their underprivileged Arab sisters will no longer suffer their former humiliations, such as being arrested and handcuffed if found, alone or with their husbands, in a public park, arrested at once for entering any movie house, and beaten, handcuffed, and dragged by the chain of their handcuff, like a criminal, and thrown into jail whenever the Pasha feels like it.

The League of Freedom of Women's Rights needs no money, but it needs courageous moral support from all the women of the world. A nation whose women are stained with such humiliation has very little chance of progressing in the world.

SIDI MOHAMED ALI BARAHADA

Morocco, Morocco, May 1

Who Will Be the Judge?

Dear Sirs: It is quite true that strategic positions are occupied methodically by Communists, not only in departments of government here and abroad, but in our schools and universities, the press, the publishing business, industry, the motion pictures. You find them everywhere; they mean business and they are dangerous. But judging by the present

drive against the Communists, I should say there are even more fascists in public office, or at least more powerfully placed: the Rankins of this country are as bitter enemies of democratic government as any Communist, and the legislation proposed by them seeks the suppression of all liberty of speech or opinion; if they are not stopped here and now, we shall find ourselves with a "subversive-thoughts" law on our books.

Both fascists and Communists have been strangely successful in persuading the liberals of this country that only a democracy has no right to defend itself from its enemies. Every suggestion that they be curbed in any way has always been met with outcries of wounded democratic feeling from the liberal left, which has defended, on the ground of safeguarding democratic government, the most cynical and base misuse of our civil liberties. I think the liberals had better clear their heads and look the situation in the face before they are driven underground to form a resistance movement to fascism or communism—the end will be the same—in our own country.

Yet in all this maggoty-minded proposed legislation I have seen no suggestion that Communist or fascist conspirators against our government shall be put to death. Let us therefore take a little warning from Mr. del Vayo's interesting article, Vatican Versus Left in Italy (*The Nation*, April 5). Mr. del Vayo says: "Another battle will no doubt be fought over the law on the Defense of the Republic—drafted by Togliatti and approved by the Council of Ministers—which provides sanctions, including the death sentence, against Fascists and Monarchists who conspire against the state."

Italy, we have been told, is to found a democracy. If it is right for a democracy in Italy to execute the death sentence upon Fascists and Monarchists, why not upon Communists too, who are equally its enemies? Granting this, why is it such a crime for a democracy in the United States to put fascist and Communist conspirators in jail, or at least to deprive them of their confidential posts in departments of our government? Does being a democrat morally oblige a man to consent to his own murder? And by what process of reason

do the democrats of Italy or of America to say nothing of Mr. del Vayo, or the editors of *The Nation*, convince themselves that Togliatti, a Communist means to do anything to help establish true republic in Italy? Stalin played sinister game with Hitler when Germany was the center of power for fascism. The Vatican is now that center and the Communists are playing the old game again. How many jolts of the kind can the liberals of this country take, I wonder, and still preserve the dazzled innocence?

KATHERINE ANNE PORTER

Santa Monica, Cal., May 11

The Wayward Reviewer

Dear Sirs: May I call attention to slight "waywardness" in A. J. Liebling review of "A Free and Responsible Press" (*Nation*, April 12). It appears in his query concerning Mr. Hutchins statement in the foreword to the volume that "the commission did not conduct elaborate 'research.'" Mr. Liebling was inclined "to wonder uncharitably," as he read the book, "what they spent the \$200,000 on." It is a fair question.

The answer is to be found by reading all of the commission's reports, not merely the general summary report. In the last pages of that summary report is a description of the special studies made for the commission which were judged by it to be worthy of separate publication. There is, in addition, a sizable collection of unpublished memoranda providing a substructure of fact underlying the commission's more general published statements. (Mr. Hutchins suggests this volume of background material in noting that 176 memoranda were distributed to the commission members.)

All this cost money. At times during the commission's life the staff rose to over twenty members, in addition to four assignments farmed out under contract.

Unfortunately for any general judgment as to the scope and quality of this factual underpinning, only three of the six special reports have as yet been published. But they indicate the essential nature of the work.

First to appear was "Peoples Speaking to Peoples," a study of international mass communication. As coauthor of

is volume, I can testify that it was reaking new ground with sources scattered in many places, mainly in the form of unpublished memoranda or derived from interviews with participants in the communications process. Although it is only a beginning in a field deserving much more cultivation in the years ahead, competent reviewers judged the report "by every criterion the most authoritative and comprehensive description of the so-called mass media of communication between the United States and the rest of the world."

Second to appear was "Freedom of the Movies" by Ruth Inglis of our staff. Its reviewers have called it "a scholarly job" and "one of the best serious studies of the social aspects of the motion picture industry."

Third, and most recent to appear, is "The American Radio" by Llewellyn White, assistant staff director. The reviews say of it that it "is replete with information, historical and electronic," "by far the best-documented indictment ever published on radio."

There are three more books to come. . . . The last is a piece of research under any definition. It analyzes by quantitative methods the comparative completeness and objectivity with which big and little newspapers, religious, nationality-group, and labor journals, radio networks, news magazines, and news reels reported and commented on a major public event (the San Francisco conference) to the American people. . . .

Whether the \$215,000 was well spent or not, it is surely too early for Mr. Liebling, Mr. Luce, or anyone else to say. Perhaps ten years from now if Mr. Liebling finds it much harder to find use material for his delightful Wayward Press series in the *New Yorker*, we will agree that it was not money wasted.

ROBERT D. LEIGH,

Director, Commission on
Freedom of the Press

New York, May 5

Dr Is He?

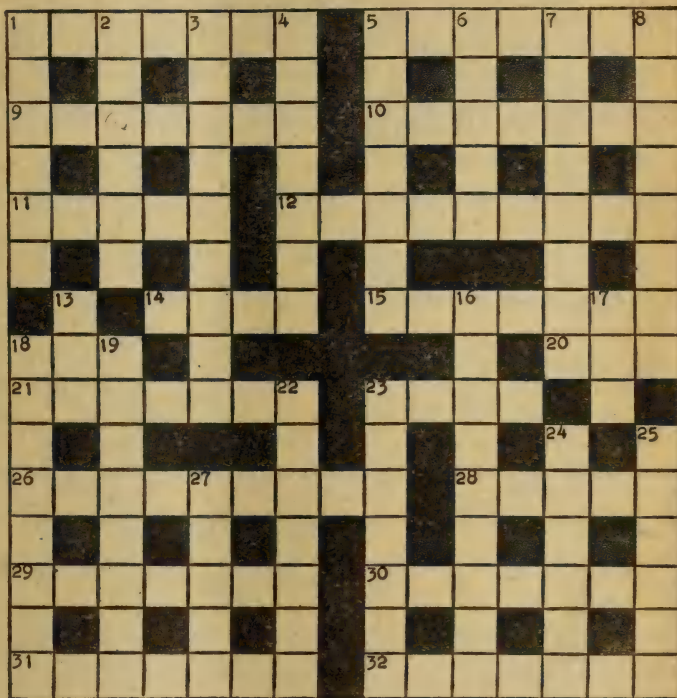
Dear Sirs: I wasn't really concerned about what had happened to Mr. Luce's money, just playfully curious. And I was reviewing a book called "A Free and Responsible Press," not the other six works (three published and three to come) mentioned by Mr. Leigh. As I tried to intimate, I thought the report is a whole was on the side of the angels, although perhaps not of the angel known as Luce.

A. J. LIEBLING

New York, May 1

Crossword Puzzle No. 213

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Spasmodic interrupters of speech
- 5 It might be taken in a tavern brawl
- 9 Sort of duty on what is in bond?
- 10 Adam's tailor-made
- 11 One who attends church only once on Sundays
- 12 Self-propelled flight
- 14 Where one returns—for a divorce?
- 15 The spirit in them is not the one that drives them
- 18 Save Our Souls
- 20 A running expense in a car
- 21 New England town where they go on jeering
- 23 He begins to see red
- 26 The food served here may have prior consideration
- 28 Piece of joinery which would not have appealed to Tom Pearce's mare
- 29 The first letter in your name
- 30 Flower of a nice oat
- 31 Are cigarettes so called because they make you puff?
- 32 Catty creatures, but not unamusing

DOWN

- 1 Consort with the Hon. Bob
- 2 Enables the disabled to be self-supporting
- 3 Dived?
- 4 Where they snore a.m. (3 & 4)

- 5 Such display is mostly a pain
- 6 Talon (anag.)
- 7 "A ----- we will go!" might be the ghostly version of it
- 8 Member of the teaching profession
- 13 Feathered reptile
- 16 Not necessarily an outsize garment
- 17 "Some hae meat and canna ---, And some would --- that want it; But we hae meat, and we can ---, Sae let the Lord be thankit"
- 18 Bird that shines by night?
- 19 They are too much of a good thing
- 22 Blockheads
- 23 Rises with a song, and is very frolicsome
- 24 I've come to the end of the salad
- 25 A Hun is smaller without his head
- 27 Reprove

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 213

ACROSS:—1 PARLEY; 4 ESCAPEDE; 10 PENSIVE; 11 UMPIRES; 12 RHINE; 13 LIP; 14 ELSIE; 15 CATER; 17 SORENESS; 21 PLANGENT; 23 LADLE; 26 LOSER; 28 ENA; 29 BOAST; 30 SCANNED; 31 TOUGHER; 32 ELSINORE; 33 ABOARD.

DOWN:—1 PIPERACK; 2 RUN RIOT; 3 ELITE; 5 SLUMP; 6 AMPLE; 7 ARRESTS; 8 ENSUED; 8 DECLASSE; 16 RUN; 18 RETRACTS; 19 NIL; 20 FEATURED; 22 LASCARS; 24 DRACHMA; 25 ELYSEN; 27 RUN IN; 28 ELDER; 29 BLURB.

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
Longacre 5-4917

TALENT TEAM FOR HIRE

AN ADVERTISING COMBO that will really pull for your agency! The wife—an artist extraordinaire, the husband—a production man, etc., with punch! This creative, capable couple, young and advertising-wise, will be available mid-June. Box 1708, c/o The Nation.

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

TEACHER, experienced in secondary music either band or choral, successful boy choir master. Desires change from mining community to progressive school in eastern Pennsylvania, or East or West Coast. Veteran World War II. Available September. References Box 1709, c/o The Nation.

POSITION WANTED (FEMALE)

TEACHER, Jewess, 15 years hotel experience, seeks summer position, can type, drive. Write Box 1710, c/o The Nation.

PAMPHLET

PEACE—SECURITY in a world gone mad?—Have you found the answer? Write for free copy of "Man—His Dominion." Dransherald, P. O. Box 172, Station W, N. Y. C. 24.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

HARD-TO-FIND AND OUT-OF-PRINT books our specialty! All subjects. Send wants! JAHNER BOOK SERVICE, Dept. N, 620 East 178 St., Bronx 57, N. Y. C.

LANGUAGES

SPANISH, RUSSIAN, FRENCH, 26 other phonograph language courses. ALL MAKES, sold, bought, rented. Free catalogue. A. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, Murray Hill 3-1093.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. Y.

ACCOMMODATIONS

If you would like a comfortable and restful summer, with excellent accommodations and meals in my home, write to Box 158, Washingtonville, N. Y. I will take four adults. Bathing nearby. Rates \$50 weekly.

ROOM WANTED

YOUNG INTELLECTUAL (she), Assets: Integrity, Intelligence. Liabilities (among others): Poverty, lives with anti-liberal, anti-intellectual family, 6 in 3 rooms. Needs room for freedom, solitude, inner life, work. Manhattan, Village to midtown preferred. \$35 a month or less. Call GRamercy 5-6271, Ext. 26, 9-5 weekdays.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take Advantage of The Nation's
SPECIAL CLASS-ROOM RATE
30¢ Monthly Per Student

for orders of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address—Desk copy supplied free

Address your order to

The NATION
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS**Shaker Village Work Camp**

TEEN-AGE CO-ED SUMMER CAMP
Full recreation and athletic program. * Work projects include farming, construction, all shop-crafts. * Fine arts, folk-music and dances. * Music program includes Tanglewood Festival. Campers occupy original historic buildings. For brochure: 285 Madison Avenue, New York, CA 5-2133

WALTTEL HOUSE ON FRANKEL FARM**MT. BETHEL, PA.****VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY**

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm. Rates:— Adults \$45 Week — Children \$50 Week. N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

CAMP ELLIOTT NEWTON New Jersey

1,600 foot elevation — 48 miles from N. Y.
Large private lake & pool, boating, fishing, horseback riding, gardening, farm animals, arts, crafts, shop and music. Co-ed, ages 8-12.

MRS. HELEN G. ELLIOTT

76-30 113th St., Forest Hills, N. Y.
BO 8-2263 or GR 7-0397

FARMS AND ACREAGE

MODERNIZED, SIX ROOM SALT BOX; landscaped; flag terrace; fireplace; complete furnishings from silver to new electric range and refrigerator; immediate possession; 2½ acres, brook, pond. Unusual value at \$8,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

SUMMER RENTALS

SHORE COTTAGE, LAKE WILLOUGHBY, VT., glorious mountains, 370 miles from N. Y. C., 2 acres woodland, privacy, boathouse, boat, swimming, 4 bedrooms, bath, electric water heater, pyrofax gas cooking, spring water, outdoor fireplace, frigidaire, \$500, June 15-Labor Day inclusive. Box 1707, c/o The Nation.

PEEKSKILL VICINITY, 4-room apt., also 4-bedroom house, completely furnished. Heat, frigidaire, private lake, running brook, beautiful surrounding country. Good commuting and shopping. Call DE 2-9460 or Peekskill 3296M.

SUPERB BUNGALOW. HUGE FIRE-PLACE. Private lake, boat. Season \$750. GEDDES, BROOKFIELD, CONN.

Furnished Cottage. 5 rooms, 2 screened porches, electricity, brook, store nearby. ½ hour from Berkshire Music Festival. \$300—July, Aug., Sept. L. Rubin, 163 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, Apt. E4, NE 8-6899.

MOHEGAN LAKE, ½ modern rooms, suitable writer, artist, 16x20 ft. studio, 6 acres ground, private swimming, \$1,000. Phone: Peekskill 766-R.

Elizabethtown, N. Y., beautiful lodge, modern throughout. 4 bathrooms, fireplaces, piano, unexcelled countryside, bathing, boat and sports. Season—\$1,000. PR. 3-2083.

White Gates

WAPPINGERS FALLS, NEW YORK
84 miles from N. Y. C.

For Apple Blossom Time in the Country
Open Dining and Dancing Pavilion, tennis and other sport facilities, recordings, library.

Our Cuisine—Our Special Pride

RESERVE NOW FOR
DECORATION DAY WEEK

Regular weekly rate—\$45 up

Tel. WH 3-9331 or Wappingers Falls 469

**This Adult Camp**

Gloucester, Mass.
Abram Resnick
Director

Sheltered cove near picturesque Gloucester. Salt water swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Darning, tennis, trips and sports.

Write for booklet & rates OPENS JUNE 17th

OPENING DECORATION DAY**COLD BROOK HOUSE**

"On the banks of Esopus Creek"

A small resort with a friendly atmosphere in beautiful surroundings. Tennis and other sports. Adults only.

Rate \$35 per week—10% discount to July 1

COLD BROOK HOUSE, Boiceville, N.Y. Shokan 264

Tel. Sundays only bet. 9-12 a.m., Mansfield 8-5082

RELAX, REST, or PLAY at
this distinctive
mountain
resort

Tanzville
PARKVILLE, N. Y.
Kester Cuisine
Completely Modern
All Sports Facilities
New Asphalt Tennis Courts
Sensibly Low Rates May & June
Ideal Mountain Resort • Write Box 171-J

DEUEL HOLLOW HOUSE

In Berkshire foothills, 75 miles from New York City. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Sports facilities include tennis, volleyball, badminton, ping pong, boating, bathing and fishing. A completely informal atmosphere. Adults.

SPECIAL JUNE RATES

Reisel Cohen
Wingdale, N. Y.

David Sacks
Phone 3691

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906

Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautifully maintained, all sports, boating.

Rates \$60 weekly; \$10 daily. American Plan

American-Julius Cuisine

N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street

PE 6-3243

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK

80 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central
Charming lake and countryside, rustic surroundings.
Beautiful walks, sports. Excellent American cuisine.
Ideal for spring and summer vacations

DECORATION DAY SPECIAL

\$20.00 FOR 3 DAYS

Reserve now — Adults

GRETE POPPER Phone Stanfordville 2931

Need a Job?**Need Someone for a Job?**

Let The Nation's classified
columns solve your problem!

The NATION

20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7 • BARclay 7-1066

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 31, 1947

NUMBER 22

The Shape of Things

THE MOST URGENT QUESTION BEFORE THE Palestine Commission, meeting this week at Lake Success, is whether or not to visit the displaced-persons camps in Europe as part of its inquiry. The need of going there would seem self-evident, but the violent protests of the Arab representatives have created a political issue where none should have existed. Only the most narrow legalistic view of the Palestine problem would exclude the wishes and plight of the remaining Jews in Europe, particularly those without homes or nationality. The situation in the detention camps becomes more critical every month, with a new spirit of resentment and disillusionment developing among the D. P.'s. British efforts to check at its various European sources the stream of refugees moving toward Palestine, have aggravated conditions still further. In next week's issue, we shall publish a report of a recent visit to the camps by an American correspondent, Marie Syrkin. No one reading the facts she gives could fail to realize the inescapable relationship between the survival of the Jewish people and the development of a Jewish Palestine. It is this realization that the Arabs are shrewdly trying to prevent.

✱

A FULL-DRESS DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY is scheduled for next week's British Labor Party conference at Margate. The revolt of the backbenchers led by Richard Crossman and Michael Foot has not subsided. This group's recently published "Keep Left" restates the case against the Bevin foreign policy and calls for drastic curtailments of Britain's foreign commitments that tie up in the armed forces hundreds of thousands of men who are badly needed in home industries. Undoubtedly, the Truman Doctrine has increased the internal party dissent. A natural reluctance to be bound to America's doubtful economic fortunes has been converted into a determination to separate Britain from involvement in what is generally interpreted as America's imperialist adventure. Even if Mr. Bevin has not seen as great a light as Aylmer Vallance suggests on page 651, the government is evidently disturbed both by criticism and by the march of events. A Labor Party pamphlet issued last Friday under the title "Cards on the Table" anticipates the Margate debate. It is at once a defense of past British policy and a declaration of independence from American economic

dominance and Soviet political pressure. The frank criticisms of "Russian encroachment" and the crippling Soviet tactics in the United Nations is balanced by a cool analysis of America's post-war role—"she was both unwilling and unable to shoulder the responsibility of this immense power." The statement concedes Britain's necessarily close economic ties with the United States but "does not propose to take sides in a line-up for the next world war." By choosing a middle ground on which to fight, the government has robbed the rebels of a little of their thunder. But perhaps the pamphlet means more. Perhaps it is a harbinger of a new British foreign policy which it is not politically expedient to define with any degree of clarity. In any case, we eagerly look forward to the report on Margate which Mr. Vallance will cable for next week's *Nation*.

✱

WHEN SOUTHERN FILIBUSTERERS PREVENT the passage of anti-lynching legislation, they always do so in the sacred name of states' rights. The states are dealing with the problem, they say, and progress is being made. Federal intervention would spoil everything and set the cause of justice back by decades. After what happened in Greenville, South Carolina, last week this approach should prove too brassy for even a Bilbo. Here were twenty-eight men convicting themselves and each other in written confessions; here was an excellent and able prosecutor, with all the evidence a prosecutor could desire; here was a courageous and impartial judge. But here was one thing more—a local white jury. All twenty-eight were acquitted. This is no question, then, of perverted officials, poll-tax politics, or any of those other simple phenomena by which glib Northerners explain the South and for which they offer equally simple solutions. The defendants are local heroes. Among the defense attorneys, moreover, was a local C. I. O. counsel, a man considered one of the town's liberals; yet his courtroom behavior was as rabid as his colleagues'. And several of the acquitted lynchers plan to run for public office—probably for sheriff. Clearly, then, the lynching was not an aberration but an expression of the spirit of Greenville. It will take years of slow social change to alter that spirit. But in the meantime what of the potential victims of lynch law? They are citizens of the country

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	643
Planning or Starvation	645
Dollars vs. Communism <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	646
Letter from Bilbao	647

ARTICLES

Atomic Energy for the Millions	648
<i>by Leonard Engel</i>	
One Country: Equal Rights <i>by Ellis Arnall</i>	650
Ernest Bevin's Great Light	
<i>by Aylmer Vallance</i>	651
India Drifts Toward Civil War <i>by Shiva Rao</i>	653
Dixie in Black and White. V. Big Push	
Against the Valley <i>by A. G. Mezerik</i>	655
Perón on the March <i>by Del Vayo</i>	658
Everybody's Business <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	659

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Dialogue of a Dilemma <i>by Rustem Vambery</i>	660
An Epic Game <i>by Marvin Lowenthal</i>	661
The Human Story <i>by Elizabeth Wilder</i>	663
Art <i>by Clement Greenberg</i>	664
Films <i>by James Agee</i>	665
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	667

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 668

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 214 669

by Jack Barrett

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside *Assistant Literary Editor:*
Caroline Whiting *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and entitled to its protection. Since the state is unable assure that protection, the federal government must. Federal courts are able to draw on jury panels covering a much wider area than state courts and can thus escape in some measure the effects of local feeling. But federal civil-rights statutes will have to be greatly strengthened before the Greenvilles of the South will learn that they are part of the United States.

✱

THE SENATE'S SUPPOSEDLY "MODERATE" anti-labor bill will probably be on the President's desk by the time this comment appears in print. Its moderation, of course, is merely relative, and can be seen only when it is placed against the measure originally passed by the House—the kind of moderation that characterizes hanging as compared with boiling in oil. The President, we earnestly hope, will not allow himself to be taken in by a brazen campaign now raging in the press to make the bad look good by contrast with the worst. The fact is that the Senate version, to which the House will in all likelihood give its assent, is one of the most dangerously drawn bills ever to be offered for the President's signature. The danger lies in its deviousness. Killing the closed shop outright, for example, it pretends to compensate by upholding the union shop, but the right to this form of security is so fenced about with provisos that in practice it would soon be meaningless. Indeed, the entire process of collective bargaining, which the bill piously defends in the abstract, would be made enormously difficult by provisions for hectoring the unions and denying them recognition for a variety of frivolous and implausible reasons, while making their internal disruption a progressive certainty. The President will enhance his prestige enormously if he accompanies his veto with a message that clearly and soberly exposes the bill as the hypocrisy it is—a piece of class legislation that pretends to correct abuses but is coolly calculated to destroy the nation's trade-union movement.

✱

HAROLD E. STASSEN IS THE LATEST OF A varied assortment of advocates of a comprehensive, long-term foreign-loan program for building "worldwide peace and plenty and freedom." An analysis of current trade figures by Keith Hutchison which appears on page 659 shows how urgent has become action on these lines if we are to avoid an export slump that will be disastrous to us and our foreign customers alike. Mr. Stassen's recent tour of devastated Europe has evidently convinced him that the job of reconstruction to be done cannot be tackled by grudging dribbles of assistance. His bold proposal is that 10 per cent of net American production for the next ten years be allocated to a program of reconstruction and development. That would mean something between \$15 and \$20 billion annually. Unfortunately,

the value of this plan is destroyed by some of the conditions which Mr. Stassen wants to attach to American loans. We do not object to the suggested requirements that debtor nations agree not to discriminate against American trade and to give "unwavering support to the United Nations," though in regard to the second a difficult problem of impartial interpretation arises. But we part company very sharply with Mr. Stassen when he declares: "We should expect agreements that the governments with which we work will not move farther away from individual economic freedom and will not go down the sad trail of increasing nationalization or socialization or government ownership." In other words, we should insist on usurping the legislative powers of the British, French, and other parliaments. This is dollar dictatorship with a vengeance.

✱

THE DOWAGERS OF THE AMERICAN Revolution resolved last week at their annual convention that Constitution Hall in Washington will continue to be open only to white artists and that the United Nations is all right so long as it keeps its place. "If the U. N. can succeed, that is fine," said Mrs. Brosseau, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, putting it right up to the U. N. "Meanwhile the D. A. R. certainly doesn't want to sell out to world government. We do not want the U. N. to absorb us and do away with our sovereignty." It is not exactly news that the D. A. R. is determined not to be seduced. Still we think Mrs. Brosseau's remarks should be preserved—preferably under glass, beneath one of those drawings by Helen Hokinson.

Planning or Starvation

AT THE end of March, Congress renewed for a grudging three months the war-emergency legislation under which the government has been able to keep a check on the import and export of certain key commodities. Unless these powers are again extended before June 30, we are likely to have another demonstration of the folly of removing emergency controls before the emergency is past—this time on a world scale and with even grimmer consequences than marked the extinction of the OPA.

Without power on the part of government to direct the flow of commodities in short supply, it will be almost impossible to carry out a world program of relief and reconstruction on an effective and economical basis. As the retiring Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, pointed out in his speech of May 8, "It is wheat and coal and steel that are urgently required to stave off economic collapse, not just dollar credits . . . a continuation of export controls is required in order to direct exports where we want them to go and to cut down unnecessary

and undesirable foreign buying in the domestic market."

But the need for controls goes beyond immediate aspects of reconstruction. More fundamental, from the standpoint of reviving a half-starved planet, is the necessity for promoting a healthy world trade, as free as mechanical arrangements can make it of the diverting effects of the almighty American dollar. This means a distribution of crucial commodities based on an over-all balance between the needs of individual countries and the total world supply. Normally, this balance might be achieved to a workable degree by the operation of the laws of supply and demand, but in the present state of world currencies those laws have little meaning. The commodities will go where the dollars are to be found, and the countries that need them most will be by-passed. There will be no inducement for Filipinos to send copra to France or for Chile to ship nitrates to the wretched farms of Greece when American soap manufacturers can buy all the copra that is available and American farmers can use all the nitrates—with payment in good American dollars. Sugar is an even more glaring case in point.

In the reverse direction, American grain, if uncontrolled, would find its way to countries with dollar credits. Removal of controls on food distribution in general would help some Latin American countries (Mexico, Venezuela, and Cuba), the Union of South Africa (amply supplied with gold), Switzerland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and, to some extent, China and India. But it would make for exceedingly rough going in France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Norway. Since these countries can tighten belts no further without dangerous malnutrition, their only recourse would be to use up more of their dwindling supply of dollars at the expense of other imports, such as machinery—a process that rules out reconstruction and can lead only to permanent dependence. As for the countries on relief—Greece, Poland, and the defeated powers—higher food prices, resulting from the abandonment of controls, would merely mean higher relief appropriations here at home.

The nerve center of world controls at present is the International Emergency Food Council. It is through this agency that representatives of thirty-two nations—unfortunately, the Soviet Union has refused to join—make known their needs and their total supplies of the world's crucial foods. After a process of intensive bargaining, cajoling, and mediation, periodic charts are worked out for each commodity, recommending the amount to be exported by each of the supplying nations to each of the purchasing nations. While the council's role is advisory, government acceptance has been forthcoming in a remarkably high percentage of cases, and the plan has been of inestimable help in heading off a disastrous maldistribution.

Should Congress allow the import and export controls to die, we would automatically forfeit our seat in the

council, since the government would be without power to implement the recommendations of our representatives. This would be sad enough just as a setback in international sanity, but it can be disastrous in the light of the continued world emergency. In Britain it appears to be a matter of Parliamentary debate as to whether or not the country is "dying of starvation." A large part of France's winter wheat crop has been destroyed by one of the worst winters in Europe's history. The same tragic grain shortages afflict the Low Countries. Famine has raised its head in parts of Rumania, where drought destroyed the corn crop. Italians are a full thousand calories short of the minimum daily ration required for a full day's work, and Greeks, Bulgarians, and Yugoslavs are very little better off. If, in these circumstances, Congress denies the President's request for limited controls, it will shortly find out that the emergency it thought was past is just about to begin.

Dollars vs. Communism

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

WITH the President's signature attached to the Greek-Turkish aid bill, the new American foreign policy is now legally in effect. Hundreds of millions have been appropriated to carry the gospel to the heathen, with billions to follow. What remains is to select the missionaries and their leaders, arm them with dollars for gifts and credits, with guns and food, and with the sacred American "know how" which, above all benefactions, is considered a sovereign defense against communism and other disorders of ailing systems.

There are those who say the policy will fail or justify itself according to the men our government selects to administer it, and certainly any creed takes on some of the character of its prophets. But it would be foolish to bank too much on this popular notion, for the reverse is even more generally the case. Men very soon take on the character of the creed they are hired to expound, be it free enterprise or communism or Catholicism or the preeminent superiority of the Fuller brush.

Some liberal supporters of Mr. Truman's doctrine argue that opposition to communism only incidentally involves support of reactionaries: that it need not do so. They believe quite sincerely that we can and should, and even perhaps will, convert the Greek government to the democratic precepts applied in some advanced parts of the United States; or otherwise that firm American intervention will force the regime to adopt a sober and moderate course. They cite as hopeful evidence the apparent willingness of the Maximos government to accept U. N. supervision of the carrying out of an amnesty. What such people ignore is the essential meaning of the

Greek struggle; with all the talk about Russian penetration and border violations they forget that a revolution is going on in Greece. The issues may be confused, but they will not be solved even by an internationally supervised amnesty. The peasants and guerrilla fighters in the mountains are not going to come out, I imagine, or give up their arms, until they know that the men responsible for the acts of the Nazi-trained security police and the armed gangs and the military repressions have been ousted from power. Otherwise their lives would be safe only as long as the amnesty observers remained on the spot. And their cause would be lost.

An amnesty in Greece will mean something when it is proclaimed by a government that wants to cooperate with the people in the mountains. And such an amnesty will not need to be supervised by Danes and Hollanders.

In spite of the efforts of its apologists, the Truman Doctrine is not supported by faith or enthusiasm. Its authors are on the defensive; its supporters are luke-warm. Nobody except a few rabid right-wingers wants to give "aid" to the interests and parties our government will have to back in a political war against Russia. They accept the new policy as the only available alternative to the proclaimed threat of Communist domination of Europe. They hope that economic and military support of weak regimes may dissolve that threat without war. They hope the operation will simultaneously revive true democracy; but they have no very live belief that it will. And soon they will learn that it can only do so if the United States is prepared, not merely to repair physical damage and stiffen weak governments and sagging currencies, but to accept and even subsidize the revolutionary changes that are needed in the countries penetrated by communism.

Since it is difficult to imagine our present Administration and, still more, our present Congress financing revolution in even its mildest and most legal forms, the chance of reviving democracy through the Truman Doctrine seems remote. And so the best administrators will be driven to a futile course of poulticing deep infections. I do not envy the man Mr. Truman finally induces to head his Greek mission.

Opponents of the new doctrine frequently insist that it will drive disgusted and despairing democrats into communism. And so it will, no doubt. It will tend to polarize political sentiment and weaken the center. But it is risky to assume that this will mean victory for the extreme left. It may have exactly the opposite effect, as was the case after World War I.

The situation in Europe then mildly paralleled the situation today. The fresh revolutionary impulse of the Soviets was spreading through the dreary wasteland left by the war. The economic system was in general collapse;

populations were starving; governments were almost helpless. The central desire of the great powers was to stem revolution and restore some sort of stability.

In 1918 and 1919 the countries of Eastern Europe were mostly run by Socialists. There was a Socialist government in Vienna, a left-liberal government in Budapest; Social Democrats were dominant in the new Czechoslovak state. In Germany the moderate Socialists in control of the new Republican regime were threatened with left-wing revolts all over the country; Bavaria was briefly ruled by a left-Socialist soviet. The workers in Italy were seizing the factories. Further east, the Balkans and Hungary and Rumania were in the throes of an agrarian revolution—the “green” rising. Observers said then, as they say today: the Continent is heading into socialism; the old order is finished.

It headed into fascism instead. The process of change was checked or deflected, partly by the suicidal fight among the parties of the left, partly by the rise of counter-revolutionary forces encouraged by the big powers and financed by big business, partly by American loans which helped to patch together the frail economy of Europe. Until, at the end of the turbulent decade, the great depression knocked out the underpinnings and the whole structure crumbled into fascism and war.

It could happen again, I suppose. Only this time the destruction of values is so much more thorough, the middle class so much weaker, the need of fundamental change so much more obvious, that even a temporary renaissance of the pre-war capitalist society is hard to imagine. Perhaps the Truman Doctrine can do it. But it will take more dollars and guns than last time, both because the job is bigger and because people are reluctant to start the old cycle over again. They've “had enough”—and more. They want a change. And they will not thank the government that spends billions to prevent it.

Letter from Bilbao

[What follows is taken from a private letter smuggled out of Spain and received on May 22 in New York. It was written by a Basque labor leader whose name must obviously be suppressed.]

Bilbao, May 12

The strike is over and I want to tell you all that has happened in these past two weeks. The strike began on May 1. It was nearly total in the industrial region of Vizcaya and total in Eibar. It did not spread to San Sebastian and Pasajes as was believed the first morning. When on May 1 the workers failed to appear in the factories, the authorities were astounded. The governor immediately undertook the most drastic measures in order to smash the strike if possible the same day. Realizing that the strike was clearly a political one, he requested the owners of the factories to turn in a list of the workers, giving their full names.

In view of the measures taken by the governor, the U. G. T. (General Workers Union) and the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Workers) and the Solidaridad de Obreros Vascos met and issued a printed statement to the workers asking them not to go back to the plants until they had a guaranty that no reprisals would take place. The workers stayed out, and on the following day the strike spread to other factories. Besides, a good number of factory owners refused to deliver the lists of workers demanded by the governor.

The committee had made it clear in its first statement that the strike was not for any union or individual gains but had a definite political significance. It was a declaration on the part of the workers of their right to celebrate May 1 and an implicit condemnation of the regime. Enraged by this attitude, the governor requested the central government to send several military units from neighboring provinces. At the same time, armed Falangists began a hunt of workers through private houses and in the streets. There was a mass arrest of the most suspected elements. The prison was overcrowded, and 6,000 men were herded into the Plaza de Toros (the bull ring). You may imagine that it is not a very pleasant place to be held, with the memory of the terrible massacre in the Plaza de Toros of Badajoz [in 1936] still fresh in everyone's mind.

The strike lasted until May 12. On that day the various labor organizations ordered the men back to the factories. Although a policeman or Falangista watched the movements of practically every worker, the strike committee met regularly and was able to maintain contact with the strikers.

Now the reprisals have begun. The government is deporting the most suspected workers to other provinces of Spain as prisoners. Hundreds of others have gone to the mountains to join the resistance. Still others have succeeded in crossing the Pyrenees.

To show how jittery the authorities have become, let me name the outside contingents that were brought to Bilbao during the strike. These were the regiment of heavy artillery from Logroño, the Garellano regiment of infantry from Logroño, the Castilla regiment of infantry from Burgos, the Valencia regiment of infantry from Santander.

The spirit of the men was magnificent. The strike gave us an opportunity to take the pulse of the masses. The great majority didn't want to hear anything about the monarchy, a plebiscite, or any deal with the reaction. They want the republic only, and people who suggest compromise they call traitors.

I hope that the men who succeed in escaping will find in France the support they need. They are leaving here women and children whom we shall try to help. But we have not enough means to do so. For the moment, everything is quiet again—though not so quiet in the prisons where the Franco guards are beating the workers in the hope that they will denounce their leaders. They will have to kill all before they get a single name. It is possible that if the four hundred men still under arrest are not promptly released, a new strike of solidarity will break out. In that case, it may extend to the entire Basque country. Anyhow, people have learned to strike again; I do not say “learned to fight again” because they have never stopped fighting.

Atomic Energy for the Millions

BY LEONARD ENGEL

IT IS generally thought that the practical application of atomic energy is still ten or twenty years away, but if we want it, we can have atomic energy to use—millions of kilowatts of it—in two or three years. In ten years we can be on the way to an atomic standard of living—cities without smoke, super-convenient mechanized homes, and an inexhaustible abundance of goods without long or disagreeable labor. That we are not already on the road to the atomic age is due more to political than to scientific or technical circumstances.

At Hanford, Washington, three huge atomic piles have been in operation for nearly three years. Together they generate as much power as the Bonneville or Grand Coulee Dam. Of course, the power is not in usable form. In 1944, when the piles were built, power was not a critical need. It was time and materials that were short. So the piles were designed exclusively for the production of plutonium for bombs. Instead of being harnessed, the heat generated at Hanford is dissipated in the Columbia River by a mammoth cooling system which literally carries the river through the piles. Construction of the cooling system was a tremendous job. In fact, it would not have been much more difficult to dispose of the heat by raising steam for turbo-generators. The Hanford piles would then have produced power as well as plutonium, and half a million kilowatts—enough to meet the basic needs of a city the size of Seattle—would have been added to the nation's power resources.

Other large atomic-power plants could be built to spark the needed expansion of our economy. Yet only a small experimental unit at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, is under construction. When it is finished sometime next year, it will generate a few tens of thousands of kilowatts. No plans have been made for larger units.

The Atomic Energy Commission and top government and industry policy-makers have ostensibly been waiting on completion of the Oak Ridge plant before proceeding. But this is not the heart of the matter. It is an open secret among scientists that atomic-energy research has been at a virtual halt since V-J Day. Little work of importance has been done except possibly in the development of bigger and better bombs. Most of the great research projects that were blueprinted in the first flush of enthusiasm remain on paper. This state of affairs was exposed when the army, in response to determined scien-

tific prodding, agreed a year ago to sell radioactive tracers—a vital tool of scientific research—produced in one of the Oak Ridge piles. A rush of orders from laboratories all over the country was anticipated. Actually, only a few hundred sales have been made.

The slowdown in atomic research was at first, no doubt, a reflection of the post-war letdown. However, when the men of science were ready for work again after their brief "holiday," they encountered a succession of formidable obstacles. The first was the Manhattan District's restrictive policies with regard to publication of war-time research. Months went by before any papers at all were released, and the final declassification of papers was so clumsily handled that the exchange of basic scientific information was delayed for many months more. Then the development of atomic energy was stalled by the long wrangle over the atomic-energy bill and the army's fight for a military veto over research. Later, the shameful campaign against Lillienthal was the road block. Finally, there has been the fact that industry is uninterested in, not to say hostile to, atomic-energy development. The thought of government-owned atomic-power plants gives industrial executives the heebies-jeebies. They show their displeasure by keeping their scientists and technicians busy in other fields; only a few of the hundreds of firms that took part in the atom-bomb project are now active in atomic research.

According to every one of the scientists associated with the development of the bomb, we already possess all the basic knowledge necessary for harnessing nuclear energy. No fundamental problem remains to be solved, declares Dr. Enrico Fermi, the man who built the first chain-reacting pile: "atomic power is solely a question of eventual technical development." This means that no necessity exists for waiting. Technical development, solution of the problems connected with the actual erection of plants, is a commodity that can be bought for delivery by a specified date. Industry buys technical development every day. If a quarter of the scientists and engineers who collaborated on the bomb were put to work on nuclear power plants, we could have half a dozen 500,000-kilowatt units in operation by 1950.

As a result of the lack of progress on the atomic front a great many serious misconceptions about atomic energy have gained wide currency. Perhaps they are a rationalization of our failure to push ahead. At any rate, they tend to suggest the remoteness and limited usefulness of atomic energy—except for military purposes.

There is, for example, a widespread notion that atomic-

LEONARD ENGEL writes articles on science for various magazines and is coauthor of "World Aflame."

power plants will be dangerous and difficult to manage. We must have a whole new race of scientists and specialists, it is said, to assure their safety. Admittedly the erection and maintenance of atomic piles demand great skill. Without it serious accidents could happen. But the safety record of the war-time bomb project shows that we have the skill needed. Moreover, the *operation* of piles is another matter entirely. A pile is as easy to tend as an automatic coal furnace. Anyone of normal intelligence, says Fermi, can learn how in a few hours.

The atomic pile consists of lumps of uranium spaced within a graphite or heavy-water "moderator." A power pile differs from an ordinary pile mainly in being run at a higher temperature and in having some means of transferring heat to a boiler or an engine. The reaction which generates heat is the fission of atoms of Uranium 235 in the lumps of uranium. Fission occurs when neutrons collide with other U-235 atoms; this releases more neutrons, and so on in a swift chain reaction.

To regulate the flow of heat and power from the pile, one has only to control the stream of neutrons. This is easily done by inserting rods of a neutron-absorbing material like the metal cadmium into the pile. When the rods are pushed all the way in, the flow of neutrons is broken and fission stops; as the rods are withdrawn, the fission process resumes. The control mechanism is really so simple that it will in time be completely automatic.

It is also said that atomic-power plants will be prohibitively expensive (didn't the Manhattan District development cost two billion dollars?), that atomic energy will not greatly reduce the cost of power as delivered to the factory or home, and that the raw materials for its production are so scarce as to limit its usefulness. Not one of these statements is correct. For once, the truth lies with the "fantastic" stories of a new scientific discovery. The atom will quickly prove itself a limitless source of incredibly cheap power.

Three studies of the cost of atomic power have appeared in the past two years. The latest, prepared by the Northern California Association of Scientists for the Carnegie International Peace Endowment, declares that the atom is already competitive with coal at a delivered price of \$6 a ton—a price for coal most of the world will never see again. And atomic engineering is in its infancy. As scientists and engineers gain experience, costs will drop. The Carnegie report, moreover, assumes a power plant that is unconventional only in having an atomic heating unit instead of a coal furnace. But the future will bring completely new methods of power generation and transmission. "Direct generation" of electricity, an old scientific dream that is now realizable, will eliminate turbines and dynamos. "Wireless transmission" will do away with expensive distribution systems. As a result, we can look forward to a reduction of power costs by a factor of ten in a generation.

When the atom flashed into the world's consciousness in August, 1945, uranium mining was under way in only four places—at Great Bear Lake in northern Canada, in Colorado, at Joachimstal in Czechoslovakia, and in the Haut Katanga district of the Belgian Congo. It has therefore been assumed that the raw materials of atomic energy are scarce. In fact, the prediction has been made that if we changed over from coal and oil to the atom, supplies would be exhausted in a few decades.

Of that there is no danger whatever. To begin with, a little fissionable material goes an astonishingly long way. Two or three pounds a day will meet the present electricity needs of power-hungry Pittsburgh. Three hundred tons a year will match the current American output of energy from coal, oil, gasoline, natural gas, and water-power. In any case, uranium is not rare. It is more abundant than antimony, mercury, and silver together. Much of it, to be sure, is widely dispersed instead of being concentrated in easily worked ore bodies. But the discovery of new deposits can be expected—after all, the search for uranium has scarcely begun. And uranium is not the only source of atomic energy. Another is thorium, which is three times as abundant as uranium. Thorium itself is not fissionable, but it can be converted into fissionable Uranium 233 by a process similar to that employed at Hanford for transforming non-fissionable Uranium 238 into fissionable plutonium.

The one really scarce raw material is Uranium 235, the only natural fissionable element. U-235 is found in conjunction with U-238. At present U-235 is essential both in power generation and in the manufacture of plutonium and U-233. For every pound of plutonium made, somewhat more than a pound of U-235 is consumed. Thus a shortage of U-235 *could* delay the coming of the atomic age. Piles can be designed, however, to generate plutonium, or U-233, faster than U-235 is used—to produce, in other words, an ever-growing surplus of fissionable material. Nuclear physicists are confident that such piles will be built and that they will reduce requirements of U-235 to zero long before the world's reserves of it are gone. Incidentally, the elimination of U-235 will be a major factor in reducing costs, for the processing of U-235 is one of the most expensive operations.

Clearly, then, atomic energy is entirely and immediately practicable. Now that Lilienthal has finally been confirmed, perhaps we shall move a little faster toward its development. We need it sorely. In the United States we are sliding into a new depression; in other countries hundreds of millions of people are suffering desperate hunger and poverty. The atom can change all this overnight; it can open up new agricultural and industrial frontiers in every state of the Union and every corner of the world. Those who disregard these possibilities, those who would leave the atom in military hands, are either fools or knaves.

One Country: Equal Rights

BY ELLIS ARNALL

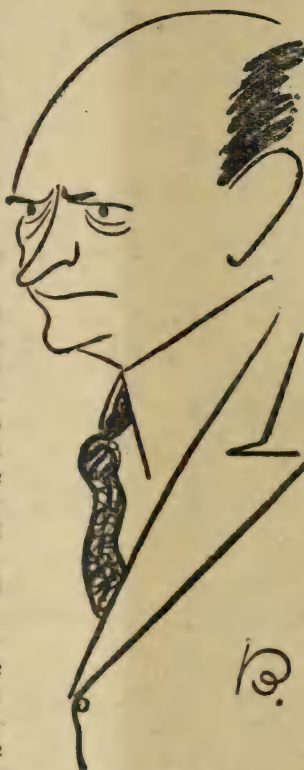
THE Supreme Court of the United States has sustained the Interstate Commerce Commission's order in the "class-rate" case in such sweeping language as to justify a belief that the United States, after all these years, will again become one nation. It means that the South is well on its way to readmission to the Union!

The mandate of the ICC, now upheld by the Supreme Court, directs the ultimate equalization of transportation charges upon such manufactured products as move under "class rates" within the various sections of the United States. These class rates are basic measuring rates by which other rates are established. Until complete equalization is achieved, the order of the ICC puts into effect new tariffs by decreasing certain Southern and Western class rates 10 per cent and increasing corresponding Northern and Eastern rates 10 per cent.

The economic consequences of the decision are much less important than the political consequences. Of course, if the Interstate Commerce Commission proceeds to apply the same remedies to the inequities in other rates, an immediate impetus will be given to the industrialization of the South and the West. That, however, is too much to hope for. The ICC moves with a slowness that is without equal among regulatory bodies in this country.

After much prodding by the Southern Governors' Conference the ICC some years ago instituted a cost investigation and study of class rates from which stems the order so recently upheld by the United States Supreme Court. When in May, 1944, Georgia, as a sovereign state, applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for equitable relief under the Sherman and Clayton acts, the ICC took a renewed interest in its dockets and studies. It then quickly issued the order in favor of the Southern and Western states.

ELLIS ARNALL, former governor of Georgia, has taken active leadership in the fight against discriminatory freight rates.



Ellis Arnall

As seen by Oscar Berger

While the order is limited in scope it is enormously significant because it shows that the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Supreme Court have recognized the existence of discrimination against the inhabitants of three-fourths of the area of the continental United States. More important than the opportunity offered a limited number of Southern and Western industrialists to compete on the national market is the establishment of the principle that the United States is one country without internal trade barriers. This is certain to evoke angry protests from the groups which are convinced that America can exist one-fourth empire and three-fourths colonial area for ruthless exploitation and spoliation. The banking interests that control the railroads of "Official Territory," sometimes through ownership of less than 5 per cent of the outstanding stock of the lines, the industrialists who have benefited by freight and wage differentials and by Western and Southern colonialism, the political puppets who work energetically for these interests—all these will be angry and shocked at the straightforward language of Justice William O. Douglas.

And a few Southerners also will agree with them. You can list such Southerners: the scalawag spokesmen for absentee or carpetbagger enterprises, the political quacks whose professional Southernism is the most lamentable misfortune to stem from Appomattox Courthouse, the men interested in retarding industry in the South so that its labor supply may be used to produce raw materials cheaply. Their screams will match those of the Eastern monopolists.

In political terms the Supreme Court's decision means that the United States is committed to at least one New Deal concept—that this is one country and that all Americans have equal rights.

The next test will come when Georgia's case reaches the nine justices. Special Master Lloyd Garrison has at his disposal an enormous mass of evidence through which Georgia seeks to prove that a conspiracy violative of the Sherman and Clayton acts exists in railroad circles. Georgia is asking that competitive free enterprise be restored in this most important field of business.

The domination of almost all the major railroads by a limited number of banking houses, the establishment of a vast hierarchy of associations, conferences, bureaus, boards, committees, agencies, and commissions for rate-making, and the use of this machinery to throttle competitive industry outside "Official Territory" constitute a challenge to the entire history of free enterprise. Obviously, whoever controls the railroads controls the economy of America. Two-thirds of the freight traffic of the nation is handled by the rail lines, compared with less than one-sixth by inland waterways and less than 6 per cent by truck. Not only individual business enterprises, not only communities, not only states, but whole sections of our country find their economic security dependent upon the freight rates they must pay to ship their goods to distant markets or to obtain their supplies. Thus the economic future of every part of the country, and of every individual, rests ultimately with the Board of Directors of the Association of American Railroads, which is dominated by representatives of Eastern lines controlled by certain banking interests.

Private government is fascism. Public ownership and operation of enterprise imply some degree of socializa-

tion, heretofore acceptable only in the case of highways, the postal service, and a limited number of local utilities, except in emergencies such as created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Georgia proposes that competition-plus-regulation be given a fair trial before the railroads force the nation into a dangerous political and social experiment that violates our customs and our way of thought.

It is significant that transportation should provide the battleground for these two major issues: the unification of our divided country, and the reversal of the trend to private government. The Supreme Court has at last answered the question whether the United States is to be a political as well as a geographic entity. The results of that decision will be jeopardized unless the court holds that private government is forbidden under our laws. But if we win the victory on both fronts, we shall be able to establish a decentralized national economy, with a better distribution of population and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Justice Douglas's opinion holds much promise for the future. At the very least it affirms that the United States is the common country of all its citizens.

Ernest Bevin's Great Light

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, May 17

WHEN Paul of Tarsus saw a great light on the road to Damascus, his friends can hardly have been more astonished by the change in him than was the British Foreign Office by the sudden conversion which Mr. Bevin appears to have experienced during his brief stay in Warsaw on the way home from the Moscow conference. His talk with Premier Cyrankiewicz seems to have brought him abruptly round to the view that, after all, the new government of Poland is reasonably "democratic," that there must be no more sentimental British support for Mr. Mikolajczyk's right-wing Peasant Party, and that, in any event, Polish dairy produce is worth more than ideological prejudices. Back in England the Foreign Secretary lost no time in telling the Anders Poles here that it was their patriotic duty to return to their country and work for its reconstruction, and he has let his lieutenants in the Foreign Office know that the new Anglo-Polish trade pact has his unqualified blessing. Signs of a new orientation of British foreign policy are also to be seen in this week's announcement

that a great expansion in British trade with the U. S. S. R. is hoped for: steel rails, machinery, and scientific instruments are to be exchanged for shipments of timber—badly needed here for the wood-starved and delayed housing program—and an allocation to Britain of a good share of the three million tons of wheat which the Soviet Union hopes to be able to export in the coming year.

How interpret this sudden change of front, coming so swiftly after Mr. Bevin's adoption at Moscow of an attitude toward the U. S. S. R. at least as "tough" as that of Mr. Marshall? One explanation suggested is that the Foreign Secretary recognized one fine morning that the Truman Doctrine would give Britain a chance to do a useful bit of export-trade promotion. Just as England's weakness was Ireland's chance, so America's unpopularity among the non-Trumanized might give its junior partner a golden opportunity. If the U. S. S. R. and the Central and Southeastern European countries within the Soviet sphere of influence were to be denied any share in the "discriminating" outward flow of loaned dollars, they would be unable to satisfy their needs by importing goods from the United States. Why not, then, encourage them to have recourse to the British market? And if supplies of Russian timber and wheat enabled Britain to

AYLMER VALLANCE is our London correspondent.



Ernest Bevin

draw more slowly on the dwindling dollar loan and to be a bit more "choosy" about two-dollar wheat in Chicago, so much the better!

An alternative explanation is that Mr. Bevin has been thinking primarily not of a mere stroke of good business for Britain but in terms rather of the current trend of political opinion in both the Labor movement and the electorate as a whole. The situation is complex; in weighing it up one has to take account of personal tensions and ambitions within the Cabinet and also of the growing realization within the Labor Party that though the issues have not yet come fully to the surface, it is the consequences of foreign policy that will ultimately determine the voting in the general election of 1950.

The easy success of the Labor candidate in the recent by-election at Jarrow, a Tyneside town left bankrupt by capitalist rationalization of shipbuilding in the inter-war period, showed clearly that in industrial centers, where the memories of unemployment and the means test are still vivid, there is undiminished loyalty to the government which came to power in 1945. A visit by this correspondent to the constituency during the campaign convinced him that the electors of Jarrow were unreservedly satisfied with the government's record. Any dissatisfaction is in the constituencies of Greater London and the Midlands, which did not experience the North's desperate unemployment in the thirties, and whose voters—particularly the women—are chiefly conscious now that war-boom earnings are falling, that prices are rising, and that shortages in the shops continue.

These disgruntled electors, many of whom voted Labor for the first time two years ago, have not yet got round to formulating in their minds any very intelligent criticism of governmental planning on the home front. Grounds for such criticism do, indeed, exist: though coal output under the newly inaugurated five-day week in the mines has not shown the drop which was feared, fuel supplies—allocated without real distinction between essential and unessential units of factory production—will keep the whole British manufacturing industry working during the summer months at only 80 per cent of capacity, and for even this the risk must be taken of starting next winter with barely adequate stocks and banking on the kindlier weather next February. But if by 1950 the government has been able to "get by" without cuts in rations or serious unemployment caused by shortage of raw materials, and to fill the shops a little, then London and the Midlands will as likely as not vote Labor into power again.

Indeed, so far as domestic policy is concerned, the Labor Party has even less cause for anxiety in that the long-awaited Tory program, published this week under the title of "Industrial Charter," makes singularly little appeal to the great mass of the electors. Admitting that a Tory government could not in practice do away with rationing and controls until scarcity had been replaced by abundance, the program also concedes that there could be no wholesale denationalization of industries taken over or about to be taken over by the state, and that, in fact, *laissez faire* is dead. What the Tories advocate instead is a sort of concordat between big business and the state which bears a suspicious resemblance to the corporative *étatisme* of Hitler and Mussolini. Trade associations—in plain words, monopolistic associations dominated by the big concerns—are to be responsible within each industry for allocating the use of resources distributed by the state to each sector of the nation's economy. This is not an appetizing dish to set before a country which learned a good deal of the results of monopolies, price rings, and restrictive policies during the recurrent crises and unemployment of the period between the two world wars.

The government, in short, has little to fear from a politically bankrupt opposition. If it fails to get a renewal of its mandate three years hence, the reason will be that it has dug its own grave. It need not do so, but there is a danger that the whole of Britain's experiment in gradualist socialism may be wrecked by a grandiose foreign policy and the attempt to carry excessive commitments abroad—as has been emphasized cogently by "Keep Left," a pamphlet recently published over the names of Richard Crossman, Michael Foot, and a dozen other members of the left-center group of Labor Party "rebels." "Keep Left" shows convincingly that the only sort of planning which can extricate Britain from its economic difficulties requires a big shift of man-power from

the armed forces to productive industry. Already the authors of this pamphlet have scored one major success: they persuaded the government hastily to amend the conscription bill and to reduce the period of compulsory service from eighteen to twelve months. This means that even if an optimistic view be taken of the results of voluntary enlistment for the regular army, the ceiling for Britain's armed forces after 1949 will be 600,000 men. The army will have a strength not exceeding 300,000 men, of whom about half will be partially trained recruits not available for garrison duty outside Europe. The bearing of these figures on Britain's ability to play the part of a great power will doubtless be emphasized by the "rebels" at the Margate conference of the Labor Party on May 27. They will urge that we should lose no time in recutting our foreign-policy coat to conform to this prospective 50 per cent reduction in our cloth.

According to most British newspapers, Mr. Bevin was furiously angry that his Cabinet colleagues should have agreed during his absence in Moscow to a reduction in the strength of the services which is bound radically to modify British foreign policy. It is possible, however, that this interpretation of his reaction was Tory wish-fulfilment. He may have begun to be impressed by the insistence of the "rebels" that shortage of man-power is Britain's Achilles heel. He is unlikely to ignore the fact that the "bread-and-butter" Ministers in the Cabinet—Bevan, Strachey, Cripps, and Shinwell—share the point of view of the "rebels" that Labor will go down to

defeat in 1950 if, like the French government in the twenties, it pursues *la gloire* at the expense of building up solid prosperity at home. Moreover, the Foreign Secretary can hardly overlook the return to the arena, after his illness, of Herbert Morrison, that astute supporter of the winning side.

Is it, then, to be supposed that Mr. Bevin is "bending"? Certainly in his lengthy speech to Parliament on foreign affairs he seemed to be cautiously veering away from the idea of an Anglo-American bloc against communism. While adhering to the view that money should not be poured into Germany from the west in order that reparations from current production might flow out to the east, he was at pains to speak of Russian—and Polish—claims in sympathetic terms, to refer to "friendlier feelings" in the relations between Britain and the Balkan countries, and to express confidence that when the Foreign Ministers next met, an acceptable compromise on all the issues which had defied agreement at Moscow could be worked out.

Too much perhaps should not be read into these signs of conversion: Mr. Bevin's new-found appreciation of the virtues of trade with Eastern Europe might not survive another wrestling match with Mr. Molotov in November. But at least the impression here is general that he is now sincerely opposed to a "two-world" peace which would partition Europe and leave Britain with no alternative but increasing dependence on the financial generosity of the American Congress.

India Drifts Toward Civil War

BY SHIVA RAO

Simla, May 19

MOUNTBATTEN'S dramatic dash to London yesterday for direct consultations with the British Cabinet emphasizes the urgency of a generally acceptable solution of the Indian problem. It is less than two months since he succeeded Lord Wavell as Viceroy. On the eve of this change, on February 20, Attlee announced that Britain would withdraw from India by June of next year.

It was generally understood that Mountbatten would be given a free hand to make appropriate variations in British policy so long as its broad features stood unaltered: namely, continuation of the work of the Constituent Assembly, the orderly transfer of power until the final phase of British withdrawal, and encouragement

of unity in India. During these seven weeks of his viceroyalty Mountbatten has impressed everyone with his whole-hearted acceptance of the Labor government's India policy, though many officials occupying high places have been not only critics but almost saboteurs.

Analyzing the Indian situation last month, I told *Nation* readers that Mountbatten, having heard all sides, must begin to frame decisions of his own. That this phase had been reached was indicated early in May by the dispatch of Lord Ismay, his chief adviser, to London with proposals which would demonstrate beyond doubt the genuineness of British intentions. One point Mountbatten is generally believed to have underlined is that the situation was rapidly deteriorating and Britain could not hope to control it much longer.

Lord Ismay's discussions with Attlee and other Labor Ministers led to the announcement that the Viceroy would unfold British plans on May 17, after the first preliminary conference of the five top-ranking Indian

SHIVA RAO is correspondent in India for *The Nation* and the *Manchester Guardian*.

leaders—Nehru and Patel of the Congress Party, Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan representing the Moslem League, and Sardar Baldev Singh as the Sikh spokesman. Within twenty-four hours came a laconic statement that the conference had been postponed until early in June. Then came the third startling report that the Viceroy would fly to London for direct consultations with the Cabinet and return to New Delhi for a conference with Indian leaders, now scheduled for June 2. The report delicately referred to the Cabinet's "general agreement" on the Viceroy's proposals. It is widely held that his visit will enable such differences as do exist to be smoothed out.

Until almost the moment of his departure from New Delhi yesterday Mountbatten busied himself with ascertaining the views of different party leaders on the latest proposals. His personal reputation is high among most classes of people. His lack of conventional rigidity has pleased the common man. He persuaded Gandhi and Jinnah to issue a joint appeal for peace, having brought the two leaders together for a talk. Gandhi has frequently spoken of the Viceroy as an honest statesman pledged to carry out the British promise. He believes, however, that withdrawal should not be delayed until June of next year but effected immediately.

What are the Viceroy's proposals which have necessitated his visit to London? No one can say authoritatively. The feature of the situation that chiefly demands a new approach is the widespread conviction among non-Moslems of the two key provinces, Bengal and Punjab, that partition of some sort is not only inevitable but eminently desirable. Last year, when three Cabinet Ministers spent several months in New Delhi, the demand for the division of India came from the Moslem League alone, all other parties opposing it. The plan which they left behind visualized a single central administration—with its jurisdiction limited, however, to three or four departments—and condemned the division of the country as dangerous to defense.

The massacres which have disgraced India since August have brought about strange political shifts. The Moslem League, while continuing to preach a divided India, demands undivided provinces so that Pakistan may include all Punjab and Bengal as well as Assam and Sind. The Hindus and Sikhs retort with a suggestion for dividing Punjab and Bengal if India as a whole must be divided. Jinnah detests the idea of divided provinces but cannot deny to non-Moslem majorities in East Punjab and West Bengal the same right to secede which he claims for Moslems throughout India. The Pathans in the northwest, in the region adjoining Afghanistan, have started a line of their own. What have they, their leaders ask, in common with the Hindus or the Moslems of India? Racially, linguistically, culturally, their affinities are with the Afghans.

It is clear that once the process of redrawing the map

of India starts, alterations will not be so simple or so few as Jinnah now imagines. The princes, too, have long memories. The Nizam of Hyderabad wants to get back the rich area of Berar which he somewhat absentmindedly gave to the British a half-century ago. He wants access to the sea. When India becomes independent he will probably proclaim Hyderabad's independence. The Sikh princes, finding their territories on the boundary line which will divide the Punjab, have shown a remarkable tendency to acquire implements of war. The Sikhs have suffered terribly in the devastating riots in West Punjab, and tens of thousands of refugees have poured into the territories of the princes for relief and protection. Barely a century ago the Sikhs were the masters of Punjab and even beyond. The Rajputana princes have been holding secret conferences at which, according to reports, they are forging defensive alliances.

Thus the imminence of British withdrawal is stirring memories and ambitions of all sorts among many kinds of people. Gandhi may wander around India preaching the cult of non-violence, the unity of India, and the gospel of forgiveness—verily a modern Buddha—but how many, though they may admire or even worship him, practice his teachings? It is no secret that private armies are being formed. Crude bombs, hand grenades, flame-throwers, and rifles, not to mention knives and swords, are coming into common use when riots break out. More than a million men have been demobilized since the end of the war. They enlisted not because they were moved by principle but because they were attracted by the pay, the better food, and the clothing they received in the army. Now unemployed, they desperately seek a comparable standard of living.

These post-war problems are sufficiently formidable to tax the energies and resources of any administration. They have been almost neglected because of the pre-occupation of India's leaders with independence. British officials say that they are going and these problems are not their concern any more. A number of Indian officials have been affected by Hindu-Moslem differences. The administration no longer claims their undivided loyalty.

Mountbatten has seen the danger that India will drift toward civil war unless something big and striking is done immediately, though even that may prove too late. Wavell, whom Churchill chose for India's Viceroy when Linlithgow was too tired to continue, was a soldier, not a statesman, and proved a failure. One thing that might yet spare India the horrors of civil war would be the immediate declaration of full dominion status, coupled with the determination to stamp out all incitement to violence, whoever preached it. If Mountbatten returns to New Delhi with full authority to put such a program into effect, India may still ride out the storm. But a storm there is bound to be, and the utmost skill and vision will be needed to avert disaster.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

V. Big Push Against the Valley

Knoxville, Tennessee

THE South is in many ways the social laboratory of America. A constant search goes on here for ways of improving relations with minority groups, extending political democracy, and bringing the fruits of industrialization within reach of the people of the region.

This last effort is perhaps the most spectacular and encouraging. And almost none of its inspiration can be traced to communism: the South knows little about communism as a theory and has too few resident Communists to be affected by their words or actions. This is important to remember in Knoxville, headquarters of the TVA; and it is doubly important just now when the TVA is being assailed as never before by the private-power interests and their political henchmen. While the real purpose of the TVA's enemies—to regain control of the power business—has not changed, new slogans have been coined to take advantage of the present drive against world communism and its corollary, public ownership in this country. The reactions of the people in the Tennessee Valley to these slogans are singularly illuminating. Is the TVA employee resentful or fearful because his boss is the government? Is the employee of the Alabama Power Company, which serves adjacent areas, glad that the company for which he works is privately owned? It turns out that neither is concerned about this aspect of his work. Both think well of their employers; both discuss their jobs in terms of hours, wages, and security. When they compare the two utilities they speak of the conditions of work, or the opportunities for advancement, or the pension system. "Regimentation," "collectivism," "capitalism"—these ideas do not creep into their talk.

The consumers of power, the people who use it in their homes or factories or on their farms, are just as little concerned with the boggy of communism. They are interested in the cost of power, and they favor the TVA because it sells power more cheaply than private companies. In the hills that march up almost to the borders of the city of Chattanooga, mountaineers have lived for generations, remote and isolated in their unpainted cabins. Now the city of Chattanooga is bringing TVA power to these people. And though the Tennessee mountaineers have long been celebrated in song and story as fanatical individualists, not one has refused the chance to get light or heat because it is supplied by a publicly owned generating plant. Nor have any of the other three and a quarter million people in the seven states of the Valley refused for

that reason. Even the gigantic monopolies, by using so much of TVA's power, testify to the irrelevancy of arguing about the sin or virtue of public ownership.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY DEPENDS ON PUBLIC POWER

Du Pont, Alcoa, Monsanto, and Eastman are organizations which Representative Rankin himself could hardly accuse of collectivist leanings; yet they are among the ten great corporations which, with the United States installation at Oak Ridge, use 48 per cent of all the power developed by the TVA. America's great monopolies have built huge plants in the Valley because TVA power is cheap and abundant. The presidents of these companies, however, damn public ownership every time they speak at their 1947 versions of Liberty League dinners. Recently Gwilym A. Price, president of Westinghouse, one of the world's greatest producers of equipment for utility companies, went all out against collectivism. He was afraid people might fall for it in the belief that government ownership would lower prices. A survey made by the "Psychological Corporation," he said, had discovered that almost one-third of the people of the United States believed government ownership might bring lower prices. "This means," he added, "that one-third of our population has swallowed the Communist Party line and doesn't know it." Perhaps they have, but have du Pont, Union Carbon and Carbide, and Alcoa also fallen for it? They seem to be convinced that the government sells its product more cheaply than do private plants or they would not have located in the Valley. The private-utility bloc must think the same thing or they would not be trying to get Congress to make them the sole recipients and sales agents of all government-owned power.

Their actions of course have nothing to do with communism. They do, however, raise another kind of doubt. The TVA was developed with public money, yours, mine, and that of 135,000,000 other taxpayers. Monopolies use almost 48 per cent of TVA's electric power in their industrial operations; an additional 20 per cent is surplus and exported to the power lines of privately owned utility companies. On every cent's worth of that 68 per cent of TVA's power output these huge companies, in and outside the Valley, are getting a subsidy from the rest of us, for our taxes made possible the savings in power costs which they now enjoy. The success of private enterprise may be more dependent on public ownership than anyone has guessed—an idea not likely to attract the study or the sympathy of the N. A. M.

Public subsidy works queer changes. In neighboring North Carolina a textile bourbon who has opposed not only the TVA at every stage, from planning through completion, but also the REA (Rural Electrification Administration) and everything connected with either has had a conversion. When I talked to him the other day, he described with great enthusiasm a new electrically powered knitting-machine designed for home use on farms. (The textile industry would like to revive the old work-at-home contracting business, which might develop into a strike-breaking and union-busting device, especially if the farmer's wife could be listed as a textile employee with a vote in National Labor Board elections.) I asked my bourbon acquaintance whether he had changed his mind and come to the conclusion that public power was really a fine thing. The answer was pithy: "It doesn't make any difference what I think about it; TVA is here to stay, and the textile industry is going to get what benefits it can from it."

The left hand of industry—it must be the left—takes the subsidy of cheap power rates and tries to find new ways to increase its share of that subsidy. But evidently the left hand says nothing at all to the right hand, which is busy trying to cripple the source of the subsidy.

ONSLAUGHT OF THE UTILITIES

Under the protecting wing of a sympathetic Congress, David Lilienthal, in a demonstration of brilliant leadership as head of the TVA, managed until 1946 to fend off the private utilities' opposition. Now he has moved into the atomic field, and they have renewed their offensive with redoubled energy. They have launched their onslaught from many directions. One Congressional committee disapproved the appointment of Gordon Clapp as the new chairman of TVA at the same time that another was listening to the widely publicized outburst against Lilienthal. Both of these sallies failed, but in the attack the private-ownership interests revealed their long-range aims. They seek to take advantage of the Congressional mood of reaction to recapture the TVA and other public-power projects. That done, they plan to gain control of all but the military aspects of atomic energy. The stakes in both undertakings are gigantic.

Rates may be lowered to consumers, crops may be vastly improved as a result of TVA teaching and TVA phosphates, the whole region's standard of living may rise—from 1933 to 1939 it rose more than 70 per cent—but none of this counts with the utility companies. They want to control the sources of power, and now they see their big chance. They have been preparing for some years. More than a hundred big private electric-power companies have banded together as an association, the top executive of which has just registered with Congress as a lobbyist. His salary, he has disclosed, is \$650,000 a year, which make him the highest paid lobbyist in

Washington. In addition to this direct pressure on Congress the association employs high-powered publicists to sell the people on the incomparable virtues of private ownership. The approach is national, using pages in color in *Life* and other slick magazines and network radio time, locally sponsored of course. Local propaganda is not neglected by a long way. In every town and hamlet where private utilities have influence the private-power boys arrange speakers for luncheon meetings, buy local advertising, and spread the word against communism in general and the TVA in particular. Their henchmen operate in the legislatures of any state where public power is for sale or its development contemplated. In the far Northwest the private-power interests fight Bonneville with the same venom they show against TVA. They fight it even while they admit, as they did recently in the state of Washington, that only the national government can or will make the necessary investment to provide the additional power now so badly needed.

CONGRESS ON THE RAMPAGE

In Congress the House has voted for the virtual elimination of public power in the West by denying any funds at all for its future development. Senator Thomas of Oklahoma has another proposal for killing public power. His bill seems to exempt TVA's existing operations but undermines TVA's base. The Senator from Oklahoma would also take from the Department of the Interior its real power of decision over the Bonneville and Central Valley projects and place the final authority over rates and the sale of power in the hands of the Federal Power Commission. Municipalities and other agencies which now distribute electricity would lose their present preferred status, and private utilities would get first crack at the purchase of public power wholesale. This would not only end the career of public-power districts and cooperatives with one blow but wipe out yardstick rates—a consummation devoutly to be desired by the private utilities. Finally, Senator Thomas's formula adds the last straw which will break the back of every public-power project. After the Federal Power Commission gets control it will be required to include the cost of the dam in its basis for public-power rates, even though the main purpose of the dam is flood control or irrigation; as a further guaranty of high rates the Thomas bill bars the building of any dam for the specific purpose of generating power. This will effectively kill off the possibility of any differential between the rates of public and private power.

Certain private utilities would like to raise their rates now, but they think it would be politically dangerous to try it. If they did, municipalities would redouble their efforts to take over the systems and operate them under public ownership. The power boys reason that the way to stop that trend is to force existing public-power proj-

ects to sell all their power to private utilities, which will charge the consumer all the traffic will bear.

At least six bills have been introduced in Congress to check the expansion of public ownership. Some slash directly at the TVA. Action already approved on the floor of the House deprives the Department of the Interior of funds for Western irrigation and flood control as well as for public power. In order to make absolutely certain that public utilities are not even planned for, the House has eliminated funds for geologic and engineering surveys. No one in the Valley is in sympathy with this legislative rampage except such notorious pork-barrel politicians and spoilsmen as Senators McKellar and Stewart of Tennessee, who represent Crump, the czar of Memphis, not the people of the Valley.

No farmer, worker, or business man wants to see these legislative hatchet men succeed. They know that the TVA is very much more than a generator of electric energy. It is a deep waterway 650 miles long for carrying all sorts of goods, unimpeded by rapids or shallows or the snags of discriminatory freight rates. It is a chain of beautiful lakes where millions of persons can go fishing and boating. It is freedom from the fear of floods, for the Tennessee now is a completely "engineered" river, controlled as a unit, with every mile safeguarded. The TVA is industry, new industry—Valley-trained men and women work in factories which range in size from a two-man shop to the largest aluminum rolling mill in the world. Many small home-owned plants have come into being with the help of the TVA.

For the Valley people the TVA means more than a livelihood; it means almost a way of life. In former years the region was infested with malaria; in 1946, 9,300 examinations revealed only twenty-eight positive cases. Farm living has become a new experience. Electricity eases the burdens of overworked women and helps the farmers with their heavy chores. The radio brings entertainment—music and news of the world.

FERTILIZER PROGRAM ENDANGERED

When Secretary of Agriculture Anderson said recently that the United States would become a second-class nation if it did not reclaim its exhausted and eroded farm lands, he was, perhaps unintentionally, pointing up the value of what TVA has already done for farmers in checking erosion, enriching the soil, creating new pastures and forests. The improvement wrought by the TVA depends fundamentally on its fertilizer program, and this is now in jeopardy. The private-utility interests have combined with the fertilizer interests to kill it. Though the country, and the whole famine-stricken world, is terribly short of fertilizer, that does not matter if TVA plans interfere with the operation of monopoly. The National Fertilizer Association has been part of a cartel for years and has paid three fines, one of \$260,000, for

monopolistic practices restricting the use of fertilizers.

Were the TVA out of the fertilizer business, this monopoly would have things all its own way. The result would be particularly serious in the matter of quality, for the phosphates produced by TVA have about three times the plant-food value of commercial fertilizers, and experiments have prepared the way for stepping up even this high efficiency. To the fertilizer interests in all parts of the country all this represents a very real threat. TVA fertilizer is used in twenty-nine states under the guidance of land-grant colleges. Forty thousand farmers have already demonstrated on over five million acres that yields can be increased 30 per cent by crop rotation and the use of phosphates of high plant-food content.

These experiments have aroused so much interest that in Montana, where there are large deposits of phosphate rock, a strong movement has emerged to get Bonneville to build a dam at Hungry Horse with which to power the manufacture of the new type of fertilizer. The forces opposing public power and cheap fertilizer came in with a rush to block this proposal. The Montana Power Company, which has made a nice thing of its monopoly of electric power in the inter-mountain area, protested vehemently against the whole idea—for two reasons: Montana Power wants no competition from public power in its domain; and Montana Power is controlled by the Anaconda Copper Company, which is a large producer of the regular commercial type of phosphate fertilizer. No clearer illustration of how interlocking monopoly ownership operates to restrict industrial and agricultural development could be imagined.

Millions of farmers want fertilizer; the security of the country, Secretary Anderson said, depends on its greater use. But the private-power interests are fighting for the maintenance of the rigged fertilizer set-up. The entire country is menaced, but the Tennessee Valley is most aware of it. Here people know the stakes. They have seen the Valley progress from primitive agriculture through the electrical age. Now it is on the threshold of the atomic age. Better than any other section of the country, the Valley knows that if the production of fertilizer and electricity go under private control, the production of atomic energy will also, and then every dream of industrial democracy will be shattered.

There is strength in the Valley to fight these threats to its future. The 138 municipally owned power companies and farmers' electrical cooperatives have been tempered in previous assaults upon the TVA. They will have the support of the newspapers and the chambers of commerce of the towns which have benefited from the Valley's development; and the growing trade-union movement is taking up its share of the load.

They will win—with the country's help—and the issue on which they will win is as real as the power bloc's talk of collectivism is phony.

Del Vayo—Perón on the March

MAY 21 will remain a memorable date in the history of the Western Hemisphere. Crossing the frontiers of his own country, President Perón has set out to become the Führer of Latin America. Like every dictator of his type, he considers himself a man of destiny. His destiny is to unite all the countries south of the Rio Grande under the leadership of Argentina. The dream of a Latin American League that inspired the Congress of Panamá in 1826 is constantly working in his mind. Certainly he lacks the stature of the initiator of that idea—"the man who freed one continent and filled another with his name," as the children in the schools of Paris described Bolívar 125 years ago. But Perón possesses ambition and skill and even that fascination for the masses that throughout Latin American history has won for dictators a certain popular complicity.

His fascism has several original traits, and one can almost understand his unwillingness to appear a mere pupil of the European dictators of the thirties. But it has in common with German and Italian fascism the tendency to dominate beyond its own domain. "The revolution that does not expand dies in time and space," said General Perón last fall, in true Hitlerian style. His initial step in affirming this view was his meeting last week with President Dutra of Brazil.

Not much about that conference will come to the surface except general phrases about its symbolic importance. But whether acknowledged or not, it was the first act in the creation of a pan-American military bloc with Argentina as its center. This is a scheme that would never have had a chance of becoming a reality if the United States had not given Perón the green light by admitting Argentina to the United Nations at San Francisco. Now, thanks to that suicidal move, Argentina has become too strong diplomatically to be pushed around. In spite of the courageous but unsupported resistance of Mr. Braden, Perón already has in his pocket the key to the next pan-American conference. But this is not enough. He wants to appear there at the head of his own bloc and in a position to speak to the United States at least as equal to equal.

The movement began months ago. It first took the form of economic penetration. Chile, in spite of having elected as President a genuine anti-fascist and progressive, Gabriel Gonzales Videla, was in an extremely difficult situation. Having obtained little help from the United States, it was compelled last December to sign a trade and financial treaty with Argentina which increased Chile's dependence on its powerful neighbor and is beginning to influence its political life. To win Bolivia, which had partly slipped out of Perón's clutches through the last revolution, Argentina offered to buy as much tin as Bolivia wanted to sell at the price (76 cents a pound) La Paz was trying vainly to get from the United States and Great Britain. Bolivia was drawn back into the Argentina system. Uruguay needed financing for big hydro-electric projects; Argentina was ready with the money.

Benefiting from its neutrality in the war, which not only relieved the country of heavy military expenditures but in-

sured an uninterrupted market for its goods in both Axis and Allied nations, Argentina today is able to extend much needed favors to its poorer neighbors.

Perón's happiest hour arrived when President Truma announced his policy of general resistance to the encroachments of communism. Franco in Europe, Perón in Argentina became volunteers in the great democratic mobilization. As a fellow-member of the United Nations, Perón's value as an ally, and even as possible leader of a continental coalition is very evident. I have not verified the rumors of an impending conference of American chiefs of staff at Rio, preliminary to the long-postponed pan-American conference and designed to lay the groundwork for what is called a "continental army." But in Argentina there is little doubt that should such a scheme materialize, the nucleus of the continental force would be the Argentine army. Undoubtedly the best-trained and equipped in Latin America, accustomed to the task of repressing Argentina's own anti-fascists trained by German Nazi officers, it would provide an effective instrument in the fight against communism.

To make this proposal more digestible to Americans who are addicted to the philosophy of the four freedoms, Sumner Welles, like other defenders of "continental solidarity," rejects the very idea that "this government should impose its own views as to the kind of representative government other independent and sovereign peoples should enjoy." But no talk about representative government can make Perón's regime anything other than pure fascism. Identifying himself as the champion of Argentina's "shirtless ones," Perón, as the report of the A. F. of L. commission to Argentina conclusively established, has liquidated the whole independent labor movement—former Congressman Rodriguez Araya, who dared expose the government's frauds, was shot in the back. In the nation's six universities 1,500 professors and instructors have been dismissed. Catholic study in the schools has been imposed by a special law. Anti-Semitism is increasing. The Congress has been made an instrument of the President-Dictator. The Supreme Court too. Habeas corpus still exists, but mainly for the benefit of certain Nazi personalities whom the United States wanted to have deported. Those who have recently been sent back to Germany are belated offerings on the altar of hemispheric solidarity.

In itself the idea of a free union of Latin American countries to resist imperialist pressure or subjugation to foreign capital is a tempting one. The trouble is that progress toward continental unity is taking place under the sign of reaction, with a fascist state in the lead. The incorporation of Latin America in the crusade against Russian totalitarianism and Communist infiltration will only result in the strengthening of a Latin American totalitarianism. American liberals who honestly want democracy and hate fascism should realize that the new foreign policy they have accepted, however reluctantly, will force upon them the role of fellow-travelers of Franco and Perón in the fantastic enterprise of destroying democracy in the name of democracy.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Bridging the Trade Gap

IN HIS recent speech at Cleveland, Mississippi, retiring Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson referred to "a disparity between production in the United States and production in the rest of the world that is staggering in its proportions." Here, even though the pace shows signs of slackening, we are still turning out goods at a rate far in excess of any previous peace-time year. In large parts of Europe and Asia production remains much below normal, thanks to war-time destruction and dislocation and, in the former continent, to a series of "acts of God" in the shape of droughts, storms, excessive cold, and floods.

One result of this disparity is the dangerously lopsided state of American foreign trade. Figures just released by the Department of Commerce show that in the first quarter of this year our exports of goods and services totaled \$4.9 billion while our imports of foreign goods and services were only \$1.9 billion. Assuming a flow of trade at the same rate for the rest of this year, this would mean exports of \$19.6 billion and imports of \$7.9 billion, and a difference between payments in and payments out of \$12 billion. How is so vast a gap to be bridged? In a forecast published earlier in the year the Department of Commerce estimated the size of this gap at \$7.2 billion. American loans and gifts to foreign countries, it is believed, would cover \$5.8 billion of this sum, and the balance of \$1.4 billion would be met from foreign reserves of gold and dollars.

Clearly, unless the trade trends of the first quarter are sharply reversed, the whole basis of this calculation is destroyed. In the absence of additional loans and gifts from the United States, foreign countries, in order to sustain their present excess purchases of American goods, would have to deplete their reserves to the extent of \$5.9 billion altogether. But these reserves amount to only \$17.5 billion—they have declined by a round billion in the past twelve months—and they are very unevenly distributed. Switzerland and South Africa, for instance, have ample supplies of gold and dollars in relation to their needs, while British, French, and Dutch reserves are dangerously low.

Speaking in Philadelphia on May 19, Thomas C. Blaisdel, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, said the obvious meaning of the growing trade gap was that "in 1947 either exports must be cut drastically, or imports must increase by 50 per cent, or additional loans must be made."

Current United States exports to Europe and Asia consist very largely of necessities—grain, cotton, coal, steel, transport equipment, machinery, and so forth. Any serious curtailment in their volume must entail either shorter rations or slower reconstruction or both in the importing countries. Moreover, we have to consider the effects of a sharp reduction in exports on the American economy. Until recently

the tremendous home demand for goods of all kinds has overshadowed the role of exports in maintaining production. But now that the sellers' market is ending and domestic orders in some lines have fallen off, foreign customers are of increasing importance to American industry and agriculture. Certainly a sharp cut in exports would accelerate the recession which most economists believe is in the making. We must consider, too, the effect on American prestige of a marked fall in our production while other countries are still afflicted by acute shortages. As Chester Bowles's Committee on Economic Stability points out, "It would be nothing short of criminal to permit unemployment of men and factories to develop here in the face of desperate needs abroad."

The most satisfactory solution to the problem of the gap would be an increase in imports from foreign countries. To some extent the American tariff is an obstacle, but at this time it is believed that the chief reason for the lag in imports is the sheer inability of many countries to ship more goods abroad than they are now doing. In an effort to improve their trade positions and reduce the necessity for further American loans, Britain and other countries are forcing exports to the utmost, depriving their own people of badly needed commodities. But until the reconstruction and modernization of industry has proceeded farther they cannot hope to sell to America the equivalent of what they need to buy.

What of the third alternative, a substantial addition to the large amount of credit which the United States has furnished to the world in the last two years? A very astute business man whom I know, a leader in his field, has recently prepared a memorandum advocating the foreign lending of \$10 billion a year for at least five years. He points out that such a program, apart from its political significance as a means of laying the economic foundations for a peaceful world, would provide a practical guaranty of sustained full production in this country. He believes that most loans would be repaid, but argues that in any case we should still be getting value for our money. Ten billion dollars is rather less than 5 per cent of present near-capacity production, and, my friend asks, what business man would not pay a 5 per cent commission to insure all-out operation of his plant?

It may be said that the United States has already poured out enormous sums in foreign aid. This is true, but the fact is that, unscathed ourselves by war, we have greatly underestimated its economic consequences in the countries that were battlefields. The job our dollars have performed so far is mainly one of relief. We have kept Europe alive, but if it is to proceed from bare sustenance to a moderate degree of prosperity, we shall have to underwrite its reconstruction. This means a sustained program instead of haphazard, last-minute rescue operations, and one directed purposefully toward the increase of productivity and the development of idle resources. Both American producers of the capital goods that will be needed and the foreign nations that will purchase them must be given an opportunity to plan ahead. As so conservative a mouthpiece of business as *Barron's* wrote recently, in the course of an editorial advocating more foreign lending, "Much as we may deplore it, intelligent policy planning on an over-all national and international level has become essential."

BOOKS and the ARTS

Dialogue of a Dilemma

(Scene: The Elysian fields. It is eternal spring. Herodotus and Aristophanes are having a peripatetic conversation.)

Herodotus. I have just finished a book by one of my able successors, William Hardy McNeill.* It looks as if there is much trouble in our native land.

Aristophanes. What, the Persians again?

Herodotus. No, it's more like Athens and Sparta. Furthermore, the inhabitants of Atlantis, which Poseidon raised from the ocean, are anxious to stop communism and to restore democracy.

Aristophanes. As I remember, our democracy was destroyed more than 2,000 years ago. And there was little democracy in the Byzantine or Ottoman empire and not much more under the Bavarian tyrannos Otho, his German successors, or the dictators Metaxas and Pangalos.

Herodotus. That's true, but did not the British, after defeating the E. L. A. S., instal the democratic Papandreou government?

Aristophanes. They certainly did. But, you see, this democrat in some respects resembled Cleon, whom I assailed in "The Knights," and in others resembled Alcibiades.

Herodotus. How do you mean?

Aristophanes. Well, as you know, Alcibiades, after having been dishonored as a politician in Athens, became a general, first in Sparta and then in Persia, and was recalled and made an admiral by Athens. Papandreou started as a liberal, turned Social Democrat, flirted with the E. A. M., and was a premier of the Government of National Unity, which eventually developed into a disguised dictatorship. History repeats itself—of course with slight differences. Byron in 1822 helped the Greek insurgents to conquer Athens, and in 1944 Winston Churchill, with the British army, helped to drive the Greek E. L. A. S. from Athens.

Herodotus. When you read McNeill's clear-sighted, impartial book you will see that the situation is not so simple as merely the betrayal of democracy.

This American historian, who by the way was for two crucial years assistant military attaché in Athens and is certainly no fellow-traveler, gives us a complete picture of the resistance movement, the civil war, and the ensuing reaction. I wish the Truman doctrinaires could have read this amazingly lucid, factual narrative before putting their "theory" into practice.

Aristophanes. You mean he says it was not just a fight between Communists and Democrats, the E. L. A. S. and the E. D. E. S.?

Herodotus. Certainly not, unless we indulge in the oversimplification of calling "red" or "fascist" everyone who is not in our camp. Originally every patriotic Greek supported the E. A. M. and the E. L. A. S., the National People's Liberation Army created by uniting the separate bands, the E. K. K. A., P. A. O. X., and other alphabetic combinations, into one guerrilla force which the most prominent military figures joined. The trouble began, indeed, when the British, in order to obtain the return of the King, sent enough equipment and gold for 15,000 men, to provide for the E. D. E. S. of General Zervas. This estranged all liberals and leftists.

Aristophanes. Is E. D. E. S. not short for Greek Democratic National League and is the guerrilla leader Zervas not a democrat? True, he was once commander of the bodyguard of the dictator Pangalos, but in betraying his master he became a democrat, and he recognized the Papandreou government. As I wrote in "The Frogs," "he was easy there, is easy here."

Herodotus. Whatever the democratic convictions of "Papa" Zervas, we are told by McNeill that the E. D. E. S. had no popular support, only that of the British, and that "Zervas's strength never approached that of E. L. A. S." It was, indeed, a case of nationalistic antagonisms "entangled with ideological struggles." In the elections of 1945, which the Popular Party won—though only 49 per cent of the electors voted and even so the royalists won but 231 seats out of 354—the party, McNeill says, "often advocated measures that could plausibly be called fascist."

Now when we learn that Americans want to reconcile the government supporters and the guerrillas, perhaps we should keep in mind McNeill's belief that "institutions of Western democracy hardly fitted the social and political situation in which Greece found itself."

Aristophanes. As you know, I wrote the often-quoted sentence: "Who has brought the owl to Athens?" Democracy is no commodity to be imported, and in Greece, too, it must grow out of the native soil. But is this fight between the army and the guerrillas or, as some people prefer to call them, the Communists, not just a new *Barachomyomachia*, a battle between frogs and mice? After all the army numbers 146,000 men and the bands at most a few thousands.

Herodotus. Number alone does not matter. Greek reactionary and Slav revolutionary are, as McNeill puts it, "an explosive mixture." Slavic peasants, in this case the Macedonians, have for many centuries had a tradition of guerrilla action. Don't forget what Philip of Macedon used to say: "The Macedonians are uncouth and boorish, and call a tub a tub." This is why they are not inclined to call the Maximos government democratic.

Aristophanes. So according to your American colleague the prerequisites of democracy are lacking. But is not the Truman doctrine aiming to create them?

Herodotus. The way to Hades is always paved with good intentions. As McNeill so convincingly proves, the crux of the Greek problem is overpopulation. This could be alleviated by considerably increasing the immigration quota to the United States and by a program of industrialization—which would, however, require an enormous expenditure. This paltry \$300,000,000 would be but a drop in the bucket even if the whole amount were used to build up industries instead of to support a warfare of which no doctrinaire can foretell the end. It is a pity they have not read in my histories that "he acts most wisely who makes his plans with caution, recognizing that any untoward event may occur."

Aristophanes. How do you expect politicians to read your histories, which

* "The Greek Dilemma: War and Aftermath," J. B. Lippincott Company, \$3.50.

May 31, 1947

are commonly despised as "philosophy"? I wish they would read "The Greek Dilemma" instead. This might perhaps avert the dress rehearsal of World War III with Greece in the role of Spain—though at least Franco did not have American aid. You know the proverb: When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war. I wonder if it makes a difference when one of the Greeks is American.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

An Epic Game

BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN.

By Bartley C. Crum. Simon and Schuster. \$3.

THE United Nations Assembly is preparing to send out another, the nineteenth, commission to investigate the problem of Palestine—one of the world's most vexing and ominous headaches. It is therefore both timely and instructive to learn what happened to the previous commission. Bartley C. Crum, a San Francisco lawyer and American member of that body, tells its story in revealing if not complete detail, with many illuminating personal touches; and the public will be lucky if the next batch of investigators includes such a frank reporter.

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, consisting of six Britons and six Americans (including Mr. Crum), was appointed by the British and American governments in December of 1945. Its purpose was to examine the situation of the European Jews and their need for emigration; to survey the political, economic, and social conditions of Palestine; and consequently to determine how best to accommodate the rights and claims of Jews and Arabs in a final settlement of the status of Palestine. The committee concluded its five months' study just one year ago. Its report was shelved, its recommendations were ignored, and it is now as though it never had existed. Mr. Crum calls its fate "one of the scandals of this post-war period." Yet his own account of how the committee worked and of the forces that undermined it emerges from the wreckage as a beacon for the future—a beacon that throws a penetrating light on the power politics which in every quarter of the globe makes peace impossible and if un-

checked will make another world war inevitable. Behind the silken curtain which Mr. Crum found conveniently draped before every corridor that could lead to unpleasant facts or hopeful conclusions sounded the rustlings of fear, greed, and chicanery that might well be the death rattle of civilization.

Mr. Crum introduces his eleven fellow-members to us as one might introduce the characters of a novel. Anecdotes and suggestive snatches of talk acquaint us with men who, however competent in their own field, were—with one excep-

tion—innocent of any knowledge of the peoples whose fate they were to consider or an understanding of the conditions in Palestine they were expected to alter. Lacking this knowledge or understanding, they were free to indulge their native genius for speculation and prejudice. The composition of the committee was in fact what one might expect from the nature of the governments that created it. The British members, selected by a government that had brought Palestinian affairs to a crisis and was seeking to throw the blame for this

An intimate record of the Irish literary renaissance



Lady Gregory, beloved Irish playwright and moving spirit in the Abbey Theatre, kept intimate and revealing journals between 1916 and 1930. Here are the most interesting passages selected and edited by Lennox Robinson, and topically arranged. Lady Gregory was so deeply a part of the Celtic literary renaissance that she was known as "the god-mother of the Abbey Theatre." In her journals are vivid back-stage portraits of Sean O'Casey, Shaw, Yeats, James Stephens, and a dozen other famous figures. \$3.00 at all bookstores.

WHAT THE REVIEWERS SAY:

"No shelf of twentieth-century memoirs is complete without it." — Horace Gregory, *New York Times Book Review*.

"An important and indeed essential literary and theatrical document." — W. G. Rogers, *Associated Press*.

"The book is a spontaneous record of a rich and creative life... The persons who move through the *Journals* helped to shape the history, both literary and political, of Ireland." — *New York Sun*.

MACMILLAN

Edited by LENNOX ROBINSON

Lady Gregory's JOURNALS

crisis upon the momentarily obstreperous element in the Palestinian population, were—again with one exception—anti-Jewish. The American members, appointed by a government unwilling to reveal its Middle East policy, if indeed it had one, were on the whole either impartial out of indifference or pro-Jewish as a matter of sentiment. Yet despite the prevalence of purely emotional attitudes to the very last, the integrity of the committee members was such that its recommendations were indorsed by a unanimous vote. For basic honesty and an ability to adjust diverse opinions no better committee is likely to be constituted. That their work was sabotaged from the start and destroyed in the end by the forces of power politics as embodied in Washington and London makes it clear how useless it will be for the public to scrutinize any new committee or be concerned with how it functions. If we are wise we shall ignore the puppets who are now about to dance before a silken curtain under U. N. management and, instead, follow with our eyes the strings that lead to the master showmen backstage.

At the outset these showmen revealed their hand to Mr. Crum. In Washington, before the investigation even got under way, Loy Henderson, chief of the Near East Division of the State Department, buttonholed Mr. Crum. "He took me aside and told me, 'There is one fact facing both the United States and Great Britain, Mr. Crum. That is the Soviet Union. It would be wise to bear that in mind when you consider the Palestine problem.'" The same view was conveyed to Mr. Crum by a British representative of the Foreign Office aboard the boat which took the committee to England—a representative who followed the committee in Europe, reiterating this view, and who managed to turn up in Lausanne, with the identical view, when the committee sat down to formulate their recommendations.

On the boat Mr. Crum was vouchsafed his fullest glimpse of what happens behind the curtain. He was given a résumé of the State Department's secret file on Palestine—"the existence of which," suggests Mr. Crum, "apparently not even President Truman had known." In sum, its seventeen items proved that since 1938 "each time a promise was

made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent messages to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine." At this point Mr. Crum adds that up to the publication of his book the State Department has not refuted the authenticity of these items or his charge that it was sabotaging American public policy. In other words, the real but secret policy of the United States government with respect to Palestine coincided with the real but secret policy of the British government. It was the policy succinctly expressed by the ubiquitous British representative of the Foreign Office when he told Mr. Crum that "the United States would do well to join Britain in establishing a *cordon sanitaire* of Arab states [against Russia]" and that "if Palestine were declared an Arab state, it would be a strong link in this chain."

These revelations rather amused the British members of the committee. Sir John Singleton—a judge of the King's Bench—set things straight. "Really the Jews are not the most important factor at all," he said. "The important thing is Anglo-American cooperation. Since these promises of yours [to the Arabs] have put both nations in the dock together, it only serves to bring us closer in the world ahead." "In a way unmeant by his cynicism, Sir John was right. As evidenced by their behavior even more than by their words or secret files, the American and British governments do not consider the Jews an important factor. And as evidenced by the contrast between the public promises of the Labor Party in England and the Democratic Administration and Party in America and their public actions as well as inaction with respect to the Jews of Palestine, the American and British governments are truly "in the dock together."

From this episode, as indeed from all the cloak-and-dagger stuff, secret shenanigans, and false-witnessing which are recorded by the candid Mr. Crum, one crucial inference is unmistakable. The United Nations commission which is to duplicate the work of Mr. Crum and his fellows will not and cannot

reach a just or abiding solution of the Palestine problem unless the British and American governments are put in the dock and their case sifted and tried with the same impartial probing as the case of the Jews and the Arabs. The world—the American people above all—are entitled to an inquiry which will answer a few questions. What is the actual policy of the American Department of State in the Middle East—and why? What are its commercial as well as its political aims? Why—whether for the sake of oil, politics, or whatever reason—is the American government willing to deprive American manufacturers of large markets in the Middle East by perpetuating Arab feudalism and consenting to a British near-monopoly of those markets? What is the actual policy of the British Foreign Office; and under what conditions and for what ends is Britain to be allowed a permanent military base in Palestine? And what are the intentions and purposes of the Soviet Union in the Middle East? The American people are entitled to get the most accurate answers possible from the best sources available, for it is they who are now supporting both the British and American governments with their money, and it is they who may be called upon to support them with their blood.

On the surface, the Jews in Palestine and Europe are an important factor only to themselves. Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union are playing a game in which the Jews are the ball. And when a game is played, it is always the ball that is hit. The game, however, is an epic one; and when the final score comes in, it will be found that the stakes are world war or peace. In this larger and truer aspect of the game, the Jews of Palestine and the scores of thousands more who must go there and help build a democratic, industrialized, and modern bulwark or else die of desuetude in the D. P. camps of Europe are more than a football or a pawn. It is they—and our attitude toward them—that will determine the final score.

Mr. Crum, in his conclusions, shows an eloquent understanding of the issue. "We can throw our lot," he states, "in with the forces of reaction who prop up feudalistic regimes in the Arab states in the hope that they will serve as a *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviets. Or we can

throw our lot in with the progressive forces in the Middle East. . . . I say to my fellow-Americans that not only for the sake of the masses in the Middle East but for the sake of world peace we must encourage this development, a development of which Jewish Palestine is thus far the outstanding example."

The immediate danger, as Mr. Crum came to understand, lies in procrastination—in allowing, under a curtain of secrecy and delay, the present forces which control American and British policy to bolster Arab feudalism, slowly strangle the Western civilization inaugurated by the Jews, and perpetuate the duplicity which eats like a dry rot into the pillars of peace. Mr. Crum was quick to appraise the vileness of the Arab regimes and the misery of the Arab masses; he was quick to appreciate not only the substance but the beauty of what the Jews have accomplished in their small portion of Palestine and its promise of bettering the whole Middle East. He was alert, too, in sniffing out the spying and sabotage to which the committee was subjected. However, he was reluctant to admit—as Einstein told

the committee at its first sessions—that its work was a waste of time and would serve only as a smoke screen to cover up an endless delay. Finally he saw the point—the real point of the problem and the book. "We cannot have peace," he concludes, "with a Middle East divided, half fascist, half democratic. Palestine symbolizes the crossroads, not only for our foreign policy, but for the world. Which way shall we choose?"

MARVIN LOWENTHAL

The Human Story

THE ANCIENT MAYA. By Sylvanus Griswold Morley. Stanford University Press. \$10.

WHY—the general reader may well ask—why should anyone today take an interest in the ancient Maya? Why give your life to digging the story of a dead civilization from the overgrown ruins of Mexico and Central America? Any popular book on archaeology must deal, at least tacitly, with such questions. That is one reason why writing for the public is so much more exacting than writing for the inner

circle of experts. It constitutes, in a sense, a test of the scholar's appreciation of his material—whether he can see it in the perspective of everyday life, appraise its sociological and aesthetic implications, and present it to the average person, not as an odd esoteric preoccupation, but as somehow relevant to his life and his interests.

In this case Jean Charlot's hilarious jacket design is no snare: it implies the lively fascination of the story of pre-Columbian Maya culture. Actually archaeology is not a dry and dead concern; it deals with the record of human life, and Egypt or Yucatan will yield generalizations that help to clarify the meaning of all civilization. This is peculiarly true of the American civilizations. Everything indicates that before the arrival of Europeans this hemisphere had developed quite on its own, without assistance or influence from the rest of the world, and so it serves as a kind of check on the character of human invention. If we find pyramidal structures in Yucatan as well as in Egypt and Babylon, if we find nature gods and animal fables in Mexico as well as in Greece,

It's Sinclair at his amazing best!

THE NEW LANNY BUDD NOVEL

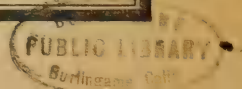
For more than twenty years the central figure in the intrigues of two continents, Lanny Budd now engages in his most perilous missions. As President Roosevelt's secret agent, he adds still another continent to his spying and counter-spying, for he is sent to Africa before our invasion, and narrowly escapes—into wartime Germany. There, in hourly danger of discovery, he plays his undercover role among

leading Nazis. Never has Lanny been so close to death as in this book when the game of international intrigue has become a desperate war for survival.

Like the other books in this great series, the latest novel is complete in itself—the amazing career of one of fiction's best-loved heroes behind the scenes of recent history.

UPTON SINCLAIR'S PRESIDENTIAL MISSION

THE VIKING PRESS At all booksellers \$3.50



it means, not that Egyptians and Atlanteans have been in Yucatan, but that these are some of the things the mind of man naturally tends to invent. Ways of securing food and shelter, the development of government and social forms of community living, speculation about the nature of the universe (from which religion and philosophy and the sciences spring)—human beings are concerned with these things as naturally as they breathe and sleep. To see how such problems were met by a people which had no wheat and no rice, no Arabs or Romans to borrow numerical systems from, no Phoenicians to hand on an alphabet, is a curious and fascinating study. It may well give us pause to realize that—at the time of the Middle Ages in Europe—the Mayas had the most accurate calendar that had ever been developed in this world. In a way it is the most hopeful observation that can be made about humanity, this tendency to make itself into a civilization, to invent over and over again not only the fortress but the observatory.

Actually Maya culture offers more than a proving ground for cultural speculation. It offers also art—the visual arts of some twelve hundred years of civilization, certainly the finest body of art to come down to us from pre-Columbian America. The sculpture of Quirigua and Copan, or the architecture of Tikal and Uxmal, is worth looking at for its own sake: it can hold its own with the great art of the world. Here is an artistic tradition quite distinct from those we have known, rich in its own particular mood, not only astonishing but aesthetically rewarding.

This volume has been put together with imagination, without skimping, and at a very high level of scholarship. It is not so heavy or so long as it looks, for the type is large and the illustrations frequent. The writing is clear and sim-

ple. Every tool for understanding the material has been included: there are maps, charts, and chronologies; there is a good index; and the text itself is constantly clarified by cross-references. Difficult and controversial matters, such as the correlation of the Maya chronology with the Christian calendar, are not shirked but are put out of the way in appendices. It is true that the illustrations hardly convey the high level of quality of the material, but their number and selection are excellent. This is, indeed, the very model of a popular book on a scholarly subject, written by an acknowledged expert, without compromise and without condescension. It is also our first satisfactory opportunity to read one of the most exciting stories in the history of mankind.

ELIZABETH WILDER

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THEO VAN DOESBURG, the Dutch painter, architect, and designer, was a herald of the new rationalist enlightenment that dawned with the opening of the century and faded away at the approach of Hitler. The close of that period saw Van Doesburg's own early death in 1931 at the age of forty-eight. He was for a time a collaborator of Mondrian's, but whereas Mondrian confined his energies to easel-painting, Van Doesburg extended their common ideas into architecture and interior decoration, for which they were ultimately intended by Mondrian himself. In both fields these ideas now seem somewhat premature, but only because of historical circumstances; they were not premature in easel-painting.

Yet Van Doesburg has been the only one to paint in the same direction as Mondrian with both independence and success. This was made very clear by the recent retrospective show of his paintings and designs at Art of This Century. His gift for painting was such, in fact, that one regrets that he dispersed that gift in other fields and did not concentrate more exclusively on painting. His first cubist efforts, in 1917, already show a crispness and originality that make them much more than promising apprentice pieces. And no less than six of his seven post-1920 canvases at Art of This Century are actually and sufficiently successful—which, if this is a truly

representative show, is a phenomenal rate of success, equaled, perhaps, in the twenties only by Mondrian of all the School of Paris.

Van Doesburg did not confine himself to pure or primary colors, and therefore his color is somewhat duller than Mondrian's. Where Mondrian's art is stronger, intenser, more profound, we see in Van Doesburg's a greater openness, not at all the same fanaticism but rather an exuberant doctrinairism. Mondrian, perhaps, foresaw a period that would demand tenacity and fanaticism on the part of the rationalist; Van Doesburg still belonged completely to the open, all-embracing, almost irresponsible hopefulness of the first quarter of our century. *Et ego in Arcadia...*

The Van Doesburg show, incidentally, is the last to be given at the Art of This Century gallery, which will not reopen next season, since Miss Guggenheim plans to transfer her permanent collection of contemporary art to Italy, where she will make her home. Her departure is in my opinion a serious loss to living American art. The erratic gaiety with which Miss Guggenheim promoted "non-realistic" art may have misled some people, as perhaps her autobiography did too, but the fact remains that in the three or four years of her career as a New York gallery director she gave first showings to more serious new artists than anyone else in the country (Pollock, Hare, Baziotes, Motherwell, Rothko, Ray, De Niro, Admiral, McKee, and others). I am convinced that Peggy Guggenheim's place in the history of American art will grow larger as time passes and as the artists she encouraged mature.

Robert Motherwell is among the newer painters who received their first showing at Miss Guggenheim's gallery. At that time—almost three years ago—this writer pointed out Motherwell's promise if not his achievement. Since then I have also pointed out his failure to fulfil that promise. Now, on the occasion of his most recent show, at Samuel Kootz's last month, I have the happier task of saying how well indeed he has, in two or three pictures out of sixteen, begun to live up to it. It is not only a matter of two or three items, but that the general level of his work this year is so much higher than ever before.

The most important reason for this improvement seems to be the shift of emphasis from collage to oil; for the few collages in Motherwell's most recent show betray the same chaos that disastrously characterized the many in his previous ones. The great difference lies

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE

announces its Summer Session
JUNE 30 to AUGUST 23

GUEST FACULTY: Erich Kahler, Princeton; Benumont Newhall, Museum of Modern Art; Ilya Bolotowski, New York; Ervin Bodley, Cambridge; Frank Rice, Charleston; Carol Erice, New York; Charles Bell, Princeton; Harold Sproul, Columbia University; Carl Clement, University of California.

In addition regular faculty in music, the arts, science, and the humanities will be in residence.

Write Registrar,

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE

Black Mountain, North Carolina

the oils. These used to suffer, in their turn, from an absence of ideas and substance; now they body forth in their quasi-geometric purism and accomplished implicitly a quantity of feeling and experience such as one had hardly expected of this artist. It appears as though, for Motherwell, the activity of lacing and selecting, as required by collage, could elicit nothing of that indispensable order which art demands of the artist's personality; this, in his case, could be provided only through the activity of drawing on canvas and applying paint. The resistance of the physical stuff itself was needed to produce such a splendid picture as the "Yellow Still life," which was the best thing in the show. And if the large "Construction" had not been over-painted on gravel, it could perhaps have equaled it. "In Yellow Black" is another canvas that probably would have been completely ruined if there had not been a certain reluctance to trust thin paint, an anxiety about texture and surface.

Motherwell's ambition, which is to simplify and to manipulate the results of the simplification into expression, is one that places him at the very center of a painting that is serious and ambitious in contemporary painting. The expression is that of a desire for order and rationality, and its success means that the artist has achieved such order and rationality at least for himself.

his possession; murders them and eliminates their corpses; plays the market with the whole of his profits. We see him at work on four such women. One is going up in smoke when Verdoux first appears. One is a socially prominent widow (Isobel Elsom) whom he woos industriously through most of the film; she takes him for a boulevardier. One is a sour old small-town dame (Margaret Hoffman) whose money he cajoles by stop-watch and whom he promptly murders; she thinks he is a globe-trotting civil engineer. One is a half-daft ex-tart (Martha Raye) who has hit luck in a lottery. She takes him for a sea captain. His efforts to kill her are almost the only passages of pure slapstick in the film.

A very busy little man—his business dashes him all over France and from top to bottom of society—Verdoux can visit his true home seldom. Even when he does he is likely to mix business with

the pleasure. He learns from a druggist friend (Robert Lewis) about a new poison, painless and untraceable. He picks up a friendless young woman (Marilyn Nash) to try it out on, but spares her when he realizes that she, like himself, "could kill for love." When he meets her later, by accident, he cryptically brushes her off. Late in the film, long after he has retired from business, they meet again. But just then and there he is recognized by relatives of a former wife. After showing how effortlessly he could have escaped, he deliberately puts himself in the way of arrest. The film ends with the famous scenes in which Verdoux hears his sentence and explains himself, more or less, to the court and the world; pays his equally cold respects to journalism and to God; and walks to the guillotine.

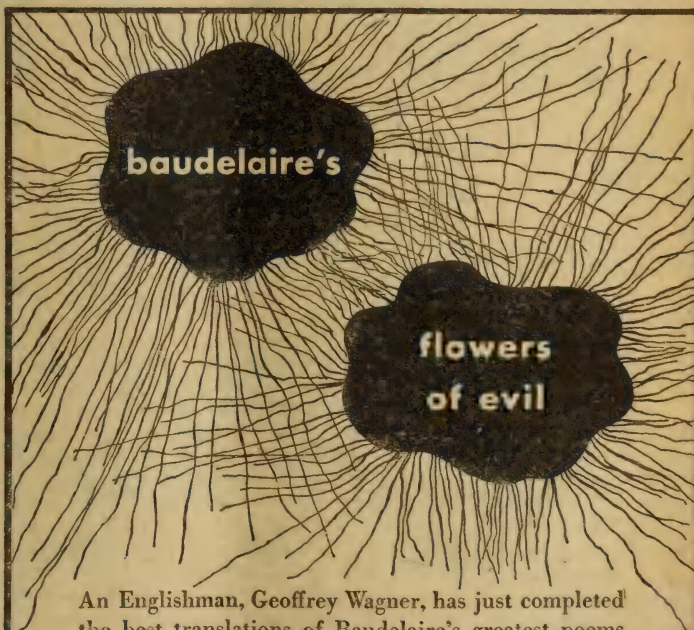
Disregard virtually everything you may have read about the film. It is of interest, but chiefly as a definitive

Films

JAMES
AGEE

ALTHOUGH I have been granted extra space, and propose to disregard most other considerations for brevity's sake, I can say here only a few of the things that I feel need to be said about Mr. Chaplin's new film. I can only hope that these notes may faintly suggest the frame-by-frame appreciation, the gratitude, and the tribute which we owe this great poet and his great poem; and may help some readers to enjoy more of what he has done than they otherwise might.

The skeletal story: Henri Verdoux, a French bank teller of the thirties who has lost his job in a depression, works out a business of his own whereby he can support his crippled wife (Mady Brell) and their little boy. He becomes a professional murderer of women of means. He courts them, marries them, finesses their little fortunes into



An Englishman, Geoffrey Wagner, has just completed the best translations of Baudelaire's greatest poems that have ever been made. They are published by New Directions, with the French originals facing the English versions. Introduction by Enid Starkie. \$1.50

Also from England: a limited quantity of New Writing & Daylight, the annual of British and European writing edited by John Lehmann. \$3.00

NEW DIRECTIONS • 500 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y.

measure of the difference between the thing a man of genius puts before the world and the things the world is equipped to see in it. There is room neither to analyze nor to argue much about this peculiar criticism; yet in all conscience a few points must be mentioned. The ruck of these reviewers have said, for instance, that the film isn't funny; is morally questionable; is in bad taste; that Chaplin should never have stopped playing the tramp; that Raye steals her scenes with Chaplin; that Chaplin is no good at casting, writing, directing, producing; that he should have hired people, for all these jobs, who knew the techniques which have been developed since talkies began. Some brief replies:

Not funny. Not much of it is, unless you have an eye and mind for the far from cliché matters which can be

probed and illuminated through poetically parodied cliché; an appetite for cold nihilistic irony; respect for an artist who subdues most of his outrageous fun to the grim central spirit of his work.

Morals. For later discussion. I could take more seriously those who have objected on these grounds if any of them had shown himself capable of recognizing an act of moral and artistic heroism when he saw it. Not one did.

Taste. "Verdoux" is in bad taste if death is, as so many Americans feel; and if it is in bad taste to treat a serious matter seriously, and to make comedy cut to the bone.

The tramp. Very young children fiercely object to even minor changes in a retold story. Older boys and girls are not, as a rule, respected for such extreme conservatism.

Raye. Verdoux cannot properly get

many of the big laughs; that is what Raye is there for. She does her job beautifully, and Chaplin feeds her and feeds her beautifully. One of the finest aspects of his miraculous performance is his quiet skill and graciousness, in these many other scenes, as a feeder, a donic ringmaster, an inspired emcee.

Casting. Raye's mere presence proves that. So does Marilyn. Name one trained actress who could get that role, besides her lovely demeanor, her exactly right spirit, vitality, freshness. So does every player and player in the cast. Chaplin is the perceptive, imaginative, exact man at casting; these reviewers are less so.

Writing. Verbally most of "Verdoux" is inferior to its visual achievement; that is to say, it is only one of the most talented screen plays ever written. Chaplin also wrote the story and its

MOTION PICTURE

RAY MILLAND • TERESA WRIGHT

IN
"The IMPERFECT LADY"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

—IN PERSON—

BUDDY CLARK • JAN MURRAY

The Acromaniacs

Extra! BOYD RAE BURN

AND HIS ORCHESTRA

Doors Open
at 8:30 A. M.
55¢
TOT. M.
(Tax. Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny
play, brilliantly
written, acted
and staged."

—Garland,

Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN

LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way, CH 4-4258

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA

COLISEUM

81st ST.

86th ST.

88th ST.

89th ST.

125th ST.

HAMILTON

Bet. Lex. & 3rd

RECENT

RIVERSIDE

23rd ST.

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK

DYKER

GREENPOINT

KENMORE

MADISON

ORPHEUM

PROSPECT

REPUBLIC

TILYU

Coney Island

RKO NOW

"FORCEFUL! GOOD! APPEALING!"—PM

Loretta YOUNG • Joseph COTTON

Ethel BARRYMORE

'The FARMER'S DAUGHTER'

—and—

'Devil Thumbs a Ride'

LAWRENCE TIERNEY

BRONX

CASTLE MI

CHESTER

FORDHAM

FRANKLIN

MARBLE H

PELHAM

ROYAL

WESTCHES

MT. VERN

NEW ROCH

WH. PLAIN

YONKERS

"A LOT OF FUN."—N. Y. Times

BUD LOU

ABBOTT • COSTELLO

'Buck Privates Come Home'

—and—

Merle OBERON

George BRENT in 'TEMPTATION'

Screened from Bob's Hichen's novel 'Bella Donna'

QUEENS

MIDWAY

Forest Hill

Keth's

FLUSHING

Keth's

RICH. HILL

STRAND

Far Rockaw

MANHATT

COLONIAL

B'way & 82

SAY YOU SAW IT ADVERTISED IN THE NATION!

• TO PLACE AN AD CALL BARCLAY 7-1066 •

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"A REWARDING COMEDY."—Barnes, Her. Trib.

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"A NEW HIT."—Marchess, Sun

HELEN HAYES

in

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A SMASH HIT."—Life Magazine

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan

IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way

Eves. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to The Nation.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

eties; designed one of the few really *formed* movies in years; invented at least twenty-five characters who live very keenly both as social types and as individuals; and reproduced, just as cleanly and quietly, that entire grand *cadé* of a society which was germane to his theme. (The significant omissions are farmers and industrial workers; the world of "Verdoux" is the world of sin, gotten ill, by chance, by heritage, by crime.)

Directing. He directed this film—all the people mentioned and successes suggested above, and still others as great and greater, handling a munificent complex of characters, ideas, milieux, and tributary styles and tones with all that perfect visual wit and expressiveness and with an all but unblemished grace, force, and economy. For directing as brilliant I refer you to his own "Modern Times" and to Dovschenko's "Frontier"; there has been none since.

Production. Is criticized as stingy, and is unlike France. Instead, it is a manifesto against a kind of vulgarity in which Hollywood is drowned—the attempt to disguise emptiness with sumptuousness. It looks hand-made, not machine-turned. Like the casting and acting and directing it is poetic, not naturalistic, though naturalistic elements are finely used poetically. Verdoux's France is a highly intelligent paraphrase, or more persuasive of its place—half in the real world, half in the mind—than most films are of their supposed place, foreign, native, or imaginary.

New techniques. They are on the whole weakened derivations from styles developed before sound came, in Russia, Germany, and, in this country, by Chaplin among others; virtually nothing has been done with sound. Such as the new style is, it can be used decently; that is proved by "The Best Years of Our Lives." But in the average well-made movie, such as these reviewers praise, it signifies just this: the art of moving pictures has been so sick, for so long, that the most it can do for itself is to shift unceasingly from one bed sore to the next. Chaplin, by contrast, obviously believes that if you can invent something worth watching, the camera would hold still and clear, so that you can watch it. That is still, and will always be, one of the best possible ways to use a camera; Chaplin is the one great man who still stands up for it.

To be sure, you have to be competent to see what he puts before you; and thanks to the depravities of the latter-day "style," most of us have spoiled

eyes. We cannot appreciate swiftness and un insistence; nor the bracing absence of fancy composition and prettiness; nor Chaplin's genius for "mood" when that is important (the first great shot of Verdoux's closed garden); nor for atmosphere, authenticity, and beauty in mock formlessness (some wonderful loose group shots, full of glass, gravel, gray sky, pale heads, and dark clothing, at the garden party); nor for visual wit (the astoundingly funny long shot of the lake, with the murder boat almost imperceptibly small). We are just smart enough to recognize a cliché; never enough to see how brilliantly a master can use it. So we sneer at Chaplin's frequent use of locomotive wheels, charging ever more desperately across the screen, this way and that, to mark another business trip or return; saying that he tries thus, unimaginatively, to bind together his formless continuity. But in fact these wheels do a lot at once. They are in the best sense economical; they are cumulatively funny; they cumulatively express Verdoux's ever more frantic busyness; and they wind the film up like a tight spring.

(To be continued)

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

NOW I understand: what Gertrude Stein was writing all the time—with those repetitions—was opera librettos! exclaimed my companion at a performance of Virgil Thomson's "The Mother of Us All." Opera librettos for Virgil Thomson, I would say. In his new work he treats the text in the same unique way as in "Four Saints in Three Acts," and achieves similar delightful and moving results.

"By separating and differentiating the flat repetitions of a Gertrude Stein verbal sequence," I once wrote after a performance of "Four Saints," "Thomson's music articulates and differentiates them, gives them point and even sense; the music also imparts to them its own structure and climax; and its effect is often the most delightful humor. Some of the humor consists in skilful musical pointing up—by the high-lighting of a group of words, the placing of it in relation to its context—of Miss Stein's surprises and irrelevances of juxtaposition; and to these Thomson adds occasional incongruities of his own contriving between words and music—words of little or no sense or weight, music with style

and structure of great emotional import and weight. But when such music is given to words like the 'led, said, wed, dead' sequence the result is very moving."

The words of "The Mother of Us All" have less poetic imagery and music, and more rational meaning—on the one hand the meaning of a sentence that is amusingly discontinuous and isolated in its context, like "He digged a pit; he digged it deep; he digged it for his brother," stated by a group of men who march across the stage during the political rally; on the other hand the meaning of a longer train of thought like Jo Loiterer's explanation of how to be funny, or Susan B. Anthony's discourse on the nature of man, with its wonderful insights. But Thomson's method is the same—by which I don't mean that he uses it mechanically; on the contrary, one is delighted by the attentiveness and freshness of attack at moment after moment that produce, so simply and often artlessly, the results that are so witty, so touching, so grand.

In addition to the pleasure from the work there was the pleasure from the beautiful performance staged by John Taras and conducted by Otto Luenig, with costumes and sets by Paul du Pont—as part of the third annual festival of contemporary American music at Columbia University.

The opera of last year's festival, Gian-Carlo Menotti's "The Medium," which I heard only recently at the Barrymore Theater, is a rather extraordinary example of the theatrical effectiveness that a sense for the theater can achieve with poor materials. The play as such is not a good play; the music as such is not good music; but each is well-contrived for the other in a combination that is extremely effective. And the work gains by the excellent performance staged by the composer and conducted by Emanuel Balaban, with costumes and sets by Horace Armistead. The curtain-raiser, "The Telephone," a sort of expanded revue-sketch, is very amusing.

One admires Laszlo Halasz's enterprise; but one wishes it were guided by the discrimination that would prevent the waste of a production of rubbish like Giordano's "Andrea Chenier." And one wishes also that it were restrained by a

LIVRES FRANÇAIS

Jolaines le Cercle du Livre du Français Charles Boyer, François Mauriac et bien d'autres en sont les "sponsors." Vous recevrez les meilleures nouveautés littéraires à des prix gracieux du dernier Henri Boncompagni lorsque vous devenez membre. Écrivez-nous dès aujourd'hui sans engagement du votre part. Demandez-nous notre bulletin G.I.
LE CERCLE DU LIVRE DE FRANCE, Inc.
85 West 45th Street - New York 19, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 214

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Because of mechanization, he's not as happy as he was
- 5 Rusty locks (3 & 4)
- 9 Draftsmen do; draft horse has
- 10 Not where Marx is studied, but where one studies for marks
- 11 No peering (anag.)
- 12 He wrote *Ghosts*, and is now himself one
- 13 Goods and chattels
- 15 Set free
- 17 Flourishing species of laurel (3-4)
- 19 Not the stuff of your best suit
- 21 "Small ----, and less Greek"
- 23 Stable sort of table
- 25 After what happened you did not go hungry, as it turns out
- 26 The common man of England
- 27 Old mare (anag.)
- 28 Timber cutters (but why the middle letter?)

DOWN

- 1 Release (3 & 4)
- 2 Small creature with a monstrous head
- 3 Belgian town
- 4 The cradle of American civilization?
- 5 Red ornament
- 6 His work is keeping still
- 7 "Who sees with equal eye, as God of all, A hero perish or a sparrow fall,

----- or systems into ruin hurled,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world"

- 8 There's a man in it—and almost certainly a woman, too!
- 14 Crowned, in a lesser degree
- 16 Part of the A B C of butchering?
- 17 What more could Adam do, seeing his wife had embraced a deceit?
- 18 You can get a ripe ham from him
- 19 "Men, my brothers, men the ----, ever reaping something new"
- 20 Becomes more profound
- 22 An inheritor comes to tea
- 24 "Thus adorned, the two heroes, 'twist shoulder and ----, Shook hands and went to it; and the word it was bilbow"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 213

ACROSS:—1 HICCUPS; 5 POTSHOT; 9 BOUNDEN; 10 NONSUIT; 11 ONCER; 12 ESCALATOR; 14 RENO; 15 ENGINES; 18 SOS; 20 GAS; 21 TAUNTON; 23 SEER; 26 REFECTORY; 28 TENON; 29 INITIAL; 30 ACONITE; 31 GASPER; 32 KITTENS.

DOWN:—1 HOENOB; 2 CRUTCH; 3 UNDERWENT; 4 SAN REMO; 5 PANACHE; 6 TONAL; 7 HAUNTING; 8 TUTORESS; 13 BOA; 16 GREATCOAT; 17 EAT; 18 STARLING; 19 SURFETTS; 22 NOODLES; 23 SKYLARK; 24 ENDIVE; 25 UNLESS; 27 CHIDE.

sense of reality—of the realities of New York City Center that make it impossible to stage a work like Strauss' "Salome" properly (I am assuming the limitations of the City Center stage were responsible for the set that lacked the cistern from which Jokanaan should ascend and into which he should descend again, and from which the arm of the executioner should thrust the silver charger with Jokanaan's head). The musical performance conducted by Mr. Halasz seemed to me excellent—with superb singing of the title role by Brenda Lewis. I speak as one who doesn't know the score; and I therefore mention one German conductor's opinion that the performance was "ohful" the orchestra was sometimes five bars separated from the voice"; but I should add that this conductor once said of Toscanini's performance of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 2—the one with the impossibly high trumpet part—that "fifty percent was left out, twenty-five percent was falsch, and the rest was all right," and that I am inclined, therefore, to trust my own impression of the performance of "Salome."

Letters to the Editors

Ought to Be a Law

Dear Sirs: *The Nation* recently printed an article by me entitled We Need a Better Housing Bill. The *New Masses* of May 20 contained an article on Palestine signed by a "Charles Abrams." I am not that person, have never written for the *New Masses*, and am sure the *New Masses* will never want me to write for it.

CHARLES ABRAMS

New York, May 20

The Old Dilemma

Dear Sirs: I want to comment briefly on the letter by Katherine Anne Porter printed last week in *The Nation*. It was an interesting plea for a more energetic attitude on the part of American liberals. But I must confess I cannot quite make out what Miss Porter wants liberals to do—how much suppression of the far left and far right she thinks they should stand for. She seems to approve of Togliatti's severe measures for the defense of the republic mentioned in a recent article by Del Vayo, although she challenges Togliatti's good faith in proposing them and if she had her way would apply them to him as well as to the conspirators of the right.

May 31, 1947

In the United States she apparently advocates a mild version of the same theory; she would jail, or at least fire from government jobs, fascists and Communists in order to save our democracy from subversion. But what she fails to explain is how we are to accomplish this without ourselves instituting laws which would subvert our democracy; without, in fact, finding ourselves, as in paragraph one she fears we soon may do, "with a subversive-thoughts law on our books."

PERCIVAL BAXTER

New York, May 23

The Net Profit Is Less

Dear Sirs: I have difficulty in reconciling two statements appearing in the issue of May 3, 1947.

On page 501 you comment upon statements by President Earl Bunting of the N. A. M. that an increase of 15 cents an hour in wages will cost industry \$4,058,000,000. You say, "It is absurd to deduct the cost of wage increases from net profits; obviously they are a charge against gross earnings, and the effect on net is much less severe than Mr. Bunting indicated."

On page 503, with reference to Harold Ruttenberg's remarks in *Life*, you say that "an increased steel price of \$1,750,000,000 annually, . . . would be extra profit for the steelmasters."

In the first instance you state that an increase in costs would not reduce profits by a corresponding amount, and in the second instance that an increase in selling price would increase profits by a corresponding amount.

In the interests of objective thinking, don't you believe that further comment is necessary?

H. L. VAN HORN

Wayne, Pa., May 8

[We confess that we slipped in commenting on Mr. Ruttenberg's proposal. We should have written that an increase of a penny a pound in the price of steel would add \$1,700,000,000 to gross profits. After the tax-collector had taken his 38 per cent cut, only \$1,054,000,000 would remain as extra net profit.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Transatlantic Exchange

Dear Sirs: I wonder if any of your readers would care to exchange his read copy of *The Nation* for my read copy of *The New Statesman*. If so, I should be very glad to have his address. Mine is 17, Forest Court, Snaresbrook, E. 11.

P. DENNIS GOODALL

Snaresbrook, England, May 10

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT-FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
Longacre 5-4917

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted
TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

BOOKS WANTED

BOOKS WANTED: "Poltergeist Over England," "The Most Haunted House in England," "The End of Borley Rectory," by Harry Price. Address—Mrs. M. C. Sinclair, Highhope, Monrovia, Calif.

PAMPHLET

PEACE—SECURITY in a world gone mad?—Have you found the answer? Write for free copy of "Man—His Dominion," Dranaherald, P. O. Box 172, Station W, N. Y. C. 24.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPTS, LETTERS, ETC., expertly typed at home. Intelligent personal attention. Box 1713, c/o The Nation.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

OWN 218 ACRES SCENIC LAND, Catskills 100-year-old farmhouse, trout brooks. Looking for partner with some capital to build cabins in the woods. BRyant 9-4637 or Box 1711, c/o The Nation.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

MODERNIZED, SIX ROOM SALT BOX; landscaped; flag terrace; fireplace; complete furnishings from silver to new electric range and refrigerator; immediate possession; 25 acres, brook, pond. Unusual value at \$8,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

COTTAGE WANTED

College Professor and family will pay only \$150, but will take excellent care of cottage for season. Maine, Vermont, or Mountaintops. Box 1714, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTALS

ADIRONDACKS, 1 mile from charming village, Elizabethtown, N. Y., 6-room cottage on 60-acre estate. Picturesque surroundings, active brook, lake bathing, boating, sports. Reasonable.

Also available on same grounds in beautiful lodge, 2 exceptional bedrooms each with private bath, with use of modern kitchen and all other conveniences. \$300-\$350 each per season. References. PResident 3-2083.

MAINE, Cabins on lake, water sports, tennis, golf, main lodge, hay fever relief. \$325 season. Box 1712, c/o The Nation.

UNUSUAL VALUE on 80-acre farm, 4 desirable units, private pond, excellent commuting. Special inducement for congenial group. Berman, R.F.D. 3, Peekskill, N. Y. Phone 3560J1.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delectable dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

PLANNING TO ADVERTISE IN

THE NATION

HERE ARE SOME VITAL STATISTICS!

General Advertising - - - - - \$300 per page
Publishers & Local - - - - - 240 per page

(EVEN FRACTIONS THEREOF ON A PRO RATA BASIS)

Classified Display - - - - - \$7.39 per inch
Classified - - - - - 74c a line (six words)

MINIMUM THREE LINES

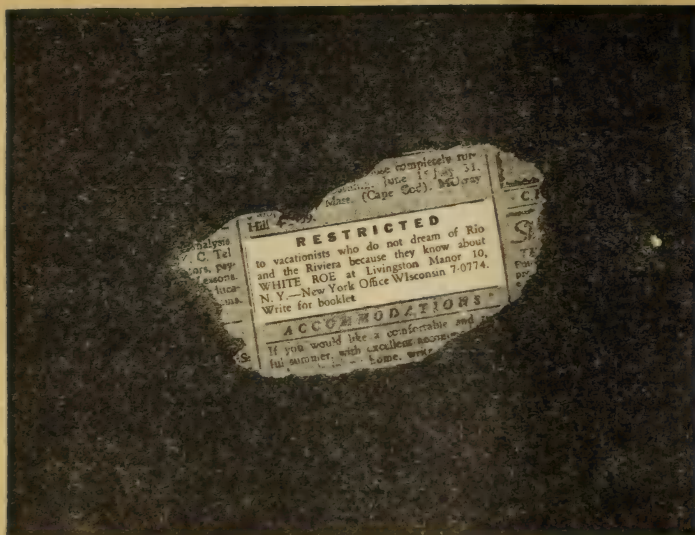
Call or write today for additional data on
deadlines and discounts!

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

Twenty Vesey Street

BARclay 7-1066

New York 7, N. Y.



SAUGERTIES, NEW YORK

Tel. 590 J.

Unusually picturesque countryside. Pine woods. Finest food. Modern accommodations. Intimate and restful. Tennis, swimming, bicycling, horseback, and other sports.

\$40 per week for May and June, \$45 and \$50 thereafter

Homestead Inn
and Annex
NEW MILFORD, CONN.
Recommended by DUNCAN HINES
Recommended by GOUTLET
\$6 to \$8 per day double;
European Plan

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Shaker Village Work Camp
TEEN-AGE CO-ED SUMMER CAMP
Full recreation and athletic program. • Work projects include farming, construction, all shop-crafts • Fine arts, folk-music and dances. • Music program includes Tanglewood Festival. Campers occupy original historic buildings. For brochure: 285 Madison Avenue, New York, C.A. 5-2133

WALTELL HOUSE ON FRANKEL FARM
MT. BETHEL, PA.
VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY
Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm.
Rates: — Adults \$10 Week — Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

CAMP ELLIOTT NEWTON New Jersey
1,600 feet elevation — 60 miles from N. Y.
Large private lake & pool, boating, fishing, horseback riding, gardening, farm animals, arts, crafts, shop and music. Co-ed, age 5-12.
MRS. HELEN E. ELLIOTT
76-36 113th St., Forest Hills, N. Y.
BO 8-2263 or BU 7-0397

YOURS! A little more than EVERYTHING!

PRE-SEASON
RATES
THROUGH JUNE
MAKE JULY 4th
RESERVATIONS
NOW!

WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

CHESTERS ZUMBARG
A DELIGHTFUL MIDEWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk VIII. 906

Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautifully landscaped, all sports, bowling.

Rates \$10 weekly; \$10 daily. American Plan.

American-Jewish Cuisine

N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street PE 8-3243



ON SCHADON LAKE In the Adirondacks NEW YORK

SPECIAL JUNE RATES
Early Reservations Suggested
Private beach, golf, excellent fishing, outdoor activities, fine food. T. H. FLAUM

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT

Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoe; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

Pine Crest In the Berkshires
WEST CORNWALL, CONN.
on the beautiful Housatonic River
A delightful Adult Resort

Main House and Deluxe Bungalows for 2. Boating, Swimming, fine Tennis, Bicycling, Music, Recordings and dancing.
DIANA & ABE BERMAN
Phone—West Cornwall 89-12

Yours for Vacation Enjoyment

HILLTOP LODGE

On beautiful Sylvan Lake
HOEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.

65 mi. from N. Y. C. • R. R. Station Pawling, N. Y.
Every conceivable Sport and Recreation
... with intimate, congenial people
Many improved features for the new season

Open from May thru October

Under direction of: New York Office:
PAUL WOLFSON & SOL ROTHBAUER 105 NASSAU ST
Cortlandt 7-3858



ALL ABOARD

For our 40-acre private lake where you swim in cool, clear waters, fish for pleasure or just relax in one of our grand canoe boats and drift aimlessly with the breeze.

SOUTH WIND

P. O. Box N33 Woodbourne, N. Y.
All Sports—four fast clay tennis courts
RATES: \$37.50—\$42.50

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK

90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central

Charming lake and countryside, rustic surroundings. Boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful walks. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for vacations and weekends.

Adults • Pre-season rate \$45.00

RESERVE EARLY

GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2931

Enjoy a Wonderful Vacation at
COLD BROOK HOUSE

"On the banks of Esopus Creek"

A small resort with a friendly atmosphere in beautiful surroundings. Tennis and other sports. Adults only.

Rate \$35 per week—10% discount to July 1
COLD BROOK HOUSE, Boiceville, N. Y. Shaker 2848

Tel. Su days only bet. 9-12 a.m., Mansfield 8-5063

LAKEVIEW

On Granite Lake ... 1500 feet elevation

An ideal spot for adults who want to rest and enjoy water sports, hiking and fishing. Hotel cottages with private baths and Simmons beds. Excellent food, modern conveniences and attractive recreation room. Open from June 25th through Labor Day.

Rates from \$45.00 weekly. American plan.

Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire

Green Acres

LODGE CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.

A Picturesque Estate
Diversified Book and Music Library
Swimming Pool • Golf
An Adult Resort • 45 miles from N.Y.C.
TEL. HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

Deuel Hollow House
WINGDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691

In Berkshire foothills, 75 miles from N. Y. City on N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path, delightful hiking country. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Tennis, volley-ball, badminton, boating, swimming and fishing. Complete informality. Adults.

SPECIAL JUNE RATES

RAIZEL COHEN DAVI DSACKS

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful... swimming and boating on our private lake
Different... charming colonial atmosphere
Delicious... our unexcelled cuisine
Diverting... recordings for listening
... and dancing

53 miles from NYC—Adults Only

Give to Help Fight CANCER!

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 7, 1947

NUMBER 23

The Shape of Things

THE REPLACEMENT OF ONE MEMBER OF THE "moderately conservative" Smallholders Party by another as Premier of Hungary has been widely described in the American press as a "Communist coup." This is about as accurate as was the general acceptance of the Smallholders' success in the 1945 elections as a "victory for Hungarian democracy." Both comments derive, no doubt, from our easy habit of applying American political terminology to happenings in a country where, after twenty-five years of semi-fascist dictatorship, even the elementary prerequisites of a democratic election are lacking. Americans are further misled by the idea that the social attitudes and political ambitions of Hungary's dispossessed ruling class have changed overnight; whereas events have shown, as history might have led us to expect, that persons who have lost both power and property are not inclined to relinquish them for good without a struggle. One could gather from comments here that our government and press believe Hungary, occupied since its defeat by the Red army, has suddenly become a Russian satellite as the result of a change of persons, though not of parties, in the coalition Cabinet. Every country under foreign military occupation, whether an ex-enemy or an ally, is a "satellite"—as the situation of Greece convincingly proves. For the State Department to protest the forced departure of Mr. Nagy and the accession of Mr. Dinnyes is not unexpected; but from the standpoint of the Truman Doctrine it is unfortunate that threats of a "stiff note" and "strong political measures" were accompanied by an admission that "the United States will not be able to accomplish much." This advance concession of impotence is unlikely to enhance American prestige; while the threats may encourage romantically minded Hungarian reactionaries, who yearn for times past, to believe that America will help them realize their dreams. They apparently forget that the "stiff notes" will be intended primarily to appease the mounting Russophobia in this country and to express fraternal sympathy with the Hungarian banks which are about to be socialized. ✕

THE TAX REDUCTION BILL IS NOW ON THE President's desk. Although, in its passage through Congress, the beautiful and inequitable symmetry of Mr. Knutson's original 20 per cent across-the-board cut has

been considerably modified, the measure remains a thoroughly bad one from every point of view except that of the moneyed supporters of the G. O. P. To these, it is the first fruit of last November's victory and they are eager to grasp it. But the President's signature is not yet assured for both he and the Secretary of the Treasury have on numerous occasions voiced their opposition to tax reductions at this time, urging the importance of using any surplus for debt reduction. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that a veto would probably be sustained, Mr. Truman's problem in regard to this bill is not simple. There are two major questions which he must consider: (1) Does the general economic situation call for a reduction in the current revenue surplus? (2) If so, are the tax cuts proposed by Congress well designed to insure continued prosperity? On the assumption that we are actually heading into a sharp recession, there is much to be said for reducing the current excess of government receipts over government payments. On a cash basis, taking into account payments into social-security reserves and similar items, a government surplus is now accruing at the rate of seven to eight billion dollars a year—an amount sufficient to exert a very considerable deflationary influence. Thus the President might reasonably decide that some reduction in taxes was now warranted.

✕

BUT EVEN IF THIS IS HIS DECISION, HE IS almost bound to reject the cuts selected by Congress. What we need, as the Committee for Economic Stability pointed out in its recent report, is a tax program which leaves more money in the pockets of the low-income groups, whose purchasing power has been sharply pinched by rising prices. The present bill, however, definitely favors the higher brackets. In a full year, the \$2,500 a year married man with two children will secure relief equivalent to 1.6 per cent of his net income before exemptions, while the \$100,000 a year man in the same family circumstances gets 12.63 per cent of his net income. Moreover, Congress has deliberately ignored the regressive excise taxes, so swollen during the war, which bear much more heavily on low incomes than on high ones. The levies on such articles and services as cigarettes, light bulbs, cosmetics, gasoline, electric energy, telephone calls, and transport ought to be drastically re-

: IN THIS ISSUE :

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	671
Pass the Stratton Bill	674
Chiang Falls Back	675

CARTOON

You Only Lose Once by Ezekiel Schloss	675
---------------------------------------	-----

ARTICLES

Five-Star Foreign Policy by Thomas F. Reynolds	676
Bevin Wins Again by Aylmer Vallance	679
The D. P.'s—How Much Longer? by Marie Syrkin	680
Curtain Raiser for '48 by Richard L. Neuberger	682
Food and Wages in France by Léon Blum	683
Disunion in Vienna by G. E. R. Gedge	684
Taiwan: China's Unhappy Colony by Peggy Durbin	685
Reaction in Latin America by Del Vayo	687
Everybody's Business: Speak Up Consumers! by Keith Hutchison	688

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way by Margaret Marshall	689
More Blessed to Give by George Soule	690
A New Concept by Phillip J. Zlatchin	690
South Africa's Problems by Keith Hutchison	691
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	691
Art by Clement Greenberg	692
Music by B. H. Haggin	695

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

696

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 215

by Jack Barrett	696
-----------------	-----

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside Assistant Literary Editor:

Caroline Whiting Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 15, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

duced before relief is afforded to high-bracket incomes. We would suggest to the President, therefore, that he refuse his signature on the tax bill and ask Congress for a new measure which would spread the benefits of tax reduction more equitably.

*

IN EXCLUDING TWO UNITED NATIONS experts from the staff of the Palestine Inquiry Committee because one was an Arab and one a Jew, Secretary General Lie made a bad political blunder and violated an important principle. Mr. Lie explained his decision by two unconvincing statements. He said, according to the New York Times, that he wanted to prevent any possibility of "unfair criticism regarding the impartiality of the investigation." If dropping a Jew and an Arab is the method by which criticism is to be averted, presumably because both may be suspected of bias, how can Mr. Lie justify the appointment of four or five British subjects to the secretariat group attached to the Inquiry Committee? He also said that he wanted to reduce the number of political experts, since the committee could doubtless form its own opinions as it went along. The first explanation probably reflects Mr. Lie's recent unhappy experience over the staff of the Greek Border Commission, certain members of which were charged with bias and improper acts. The men were cleared after an inquiry by Mr. Lie's assistant, William H. Stoneman; but the episode may have inclined the Secretary General to err on the side of caution this time. He may also have been urged to drop the two experts by the British and Americans, who are said to prefer a staff unencumbered with either much knowledge or many opinions. The men in question, William Epstein, a Canadian, and Salek Mahmoud, an Egyptian, are generally recognized as the members of the secretariat who did the main job of preparing the material on the Palestine case. The idea of shoving the committee off on its tour of inquiry without staff experts to turn to for basic information is either stupid or it conceals a political interest that is highly questionable.

*

BUT QUITE ASIDE FROM ITS PROBABLE EFFECT on the quality of the job to be done, Mr. Lie's decision contravenes the theory on which service in the United Nations is based. Members of the secretariat, from Mr. Lie down, are responsible to the organization; they are U. N. employees first, and whether they are also Norwegians or Egyptians or Canadians, Protestants or Moslems or Jews is supposedly of no concern to anyone. To set up a new standard, one based on nationality or religion or a person's political views, goes beyond Mr. Lie's proper authority. He has let it be known that if the committee requests any individual expert, it can have him. This offers a possible way to restore Mr. Epstein

Mr. Mahmoud to the staff. But it is not enough. Lie should hasten to rescind his mistaken decision. the name of impartiality he has created a precedent of discrimination which should be broken immediately, before it has a chance to harden.

✱

THE LEBANESE ELECTIONS ON MAY 25 WERE deceptive. The overwhelming majority won by the government bloc seemed to indicate popular support of a game elected in 1943 under the extraordinary stress of war, conflict over the French mandate, and the British occupation. But the four-year record of Bechara el-houry's government is one of such incoherence and corruption and such abject subservience to Britain's alignment of Lebanon with the Arab League that the regime has become increasingly unpopular, particularly in the Christian core of the country, Mount Lebanon. The defeat of the opposition group of parties, headed by former president Emil Eddé, was accomplished by the most unashamed electoral frauds; in some districts the number of votes cast was more than ten times the number of inhabitants. Many impartial observers believe that Eddé's national bloc would have won if the vote had been fair, but neither a new election nor a recount is politically conceivable. As a result of the government victory, the Lebanon will be integrated more solidly than ever into the Arab League and can be counted on to oppose strongly the Jewish cause in Palestine.

✱

THE ONE TRULY GREAT DEMOCRAT I HAVE ever known," Carey McWilliams wrote of Evans Carlson in these pages not two months ago, "he is a man in whose presence, in these ragged times, one can still feel some confidence that greatness in human nature is not a myth." Now Carlson is dead at 51 of an overworked heart and an exhausted body. His unbroken spirit had been battered by the sledge-blows of the military system, the vilifications of his inferiors, the indifference of his complacent countrymen. "I've fallen apart like the one-horse shay," he told his friends last year, a terrible facing-up to reality for this tall Vermonter who had fought for his country and for mankind on three continents during four decades, who had once marched 2,000 miles with the Eighth Route Army. Evans Carlson was, if anything, too good a fighter. Like Stilwell on another front, he infected his troops with an enthusiasm and a devotion that could only appear unseemly to less gifted and less democratic officers. He worked so untiringly, after the formal end of the war, not to lose the war—he was one of the people who greatly helped in the early days of A. V. C. —that he was branded as a red or at least a fellow-traveler by any who could profit by such derogation. It simply happens not to be true and the only truth about Evans Carlson is that he was an independent man.

SOME DAY A HALT MAY BE CALLED BY THE American people to the psychopathic fear of communism which afflicts a large section of the present Congress. Meanwhile, the hysteria spreads, endangers liberal movements, and gives comfort to dozens of hate-mongers. Last week Representative MacDowell, chairman of the subcommittee on fascism of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs, told Washington reporters that his group had given ten minutes to the subject of fascist trends in America and had come to the conclusion that the whole thing was a bogey worked up by the Communists. As for the booklet, "Fascism in Action," prepared by the Library of Congress, he did not know when it would see daylight. *The Nation* reported more than a month ago that Representative Patman's bill to get it into print had been "interred in a committee pigeonhole" since February 5. Apparently, it is still there. Later last week the House Veterans' Affairs Committee reported out a bill that denied G. I. educational benefits to veterans who are Communists or belong to Communist organizations. During the war, however, we never heard any objection to a Communist serving in the armed forces or even getting killed. The bill, we trust, will not pass the House. But meanwhile it stands as a dangerous symptom of political insanity. In contrast to all this, a sane note was struck, fittingly enough, by the nation's oldest university. In issuing a charter to a chapter of American Youth for Democracy, Harvard admitted that organization's probable Communist coloration but based its decision on "a faith in the American form of government to prove its values in the free market of ideas." Could Harvard possibly put on a summer course for Washington legislators?

✱

IT WILL COME AS A SHOCK TO A DEVOTED core of our readers to hear that Jack Barrett, the constructor of our crossword puzzle, was drowned last week when his canoe overturned in rough water on the lake at Ste. Agathe des Monts in Quebec. Barrett was an acknowledged genius in his field. He began composing crossword puzzles in New York in 1924 for the *Evening Journal*. Going to England in 1926, he was soon signed on to do the weekly competition puzzle for the London *News of the World*. When the staid *Times* decided upon a daily crossword, it was Jack Barrett who was called in to work out the type of puzzle that has since become world famous. In February, 1943, he came to *The Nation* and since then has been the delight, the bewilderment, and the dismay of our more intellectual and nimble-witted readers. There have been few jugglers of words and spaces who have so well projected a living personality into their product. We have a handfull of Barrett's last puzzles yet to be printed. A worthy successor will be hard to find.

Pass the Stratton Bill

WHAT John Gunther calls the "mixedupness" of America is magnificently and maddeningly demonstrated in our behavior toward those luckless figures of the world, the D. P.'s. We begrudge them relief, we will not repatriate them against their will, and we do not allow them to immigrate. Of the eight million "displaced persons" who wandered through Europe and Asia at the close of the war—liberated slave laborers, concentration-camp inmates, and other victims of the Third Reich—between six and seven million found their way back to what were once their homes. At most, a million and a half remained, idle and restive, huddled in bleak barracks from Belgium to China, liberated but not free.

For two years we have cared for a large share of these people through UNRRA and Military Government. There is good reason to believe that both UNRRA and army officials brought heavy pressure on their displaced wards to go back to their own countries. In some cases, according to the Refugee Defense Committee, D. P.'s who refused repatriation were constantly shifted about and subjected to harrying restrictions. But most D. P.'s remained. Their composition indicates why.

Of the 800,000 who decline to go home, the majority are Poles, Yugoslavs, and refugees from the Baltic states, fearful for various political reasons of returning to Soviet-dominated territory. Some 82,000 are Ukrainians, who are in this same category. Roughly 170,000, not more than a fifth of the total number, are Jews, many of whom fear the anti-Semitism rampant in Poland and most of whom want to go to Palestine. Others are Greeks, who with good reason desire to keep a safe distance from the little Gestapo of Napoleon Zervas; and there is a sprinkling of Czechs.

Faced with a problem more delicate than difficult, Congress so far has fallen back on its characteristic formula: when in doubt, stop spending. UNRRA was killed and Military Government appropriations were slashed. But the D. P.'s remain, and so does the problem. The next step, therefore, is to temporize—at a somewhat lower cost. To this end, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has just approved American participation in the International Refugee Organization, which will take over administration of the D. P.'s where UNRRA left off.

We are glad, of course, that the United States will take part in the I. R. O. But what does this achieve beyond immediate relief? The Russians, who will have nothing to do with the organization, still want forced repatriation or forced assimilation of the D. P.'s into the German and Austrian populations. To have their way, they need only wait until we once more tire of relief—unless in the meantime we take the only other course open, which is

resettlement. Yet the Senate would not have voted in favor of I. R. O. had not Senator Vandenberg first given assurance of "completely air-tight and copper-riveted" provisions that participation would imply no change in our immigration laws.

It is at this point that perhaps the most striking instance of our national "mixedupness" occurs. A bill for dealing with the problem in the only simple, intelligent and morally defensible way has been introduced in Congress, not by a broad-minded liberal, but by Representative William G. Stratton of Illinois, a Republican isolationist of the McCormick school and a one-time member of America First. The Stratton bill has its weaknesses. It provides only for refugees now in D. P. camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy, ignoring those in North Africa, Shanghai, and elsewhere; and it is directed to the resettlement of those driven into exile by "events subsequent to the outbreak of World War II," which leaves anti-Franco refugees still out in the cold. But by and large, it is a remarkably good measure, the crux of which is that 400,000 D. P.'s would be admitted to the United States over a four-year period.

Naturally, introduction of the bill was a signal for shrieking by the self-appointed guardians of the gate. But the reaction on Capitol Hill has been far less feverish than it would have been had the proposal come from a more liberal Congressman than Stratton.

The arguments in its favor are overwhelming: We cannot indefinitely oppose the Russians on forced repatriation, and we cannot indefinitely condemn the British on Palestine, unless we are prepared to admit some of these people. The number proposed is insignificant. Under our drastic immigration laws—which incidentally would be left intact by the bill—1,076,733 persons were entitled to admission in the years from 1940 to 1946. Primarily because of the war, only 161,971 were actually admitted, with 914,762 quota numbers left unused. The Stratton bill would, in effect, merely ignore for this emergency the distribution of these quota numbers by country, and it would make use of something less than half of them in a period of four years. The immigrants would of course be subjected to the usual screening process. Expenses, temporary shelter, and guaranties against their becoming public charges would be provided by individuals and organizations. And the government would save money now spent on camps in Europe.

There is not a single argument that can decently be brought to bear against the bill—and the chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee has already discovered, to his annoyance, "a very definite propaganda movement from all over the country" in its favor. We hope he is right, and that the movement gets stronger, louder, and more insistent. It would be a national crime if the survivors of slavery were allowed now to perish of slow liberation.

Chiang Falls Back

DISPATCHES from China indicate that the stagnant political situation that has prevailed since General Marshall's return to the United States has ended with a sudden weakening of the Kuomintang's position. This is due to a long series of unfavorable developments—political, military, and economic. If the recent reorganization of the Cabinet to include the Young China and Social Democratic parties was designed to broaden the government's base of support, it has failed to gain its objective. Chinese newspapers speak scornfully of the tossing of "dog-bone" ministries with little power or influence to the hungry politicians of these insignificant minor parties. The most dramatic evidence of the growing opposition to the Kuomintang regime is furnished by the great student "peace" demonstrations in Nanking, Shanghai, and Peiping. Chinese students have always been the bellwethers of political change. The fact that they could organize such demonstrations in the face of the strict "thought control" in the universities reveals the depth and scope of anti-government feeling.

This feeling has undoubtedly been intensified by the pessimism found even in government circles over the progress of the anti-Communist military campaign. In

the early part of the year, Kuomintang spokesmen declared that the Communists could be crushed in three months. The ease with which Yen-an was taken seemed to justify this claim. But except for Yen-an the government has little to show for its three-month "annihilation drive" against the Red Army. Important gains have been made in northern Kiangsu and southern Shantung, but these have been offset by Communist gains in Shansi and northern Honan. And the Kuomintang's promising Shantung campaign, designed to restore north-south railway traffic, ended disastrously when the crack 74th Division was cut to pieces by the government's own planes and surrendered to the enemy with its arms and equipment. Meanwhile, the Communists have scored surprising gains in a broad offensive in Manchuria, threatening such vital railroad centers as Changchun, Szepingkai, and Chinwangtao. There are indications that the heavy fighting in Shantung and Manchuria has seriously depleted the government's stocks of American-made munitions and supplies, while the Communists have added to their meager stocks through the capture of Kuomintang equipment. American observers who came in contact with the Communist troops in the Chinwangtao area are reported to have been deeply impressed by their appearance and morale.

The Kuomintang's authority is further threatened by



YOU ONLY LOSE ONCE

the deepening financial crisis in the government-controlled areas. For a time it seemed as if the drastic revaluation of the Chinese dollar and measures to control foreign exchange might head off the disastrous inflation. But in recent weeks Chinese prices have again soared. On the black market, the American dollar is being quoted at nearly double its official value. China's supply of foreign exchange—abnormally high after the war—is reported to be practically exhausted, and there is little prospect of replenishing it through exports as long as Chinese currency is officially overvalued. Because of the inflation and the throttling of export trade, business activity is virtually at a standstill throughout the government-controlled regions. Famine conditions have developed in Hunan and Kwangsi since the diversion of UNRRA supplies to military use.

Although the worsening in the Kuomintang's position has provoked the usual crop of peace rumors, the attitude of the government delegates at the recent meeting of the People's Political Council makes it clear that there will

be no early peace bid. Even if there were, the Communists would be unlikely to accept it under present conditions. Behind the government's firmness is undoubtedly the conviction of the C. C. and other right-wing group that the United States will intervene rather than allow the Chiang Kai-shek regime to collapse. Although Secretary Marshall has given no grounds for such a belief, the extent of American assistance in the past and the continuation of American naval and technical aid have encouraged the right-wing groups in this hope. They also believe that the logic of the Truman Doctrine operates in their behalf. To get over this stumbling-block, the middle parties have asked the United States to issue another clear-cut statement of neutrality such as President Truman made in December, 1945. Such an announcement at this time, if lived up to, would discredit the intransigent right-wing and thereby lay the basis for the only kind of coalition that could win popular support in China—a combination of the Communists and Democratic League with the center and left Kuomintang.

Five-Star Foreign Policy

BY THOMAS F. REYNOLDS

Washington, June 1

THE demise of the Department of State as the originator of the foreign policy of the United States might well be dated from May 26 of this year. That was the day on which President Truman renewed his demand on Congress for power to sell arms to the Latin American republics—to nineteen at the moment and later to twenty, when a deal can be worked out with dictator Juan Perón of Argentina. The Presidential message demonstrated that foreign policy is now and in the future will be the product not of the State Department alone but of a combination of the State, War, and Navy departments, a combination in which State is not necessarily the dominant factor.

Dean Acheson once called down the Jovian wrath of General Douglas MacArthur by reminding our proconsul in Japan that it is the role of the State Department to make policy and the role of the generals in the field to execute it. MacArthur, even at that early date, probably had some reason to doubt the complete validity of this dictum. In the present state of Washington departmental organization Acheson's thesis probably has even less validity. The State-War-Navy combination is the maker

of policy, and the ingredients of political decisions, as often as not, more accurately reflect the thinking of the generals in the field and the brass on the Joint Chiefs of Staff than of the civilians in the State Department.

It is a matter of common knowledge in Washington that Spruille Braden, the Assistant Secretary of State for American Republics Affairs, opposed the whole concept of the inter-American arms-cooperation bill. By virtue of his position and responsibility Braden's opposition should have been controlling. A definition of his responsibility, for instance, was offered before a House appropriations subcommittee this spring by Ellis O. Briggs, director of the Office of American Republics Affairs. Briggs set forth that Braden is charged with "the formulation and conduct of our relations with the twenty other American republics" and "has complete charge of our relations with those countries." Were that true, President Truman's message on arms would never have gone to Congress on May 26. If the State Department official in charge actually could exercise the powers assigned to him, he could and would have recommended adversely to Secretary Marshall; Marshall would have transmitted the adverse report to the White House; the arms bill would have had a still birth.

But in the new Washington dispensation that did not happen. While Braden was conducting a valiant offensive against the War and Navy departments on the basic

THOMAS F. REYNOLDS is *Washington correspondent of the Chicago Sun.*

principle, he found himself gradually surrounded both by the generals and admirals and by former officers in his own department. Major General Donald H. Connolly, foreign liquidation commissioner in the State Department, was working busily with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in carrying out an "interim program" in South America while the larger program was still under dispute. Under that interim program \$37,149,309 worth of surplus arms were peddled to the Latin republics at the bargain price of \$5,063,837. "Within the limits of a small program on the list agreed to by the Joint Chiefs of Staff we have been selling limited quantities of ground equipment, navy, and air," Connolly told Congress.

The interim program was a small-scale defeat for Braden. The large-scale defeat came when President Truman sent up the arms bill and told Congress that "the army and navy, acting in conjunction with the Department of State, would be permitted to continue in the future a general program of collaboration with the armed forces of our sister republics with a view to facilitating the adoption of similar technical standards." That collaboration, if authorized by Congress, may go no farther than technical standardization, as Mr. Truman suggests. But should that be the case, Braden would be surprised and the army officers would be disappointed.

The influence of the military, of course, did not begin with the arrival at the State Department of Secretary Marshall. James F. Byrnes during his eighteen months at the foreign-policy helm was steadily nudged and sometimes buffeted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretaries of War and Navy, and Admiral Leahy, the Presidential Chief of Staff. Cordell Hull encountered less heavy pressure, but still was influenced by the then Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, and the consecutive Secretaries of Navy, Frank Knox and James V. Forrestal. But with the military in mufti extending their activities inside the department itself, the impact of the thinking and theorizing of the armed services is likely to be considerably greater under Marshall. Marshall is, above all, a military man, and the quality of his political statesmanship cannot escape some degree of khaki coloration. The clue to his approach in the department is perhaps best found in his final and historic report to the President as Chief of Staff—a soldier's valedictory after the day of victory, in which he incorporated some of his philosophy on a practical foreign policy.

"Our diplomacy must be wise, and it must be strong," he wrote in this report on September 1, 1945. "Nature tends to abhor weakness. The principle of the survival of the fit is generally recognized. If our diplomacy is not backed by a sound security policy, it is, in my opinion, forecast to failure. . . . The world does not seriously regard the desires of the weak." The true significance of this statement may perhaps lie in its emphasis on the importance of leading from strength. With that emphasis,

the components of strength—that is, the army and navy—will become important if not deciding factors in achieving all paramount decisions.

Under that approach the actual arena of decision tends away from the State Department and toward the consultative machinery set up among the State, War, and Navy departments. It tends toward that strange, vowelless alphabetical hybrid identified as SWNCC—the State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee. Marshall, Secretary of War Patterson, and Secretary of Navy Forrestal, a Cabinet triumvirate, will thus shape the course on which this country must seek enduring peace.

That may seem a strange composition for what amounts to a "Department of Peace." But SWNCC long has been making policy for the occupied areas. The War and Navy departments now have stepped over into the Western Hemisphere in the arms decision. It is only one step farther to assume command of over-all policy. Once that step has been taken, the civilian political planning of the Department of State becomes not the base on which the President acts but merely one-third of the grist from which the alphabetical coordinating agencies grind out a base for action.

This trend toward reliance on the generals and admirals may have a more dynamic impact on this country's final role and direction in the world than any reorganizations or perfections Marshall may accomplish inside the State Department itself. It also sheds light on the confidence with which the new Secretary is proceeding to establish a top State Department command scantily equipped with experience in the tortuous paths of diplomacy and foreign politics. If this country's course were to be shaped, as in the past, according to the findings of the technicians and experts inside the department, Marshall might have graver concern about organizing a top executive group devoid of men who have distinguished themselves in international politics. But when his department is considered one of three shaping policy, the choice of his principal assistants takes on a somewhat different complexion.

The Secretary, it appears, has out of necessity or choice discounted specialized experience in favor of aggressiveness and vigor in his initial realignment of the department. In his official hierarchy of two under secretaries and six assistant secretaries, Braden alone has detailed experience in the political problems he is assigned to handle. And Braden is on his way out. Will Clayton, the economic under secretary, has acquired an effective conversancy while working at his job. Robert A. Lovett, who is succeeding Dean Acheson as the principal under secretary, has had a distinguished banking career with Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company and proved a notable war-time administrator as Assistant Secretary of War for Air. But his former Wall Street connections and his experience in cracking production bottlenecks

for the army are not necessarily preferred qualifications for a career in diplomacy at a time of great crisis. The department, moreover, will miss Acheson's painfully acquired skill in handling relations with Congress.

Of the six assistant secretaries Major General John H. Hildring is an army officer transplanted into the department by Byrnes but is also heading for retirement. Garrison Norton, the new Assistant Secretary for Transport and Communications, will not complete the second year of his State Department career until next November. William Benton is under heavy Congressional fire for his fight in behalf of the "Voice of America" and has fallen out of favor with Marshall because he could not swing his program through Congress. John E. Peurifoy, Assistant Secretary for Administration, is a still-young graduate of West Point whose fire and zeal for his job are insulated from political problems by the nature of his administrative assignment. Willard L. Thorp is an able economist whose assignment likewise largely separates him from political matters except those in the bailiwick of Clayton, his chief.

It was notable at the Moscow conference that when Marshall went into secret sessions with the Foreign Minister, he passed over the Counselor of the department, Benjamin V. Cohen, and relied instead on a former general, Walter Bedell Smith. Cohen has no protracted background of experience in world politics. But as confidant and adviser of former Secretary Byrnes, his intimate State Department background did transcend that of Smith. Cohen's friends believe that he too is on his way back to private life.

Cohen's departure would leave a serious gap, but technicalities of the Foreign Service Act threaten equally serious problems on the geographical level. John Carter Vincent and H. Freeman Matthews, the top political experts for the Far East and for Europe, have completed their span of service in the department and must, under mandate of the act, go abroad some time this year.

While beset with problems of replacement Marshall has also been attempting to reorganize constructively inside the department. Borrowing his technique from the army's general-staff system, he has created for the first time a high-level planning board in an effort to capture an over-all perspective for American foreign policy. The concept of the new Policy-Planning Staff is not unlike that of the army General Staff, under which top officers are detached from other duties and assigned to make comprehensive plans for all possible contingencies. Like the General Staff, it will have only the power of recommendation, without operational authority or responsibility. To head this committee Marshall selected the department's chief specialist on Russia, George F. Kennan, a career minister who has been lecturing at the National War College as deputy for foreign affairs.

It is worth noting, however, that as director of the

staff of the planning committee Marshall selected Carl Savage, a career man of twenty years' service. Savage may be remembered as the principal author of the department's war-time apologia for pre-war events, the so-called white book "Peace and War." In the 853 pages of exposition and documents that formed that work Savage was able to find room for exactly 39 lines and only unrevealing documents on the Spanish civil war in a praising events of the ten historic years of American policy antecedent to Pearl Harbor.

The Policy-Planning Staff is directed to work through and be responsible to Under Secretary Lovett. Marshall is well aware that the exigencies of negotiating German, Austrian, and Japanese peace treaties may necessitate prolonged absences from Washington over the next twelve months. Accordingly, it is impossible for him even if time were otherwise available, to take personal control of such planning work. Thus the success of his general staff in a "Department of Peace" must, in final appraisal, rest largely on the ability of Lovett to adapt himself to the problems of modern power diplomacy and become a creative adjutant to the Secretary inside the department.

In justice to Marshall, however, the record of his operations as Secretary of State must be viewed against the hard fact that he found his department in close to an impossible situation. An agency which in 1933 counted 5,421 employees and operated on a \$17,000,000 budget has been transformed into one whose activities encompass the globe. After swallowing 6,000 war-agency workers in a single gulp in 1945 in post-war consolidations, the department now is asking Congress for \$178,000,000 for 24,561 employees. That is mushrooming on a gigantic scale, and it provides a very persuasive defense against the Congressional charge that Marshall is attempting to govern an unrelated jumble of bureaus.

In testifying before Representative Stefan's Appropriations subcommittee prior to his departure for Moscow last March, Secretary Marshall pointed out that the State Department is participating in the control and government of approximately 200,000,000 people in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. Since then the problems of Greece and Turkey have been superimposed on that mountain of troubles. The department also is working desperately on plans to take over from the army in the not too distant future the administrative responsibility for Germany and Austria.

Anyone familiar with the difficulties of the department in attempting to convert from a "policy agency" to an "operating agency" during the war years would predict without qualification that its new operational responsibilities can lead only to chaos. But Marshall believes he can make the department work. He usually adds, in talking to his friends, "I would like to have a few weeks of grace to get started."

Bevin Wins Again

BY AYLMER VALLANCE.

London, May 31

MEETING under brilliant skies which made past and prospective fuel shortages seem remote, Margate politically was a conference held in mid-cream, where, traditionally, horses cannot be changed. The large attendance of foreign journalists and diplomatic observers, all expecting dramatic clashes between ministers and rebels or a significant reorientation of the party line, was disappointed. Unlike the Zulus who go forward to die because going backward means death, the delegates evinced a less heroic determination to die politically, even if death was unavoidable by standing still and marking time. But though the consciousness of difficult days ahead was everywhere present, the complacent temper of the delegates excluded serious expectations of electoral mortality.

A conference which defeated all rebel candidates for election to the executive committee, rejected a motion for cutting down the strength of the armed services in 1948, and gave Bevin an overwhelming demonstration of support cannot be called progressive, but neither can it be exactly described as reactionary. Left-wing speakers were generously applauded partly because they studiously disclaimed any intention of mutinously seizing the steering wheel but mainly because the conference, conscious of the massive solidarity behind its leadership, felt the party could afford the pepping-up influence of the essentially not disloyal "ginger group." Indeed, it might be said that for clearness of vision and independence of thought the conference substituted an astonishing degree of blind fidelity to a leadership which gave no convincing proof of knowing where it was going. It is admitted that the floor successfully outvoted the platform on motions condemning tied agricultural cottages and demanding equal pay for women state employees, but these are not major issues. It was obvious from the outset that whatever sympathy for the pacifists and against the Bevinites individual delegates might feel, this conference would not vote against the government on any question of confidence.

The most important day, Wednesday, was allotted to a discussion of economic policy, thus giving the rebels an opportunity to urge their central "we-can't-afford-imperialism" line. The keynote of social-democratic moderation was struck initially by Morrison, who was clearly anxious to allay the animosity caused by Shinwell's earlier declaration that only organized workers matter a tinker's curse. Morrison urged the conference to eschew a sectarian attitude, seek the cooperation of the middle class and employers, and recognize that nothing more was

attainable by squeezing the rich and that the improvement of the conditions of the workers was dependent on increased effort. Although Dalton added that Britain must not bank on further foreign credits, the conference nevertheless declined to press the government to economize on military man-power and concentrated instead on one patent British weakness, the undermanned essential industries.

The discussion disclosed a conflict between the political and industrial wings of the party which left the policy in a gloriously unclarified muddle. First, Dalton announced the acceptance by the executive of the Miners' motion urging differential wage advantages for mines and other tough industries. Whereupon Deakin of the Transport Workers, indignantly voicing the right-wing Trades Union Council view, opposed any state interference with the traditional union-negotiated wage structure, and when a resolution formally advocating a comprehensive policy of wages, hours, and distribution of national income came up, it was overwhelmingly rejected.

After an inconclusive debate on man-power, Bevin's triumph on Thursday was a foregone conclusion. The rebels halfheartedly repeated the economic arguments against grandiose foreign commitments, but they neither made nor appeared keenly desirous of making any significant impression. Tactfully avoiding verbal anti-Soviet harshness, Bevin exuberantly defended his "plain, blunt, British, independent" attitude toward all sorts of troublesome foreigners. The conference applauded his declarations that, like Churchill, he declined to liquidate Britain's position in the Middle East, that he would not accept the United Nations' decision on Palestine unless the decision was unanimous, that the British diplomatic service was the best in the world, and that he still had hopes of reaching agreements on Germany and Austria which would permit further demobilization.

To sum up, the dominant impression of the conference was an unabated trust in the leadership, combined with a prevailing sense of responsibility lest differences impair the government's ability to cope administratively with the crisis which recognizably threatens to shipwreck the Cabinet's excellent legislative achievements, which were universally admitted. The result of the conference gives little indication whether Labor wants more socialism or less or closer attachment to the United States or to Europe. The exhibition of solidarity was magnificent, but the comment might be made that it was the solidarity of migratory lemmings moving en masse toward the intractable sea.

The D.P.'s—How Much Longer?

BY MARIE SYRKIN

THE Jewish D. P.'s in Germany are no longer the gaunt figures with tragic, hollow eyes we saw in the newsreels immediately after the war. The graveyard look that shocked us two years ago is gone. The men and women I met in various camps of the American zone have put on flesh, they are not visibly sick, and they are not penned behind barbed wire. They can walk freely out of the former S. S. barracks where they are housed and visit the nearby town.

Yet despite these blessings they are more bitter than in May, 1945. They talk constantly about the days when Eisenhower's troops liberated them and the G. I.'s showered the starvelings of Buchenwald and Dachau with sympathy, chocolate, and cigarettes. Then the American soldiers were friendly and the Germans were afraid if not ashamed; and then the survivors of the Nazi holocaust were sure that the world would be eager to make good the wrongs they had suffered. "We thought all doors would be opened to us," person after person said to me.

Now the D. P.'s know better. Their early naive hopefulness has given way to a mixture of despair, cynicism, and resolution. They feel abandoned and betrayed; they are sick of visitors and skeptical of committees; and they are determined to get out.

For Germany is a trap as well as a dead end. The savage irony of German soil becoming the haven for hundreds of thousands of Jews fleeing from anti-Semitic outbreaks in Eastern Europe is not lost on the D. P.'s. Of the 153,000 Jews in the American zone only 29,000 were liberated in Germany proper. The rest are "infiltrates," Jews who sought the shelter of the American zone, particularly after the massacre of Kielce. They came in the conviction that the sojourn would be brief. To use the Hebrew slogan blazoned in every camp, they were *b derech*, "on the way" to Palestine. None expected the temporary asylum provided by the American flag to become a virtual imprisonment on German soil.

It is a situation whose implications grow more dreadful the more one examines them. The American army, which generously kept the borders open, has grown weary of its role of host; General Clay has made that clear. The German population no longer bothers to con-

ceal its hostility, held in leash only by the presence of the occupation authorities. In a recent poll eight out of ten Germans admitted to anti-Semitism. During the four months I spent in Germany I repeatedly heard of acts which could be interpreted either as individual crime or as anti-Jewish violence. In Regensburg a Jewish family of four was clubbed to death on the eve of Passover. The army reported, "Murder—motive, robbery." But the Jews of Regensburg were not so sure. As to lesser incidents, such as insults and brawls in street cars and trains, all agree that they indicate an increase in overall ill-will on the part of the Germans.

Along with the bitterness and despair in the D. P. camps one notes a paradoxical vitality. In many of the barracks huge figures of storm troopers are carved on the wall, but blue and white flags with the Star of David and placards bravely designating the unit as "Herz House" or "Shalom Aleichem House" have been tacked over them as if in defiance of the warriors. There is a fierce will to live among the inmates. Weddings are frequent and the birth rate is high. Many of the marriages are between persons each of whom is the sole survivor of a broken family. Photographs of the groom's wife who was gassed, the bride's husband who was shot, the children who were seized in an "action" stand on the table of the new ménage. And the middle-aged, as well as the young, bear children.

Even the much-criticized black-market operations are an expression of this extraordinary energy. One must bear in mind that the living conditions of the D. P.'s are on a wretched subsistence level. People are herded together without regard for elementary privacy or decency. In the "old" camp of Landsberg I saw squalid rooms each corner of which was occupied by a couple, or a single man or woman. Pathetic attempts to secure privacy were made by stringing blankets and newspapers across the room. The basic food ration of 2,000 calories may be adequate in quantity but is not in quality; recently the army removed the additional 200-calory ration which the Jewish D. P.'s had received, declaring that there was no further reason for preferential treatment. The food allotted consists mainly of carbohydrates. The German ration, which has fewer calories, is actually more wholesome because it has a larger proportion of protective foods. People hunger for proteins, fats, and fresh vegetables.

Warm clothing for children was seriously lacking all winter. Naturally those who do not wish their children

MARIE SYRKIN is the author of "Your School; Your Child" and of the forthcoming "Blessed Is the Match: The Story of Jewish Resistance." She was sent to the D. P. camps by the Hillel Foundation of the B'nai B'rith to select students for scholarships in American schools.

be cold and undernourished barter whatever they can for milk, meat, or, if they are lucky, a pair of shoes. Most of the so-called black-market activity is simply trading for necessities. There are undoubtedly some slick operators among Jewish D. P.'s, but no more proportionately than in other groups, including American and British army officers.

Cigarettes are currency in Germany, and every American—G. I. or UNRRA official—knows how to get Chanel 5, Rosenthal china, or good service for the appropriate number of cigarettes. No odium seems to attach to the transaction. But the well-fed American M. P. who cheerfully displays the camera he got for two cartons of Lucky Strikes is outraged by the Jewish "black marketeer" whose stock consists of badly needed oranges, shoelaces, and soap.

Among the displaced Jews' most impressive achievements are their schools. In every camp I visited, whether an old one like Landsberg or a new one like Pocking, built for "infiltrates" eight months ago, I saw a building set aside for classrooms. In cold, dingy surroundings, with few books or other school supplies, an educational system ranging from kindergarten to high school has been established. Some of the instructors were professional teachers before the war in the great Jewish schools of Poland. Others are untrained boys and girls who managed to finish at the *Gymnasium* before they were driven into ghettos and concentration camps. The language of instruction is Hebrew, with English taught as a secondary language. These children are in a peculiar sense already citizens of Palestine. They know that they are "on the way" to "our land," where all griefs will be eased. "Our land" is the place where they will forget the barbed wire and the crematoriums. I have seen this simple faith in only one other group—the *sabras*, or native-born youth, of Palestine. The child of the Emek, rooted in the warm assurance of the soil of Palestine, and the rootless child of the D. P. camp, shivering in the chill of a German winter, dwell in the same emotional climate.

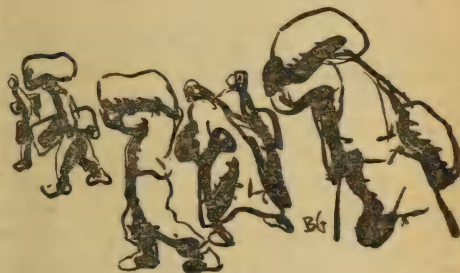
There are vocational classes for older boys and girls. Courses are given in millinery, dressmaking, radio, automobile mechanics, and the like, but the young people taking them are less content than the children who study geometry and history in Hebrew. I attended a vocational students' meeting at which grievances were voiced. I heard one plaint repeated over and over: "We have finished the course in dressmaking—or mechanics, or radio—and what now? What is the use of learning trades we can't practice?" They turned to me and asked me bitterly, "How long are we going to rot here?" "We have lost so much time," the young people cry, "the years in the ghetto, in the concentration camps, and now here!"

The leaders of the D. P. community, as well as the

representatives of the voluntary agencies, are aware of the danger of enforced idleness and are busily trying to create work projects. Such available work as the maintenance and cleaning of the camp does not provide an adequate outlet for the great abundance of energy and ability pent up in intelligent, active people. Schemes are therefore being evolved for various kinds of profitable occupation. In one camp I saw a newly installed sewing project: several hundred skilled tailors were turning out coats and uniforms for an army order. The success of this undertaking showed what good work could be produced when the workers felt that their labor had social and economic value.

However, what the D. P. needs most is not to have his lot improved but to stop being a D. P. Normal human beings, with a normal will for life and useful activity, cannot be cooped up indefinitely in an intrinsically abnormal situation without catastrophe.

The "illegal" movement to Palestine is bound to increase during the summer. Few will be deflected by the fear of Cyprus. I was present at a meeting which received the message: "Kibbutz X has already reached Cyprus";



the audience burst into applause. I have heard over-aged men and women and others physically disqualified plead with the persons in charge of unauthorized immigration for permission to attempt the difficult mountain climb necessary to pass one of the borders. A man past fifty kept insisting, "But I am as strong as twenty years ago; I climbed those mountains in the first war." And an obviously feeble, middle-aged woman assured a skeptical examiner, "I am actually only thirty-five. I look older because of what I went through." When she was told gently that the road was beyond her strength, she burst into tears: "How much longer must I stay here."

A few will return to Poland, but for the majority that chapter is closed. I saw a sweet-faced little girl of twelve in a children's camp in Ulm. The matron pulled away the curls from her forehead and showed me a deep, wide cleft. The girl's history was to a certain point conventional: the father had been killed in a ghetto; the child had been hidden in a convent; the mother had somehow survived a concentration camp. After the war mother and

child had been reunited in a Polish town and had set up a home again. Then came a pogrom in which the mother was murdered and the child left for dead with her head bashed in. Somehow she was found alive, nursed back to health, and sent with a group of children to the haven of the American zone, *b derech*. Now she speaks Hebrew and wears her hair low over her forehead to hide the monstrous injury. This child cannot return to Poland. Others have less visible but just as genuine scars.

Though the overwhelming majority still cling tenaciously to the hope of Palestine, a growing number would be willing to go to any country where they could rebuild their lives. The American consulate is besieged with applications, but so far only a few thousand of the 39,000 visas permitted by the "Truman plan" have been granted. Current quota regulations are interpreted so strictly and arbitrarily that one can only conclude that the Presidential directive to facilitate immigration is being deliberately sabotaged. Of the 39,000 visas allotted, 26,000 were reserved for persons born in Germany; a grand total of 6,524 was made available for those born in Poland, who constitute the bulk of the refugee popu-

lation in Germany. So the "German" quota goes unfilled—there aren't enough eligible German survivors—while the "Polish" waiting list, at the present rate, would not be taken care of for years. And the "liberal" Truman project ends this summer.

Prospects for emigration to other countries are no rosier. Belgium wants only coal-miners. Huge, underpopulated Brazil sent a commission and finally offered to take a few hundred hand-picked individuals. And so it goes.

The Jewish D. P.'s are in a trap which they must break out of or perish. The imminent close of UNRRA and the uncertainties in regard to the U. N.'s International Refugee Organization leave no doubt that conditions will deteriorate still further. What this will mean in human misery is hard to imagine.

Palestine is still the most realistic choice. Whatever course the deliberations of the special session of the United Nations take, the trek toward the shores of the Mediterranean is bound to continue at an accelerated tempo. This is a factor which the United Nations should take into account.

Curtain Raiser for '48

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Vancouver, Washington, May 25

ADRESS rehearsal for 1948 is taking place in this mountainous corner of the state of Washington. So far it has been a pipsqueak performance, particularly on the part of the Republicans, who are too busy saving the country from Henry A. Wallace to take notice of such embarrassing matters as the 66 per cent reduction inflicted on the Bonneville Power Administration by their party in the House of Representatives.

On June 7 the voters of the Third District of Washington, which stretches from the Columbia River to the tidal flats at the lower tip of Puget Sound, pick a Congressman. The Republican nominee is Russell V. Mack, an amiable, unimaginative man who publishes the *Grays Harbor Washingtonian*. The Democratic candidate, Charles Savage, served the district in Congress once before. Last November he was beaten by Fred Norman, a Republican. Norman's death as the result of a heart attack made necessary the coming special election.

The Third District contains the most shockingly logged-over hillsides in the Far West. There are many

deserted sawmill towns. The rails of logging railroads rust in the rain. But the region has been resuscitated by Bonneville power. Aluminum factories and shipyards have risen on backwoods meadows around Vancouver and Longview. Practically every county in the district has a publicly operated power system. Thus when the Republican House of Representatives cut the Bonneville appropriation from \$20,278,000 to \$6,907,800, it furnished the Democrats with a ready-made issue.

Under these circumstances it is likely that Savage will regain the seat. Another factor in his favor is the continued rise in living costs. The cheap milk and honey which, according to the 1946 promises of the Republicans, were to follow the end of the OPA have not materialized. High prices contributed more than anything else to the downfall of the Democrats last year. Now, the Republican *Oregonian* of Portland points out, the same issue may confound the party which has assumed responsibility on Capitol Hill.

As yet the Republicans in the district have trotted out only one issue—communism. Savage, a New Deal Democrat, won the nomination over Attorney General Smith Troy, who campaigned in support of the Truman plan for aiding Greece and Turkey. Savage polled 16,536 votes, Troy 11,555. Savage said his victory indicated that

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon journalist and a former member of the Oregon legislature.

he people "intend the tide of reaction to be turned." From the Republican utterances an onlooker could reasonably assume that Stalin's name was on the ballot with Molotov as his manager. Henry Wallace's presence in the Northwest this week has intensified the red-baiting. Attila the Hun could not have aroused the G. O. P. to greater fury.

Yet this "issue" too is clouded. Last autumn Representative Hugh De Lacy became the most decisively defeated Democratic Congressional candidate in the history of the Seattle district. For sixteen years Seattle had voted overwhelmingly for the Democrats. De Lacy lost by 50,000 votes, and carried down the whole Democratic ticket.

The De Lacy contest demonstrated conclusively that voters who will support New Dealers, liberals, and left-wingers cannot be induced to vote consistently for a man whose fundamental loyalty seems to be to the Communist Party line. In 1940 De Lacy cast the only ballot against Roosevelt's renomination at the Democratic National Convention. He feared the President would involve America in the "imperialist war." When Russia was attacked, De Lacy's opinion of the war changed. And after V-J Day getting our marines out of China appeared to interest him a good deal more than such questions as public power, high prices, and veterans' housing.

Savage, a bespectacled young logger, is a liberal. A member of the C. I. O. Woodworkers, the largest union in the district, he is backed by the strong anti-Communist faction in the organization. One of his chief supporters is Manley J. Wilson, editor of *The Woodworker*, who has sought to eliminate Communist influence in the union. Yet the one danger to Savage's candidacy is that the Republicans may succeed in identifying him with the De Lacy crowd. They are working overtime to accomplish it, for they realize how G. O. P. prestige will suffer if the Democrats win back a House seat lost last November.

Their anxiety about the June 7 election has already had a salutary result. Western Republicans have been importuning the Senate to restore funds to Bonneville, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation. The political vindictiveness which underlay the so-called House "economy" may be seen from the fact that the agencies that were cut most heavily had actually been returning money to the Treasury. The *New York Times* pointed out editorially last week that "as of June 30, 1946, the Bonneville Power Administration had returned . . . some \$80,000,000."

Perhaps not governmental extravagance but public development of natural resources is the real target of Mr. Taber's budget balancers. Realization of this in the towns along the Columbia, Cowlitz, and Lewis rivers may send a Democrat back to Congress on June 7.

Food and Wages in France

BY LEON BLUM

Paris, May 23

THE bulk of the French people are convinced that under present economic conditions the only way to raise the purchasing power of wages, salaries, and other forms of income is by progressively lowering prices. They are equally convinced that the reduction inaugurated by governmental decree cannot be carried beyond a certain point unless there is an increase in output. This twofold conviction is at the very core of our people's thinking. Their present discontent does not mean that they are deceived or doubtful about the situation. It stems from the worry and irritation caused by the insufficient amounts of food obtainable.

In an economy of penury and disorder like ours the joint problem of wages and prices is of course inextricably bound up with the food situation. The general level of prices and in consequence the purchasing power of wages depend to a considerable extent on what proportion of the supply of food and other commodities is available at controlled prices and what proportion has been diverted from the public to the "parallel" market, commonly known as the black market. This is especially true with respect to food, whose cost is the largest item in the workingman's budget. Now it is clear that the inefficiency of the supply service, the lack of continuity in its policies, of coordination and firmness in its practice, the confusion in its administration, have hindered the regular distribution of such necessities as food and wine, have favored the development of the black market, and have provoked a race between wages and prices.

These errors in the service of supply—to which must be added in the case of wheat the natural catastrophe of the winter's intense cold—have unquestionably had repercussions in the field of wages and prices. Nevertheless, the present popular agitation seems to me largely of psychic origin. It is remarkable that public opinion is apparently less aroused because food is expensive than because stocks are inadequate and variable. It is less irritated and embittered by the abuses and scandals of the black market than by the failures of the whole provisioning system. People have reached the point where they exclaim: "Clear up this mess! We don't care whether things cost more or less, whether they are sold on the black market or not. We want to eat."

Undoubtedly the difficulty of buying food is the prime mover in the demand for higher wages. The workers who want more pay know perfectly well that it would be fol-

LEON BLUM, former Premier of France, is the leader of the French Socialist Party.

lowed by a rise in prices, and that their real wages, above all their power to buy food, would not be increased. They have learned that once for all. But they are thoroughly exasperated by the food situation, and their wage demands are the natural, spontaneous expression of their irritation. If this discontent should continue and be

aggravated, it might take a still more dangerous form.

The National Assembly is discussing the problem. In coming weeks no more important matter will come before the government. Realization of this fact has led Paul Ramadier to take on himself the direction of the supply and distribution of food.

Disunion in Vienna

BY G. E. R. GEDYE

Vienna, May 19

IN THE last five weeks Austrians have reached new depths of hunger. There has been no meat, fresh or tinned, no potatoes, no butter; grimly enough, there have been issues of "pudding powder" to people who have neither the fat nor the sugar to make a pudding, and of frozen fish when there is no fat to cook it in.

UNRRA supplies are moving steadily toward depletion. Austrian peasants, finding they can buy practically nothing with the money offered them for their produce, are withholding more and more rationed foodstuffs for barter or for sale on the black market. The output of industrial goods is hopelessly inadequate, both to supply home needs and to export in exchange for food from abroad—it is all the more so because the output of so many concerns is destined only for the Russians. But, above all, the zonal controls, which are being continued despite repeated promises that they will be done away with, are preventing the government from attempting to solve the problem of hunger by intelligently planned distribution of food stocks.

Just how bad the situation really is for the starving worker may be inferred from the following figures issued this month by the Allied Control Commission. In reading the table remember that a semi-skilled worker here earns about \$6 a week, an unskilled woman \$3.

Commodity	Rationed Price	Black-Market Price
Bread (kilo)	2½ cents	25 to 40 cents
Beef "	None available	\$4 to \$5.50
Shoes (pair)	\$2.50 to \$3	\$40 to \$100
	Rarely available	
Cloth (meter)	\$1.50 to \$4	\$30 to \$100
	Rarely available	
Lard (kilo)	75 cents	\$13 to \$16
	Rarely issued	
American cigarettes (each)		10 to 12 cents

G. E. R. GEDYE is the Vienna correspondent of the London Daily Herald and the Overseas Press.

The Minister of Agriculture, Krauss (Volkspartei), recently demanded in Parliament that the Socialists agree to a 70 to 80 per cent increase in official prices paid to the peasant; failing which, deliveries would cease. He was warned by the Socialists that the only possible reply to such a move would be a general strike of the workers. No more has been heard of his demand.

There has been, all the same, a Communist-inspired drive for a general strike, which had its culmination in the scattered strikes and street demonstrations of May 5 in Vienna, but which has been completely stalled by the steady opposition and sound party discipline of the Socialists with the cooperation of the trade unions. The Communist May Day procession was interspersed with a number of lorries, moving at snail's pace in order to create the illusion that there were more of them, and chiefly supplied by Soviet-operated business concerns. These vehicles bore the slogans which were to crop up again four days later: "Away with the Calories Chancellor!" "Make the Peasants Give Us Our Potatoes!" and "Down with the Hunger Government!" And then, on May 5, came the newest slogan: "We Want a General Strike!" A number of unarmed policemen outside the Chancellery were beaten up, and some demonstrators broke into the building. Afterward the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Oscar Helmer, took pleasure in pointing out that the policemen who had been beaten were organized, as are all Viennese policemen these days, in trade unions, mostly Socialist or Communist unions.

The demonstration itself turned out to be a flop; not more than 5,000 workers allowed themselves to be exploited in the useless and wasteful event, and after eight hours of shouting slogans with Nazi-like precision the crowds dispersed.

The next day Chancellor Figl and various ministers, chiefly Socialists (Figl is of the conservative Volkspartei), received a delegation of trade-union leaders, including Communists. One of the latter sharply attacked the Chancellor, who is of peasant origin, for the failure of potato deliveries. The Chancellor replied pointedly that the main reason why Vienna got no potatoes was the refusal of the Russian authorities to permit the transport

of these vital supplies from Lower Austria to the capital.

Meanwhile the shop stewards and workers' councils had reviewed the situation and decided against a general strike, especially in view of the Chancellor's promise that in the future their leaders would be consulted on all rationing questions. The situation was well summed up by a resolution of the Railwaymen's Union:

We record with great bitterness that the situation of the workers is getting steadily worse. The weekly rations announced are insufficient for two days, let alone an entire week. The health of the workers and their families is gravely threatened. But we further put on record our conviction that strikes and demonstrations are not calculated to produce more food, and only bring new dangers to the city populations. We demand that all officials should do their utmost to get food to the Viennese workers and rigorously punish all economic saboteurs.

On May 6, also, the Socialist Party held its Extraordinary General Party Congress. A long resolution was passed, expressing great indignation over the failure of the Moscow conference and demanding the earliest possible withdrawal of the bulk of the occupying forces without waiting for the conclusion of a treaty. It went on to ask for the release of schools, hospitals, and dwelling places from requisition; restoration of full control over Austria's resources to Austria's government; submission of all industries in Austria to Austrian laws and economic regulations; an end to the requisitioning of Austrian food and industrial products by any occupying power; and transfer of all costs of occupation from Austria to the power concerned.

A similar resolution was then introduced in Parliament and was accepted, with the Communists voting against every demand, though all must be obtained if the chaotic conditions in this country are to be remedied.

Taiwan: China's Unhappy Colony

BY PEGGY DURDIN

Nanking, China
WHAT was the cause of the recent uprising in Taiwan?" a correspondent asked Chen Yi, governor of the island at the time. "The fact that we had too few troops," he said.

Eighteen months ago the Nanking government had a chance to make Taiwan (Formosa) the show piece which Japan had planned it to be in the "Greater East Asia" sphere. A relatively efficient Japanese bureaucracy had monopolized the island's agriculture, trade, and industry, gearing them to Japan's economy, but in so doing, it had helped Taiwan achieve a high industrial and agricultural level. Before the war the island's annual exports were valued at \$250,000,000, half the amount of the projected American loan to China. It was, and is, about thirty years ahead of mainland China in industrial development, with more factories than any Chinese province except Kiangsu. Although many plants suffered damage during the war, reserves on hand provided means for their restoration. Bank balances still existed; there were stocks of raw materials and finished products. Foreign experts calculated that with sound management and planning Taiwan industry could soon be put back on its feet. Although most top industrial positions had been

held by Japanese, the Taiwanese were industrially minded and technically competent.

Before the war Taiwan had not only been self-sufficient in food but had exported half its crop. Given fertilizers and government direction, it could again produce large quantities of foodstuffs. The island was served with good highways, railways, and harbors. Its standard of living was well above that of the Chinese mainland. Electric power was plentiful; every little home had electric lights. Cities were neat and clean. Public health was good. The educational level was far above that of the average Chinese province. The people were politically alert. Japan had been forced to give them the outward form of democratic government; they had learned some of the mechanics of self-rule, and their hatred of Japan had given them a desire for the actuality. Clearly, Taiwan would be a great asset to China, and not least because the Taiwanese were happy to be reunited to the motherland.

Nanking proceeded to rule Taiwan as an inferior, subjugated colony. The government it installed was feudal, incompetent, arrogant, and corrupt. Nanking's policy was not to develop the island for the benefit of the people; it was to exploit Taiwan resources for the depleted national treasury.

To accomplish this purpose Nanking handed Taiwan over to an old-fashioned war lord. Governor Chen Yi was given absolute military, political, and economic power; Taiwan was not even granted provincial status. Chen Yi imported his government from the mainland.

PEGGY DURDIN is The Nation's correspondent in China. An article describing the March uprising and terror in Taiwan appeared two weeks ago.

Not a single department chief and only one deputy chief was a native of the island. Most of the magistrates, mayors, and judges were mainlanders. The Taiwanese soon decided they had only exchanged one oppression for another, with the Chinese as autocratic and more greedy but less efficient than the Japanese. "There are no shoemakers left in Shanghai," runs a scornful Taiwanese saying. "They are all running the government of Taiwan."

According to competent observers, corruption and nepotism riddled the administration, the operation of government-owned business, the law courts, and the police. "Take-over" of Japanese property made Taiwan a looter's paradise. Soldiers stole furniture and window panes; high officials made fortunes out of the government's strangle-hold on the economy. The Chinese mayor of one city sold the rice and cement "taken over" from the Japanese and pocketed the cash. When a local paper printed the facts of the case, the official prudently scurried to Shanghai. Several months later the government published a statement saying the matter had been "investigated" and the mayor found guiltless. The gentleman in question, whitewashed and safe, returned to Taiwan in an important army post.

During the recent riots the Taiwanese reported that huge amounts of money and gold were found in officials' houses. One school principal had been signing salary sheets for a non-existent staff and pocketing the money.

The manufacture and sale of cement are controlled by the government. Taiwanese are unable to get cement at the controlled price to repair their buildings and homes. Government agencies request and get greater allocations of cement than their projects require, sell the surplus on the black market, and pocket a nice profit.

Taiwan courts were reputed to be moderately honest under the Japanese. Chinese justice is often venal. The only sure way to get out of jail is to use bribery, say the Taiwanese. People can be arrested on suspicion alone and too frequently have no chance of a fair trial. Many wealthy Taiwanese have been arrested simply for purposes of extortion; many corrupt mainlanders have had immunity from arrest or trial.

When Japan owned or controlled the Taiwan economy, it put part of the profits back into the development of Taiwan. After the Chinese government "took over," the Taiwanese watched their country deteriorate before their eyes. "Formerly Japan got the banquet and we got the crumbs," they say. "Now there are no crumbs."

A small clique around the governor completely controls Taiwan's industry, agriculture, communications, shipping, banking. The National Resources Commission runs the petroleum-refining, aluminum, and copper-mining industries for the Nanking treasury. In cooperation with the Taiwan provincial government it manages the production of sugar, electric power, chemical fer-

tilizer, cement, paper, and alkalies. Nanking gets 40 per cent of the profits, the Taiwan treasury the rest. The Taiwan provincial government owns and operates almost all other industries—building, coal, iron and steel, textiles, electrical supplies, glass, soap, tea, shipbuilding, printing. It owns and operates life insurance, navigation, transportation. The government has continued the Japanese Monopoly Bureau, which controls the production and sale of such popular commodities as tobacco, liquor, camphor, salt, and matches. A Board of Trade controls the island's import and export trade. This complete economic power has been used by Chen Yi's government mainly to fill official coffers—not, except to a very limited extent, to rebuild and rehabilitate the island.

Bank reserves and other assets of industry were seized by the government, and only small sums have been made available for reconstruction. Take the sugar industry. The war's end found half a million tons of sugar in Taiwan. This the Nanking government confiscated and is transporting to the mainland to sell. The proceeds go into the Nanking treasury while sugar factories lack funds for necessary repairs. Cement factories are unable to operate fully because China prefers to sell Taiwan's coal for high prices on the mainland.

Since many factories have not been repaired or are operating at low capacity, there is much unemployment. Repatriation of overseas Taiwanese has aggravated the problem, which the government has made no real effort to solve. During the war the Japanese built at Chiayi a large factory for making high-octane gas. Now it is closed, and one-fifth of the town's population are out of work. It is not surprising that at Chiayi last month there was fierce fighting against the mainlanders.

Only a program of immediate and generous reform can rehabilitate China in the eyes of the Taiwanese. But it is doubtful whether the present Nanking government is capable of establishing an honest, liberal, competent administration. What the Taiwanese really want is to be a United Nations mandate, under the United States. If they cannot get this status, three things are likely to happen: economic conditions will further deteriorate; the Taiwanese will revolt again against mainland rule; and the United States will lose its popularity and prestige as it has lost them on the mainland and for the same reason—that it supports bad government.



Del Vayo—Reaction in Latin America

ONE of the things that has surprised me most in the years I have spent in the United States is the limited interest in Latin America. It is not for lack of information; the big news agencies cover everything important that happens in that part of the world. But the average cultivated American, beginning with columnists and radio commentators, eagerly follows news from Europe or Asia while remaining indifferent to Latin American events. At this moment the southern continent is going through one of the most critical stages of its history, but only a few North Americans are paying the slightest attention to it.

The latest political episode "south of the border" outstrips in cynicism all previous records. To see General Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua toss out of office the man whom he so recently planted in the Presidency and set up another subordinate as Provisional President may prove somewhat disturbing even to those State Department officials who are most tolerant of the peculiarities of Latin American democracy. In the final analysis Somoza is little different from Trujillo, the Dominican dictator. But at least Trujillo goes to the trouble of staging a "free election," while the Nicaraguan *caudillo* apparently assumes that recent developments in Washington make it safe for him to dispense with such formalities. The flaw in the Somoza system is that his Charlie McCarthy may any day imagine himself actually the President, forgetting that the real head of the state is not necessarily the one who wears the title. The late President Arguello made this mistake; he has been replaced by a man whose very name, Lacayo Sacasa, symbolizes the nature of his position. *Lacayo* means lackey.

But the buffoonery of this latest romance of power only caricatures the grave situation affecting all the republics of Central America. In 1944, encouraged by the general propaganda for democracy that accompanied the war, a movement of liberation swept those republics. It resulted in the overthrow of Maximiliano Hernandez Martínez of El Salvador and Jorge Ubico of Guatemala. The Martínez regime has been a disgrace to the Western world. His famous massacre of 1932, when he machine-gunned thousands of peasants, should have been enough to isolate him from the rest of the hemisphere. Twelve years later he treated himself to a second massacre, this time making effective use of the tanks that lend-lease had put at his disposal. But in 1944 the people of El Salvador gathered fresh strength and threw him out.

There followed the ousting of Ubico in Guatemala. For many years Ubico had been the idol of certain American business interests. As a business man himself he was of indisputable efficiency. In spite of a well-preserved legend of honesty, the present Guatemala regime has been able to expose the profits the dictator drew from his monopoly of the export of meat and the precious wood of Petén.

In El Salvador the popular victory was very ephemeral. The role played by its representative as Franco's advocate in the United Nations Assembly last December revealed the

reactionary character of the regime that, after a few turns of the political wheel, had come to power. But Guatemala remains a spearhead of militant anti-fascism in Central America. In contrast to that of El Salvador, the excellent position taken by Ambassador García Granados during the debate on Spain and more recently on Palestine has gained for Guatemala general international respect. But it is democratic regimes like Guatemala's that would be most threatened if the Somoza coup won Washington's approval, for such approval would stimulate all the reactionary factions in Latin America.

Behind every pro-fascist maneuver it is possible to sense the encouragement and the money of foreign interests. Certain big American companies always prefer Somozas; and particularly they oppose the idea of a Central American federation, which has always been an object of the democratic trend in those countries. The day that a Central American federation is established it will no longer be possible for the little local tyrants to use their personal "elite guards" to appoint and dismiss Presidents at their pleasure, or on the orders of those who are willing to finance such operations.

The wave of reaction was set in motion by the greater tide moving up from Argentina, but the real impulse originated in Madrid. In this connection it is interesting to take note of two social events in Spain. One was the reception given last week by the new Argentine ambassador, who since his arrival, in open defiance of the December resolution of the United Nations, has become the hero of the Falange. At this reception the distinguished delegate of Argentina to the United Nations, Dr. Arce, was present and according to the Madrid press acted as host together with the Ambassador. His presence in Madrid on the eve of the June meeting of the Security Council, where the Spanish problem is expected to come up again, has been interpreted in Spain as an act of collaboration with Franco in sabotaging the action of the Council. The other bit of social news is the visit to Madrid of Señora Eva Duarte de Perón, the first lady of Argentina. Though her visit is being given an almost religious character—Santiago de Compostela and Burgos, two famous Catholic cities, are going to present the former actress with all kinds of sacred relics and images—it has also distinct political nuances. From Spain she will go to see the Pope. The Vatican-Madrid-Buenos Aires axis undoubtedly hopes that the fascization of Latin America will proceed faster under the double sign of the eternal Eve and the eternal Cross.

I have been insisting for weeks that it is not only the British but the Americans too who are helping Franco with money at a moment when the dictator is shooting more Spanish Republicans than ever. Official Washington has denied it. But Sam Pope Brewer, in the *New York Times* of June 1, says that negotiations for large credits from American financial interests "are definitely confirmed," and adds that "the effect in Spain of such credits is political." No foreign credits today can be granted without government authorization.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Speak Up, Consumers!

ARE you, dear Madam, budgeting to replace that winter coat which is showing its age and those blankets which the moths have nibbled? Have you, my dear Sir, a suit that is baggy at the knees and worn at the elbows, and are you hoping to buy another one when prices come down a little? If so, may I suggest that you both give attention to what Congress is doing to interfere with your plans. Apparently hypnotized by the bleating of forty million sheep and their owners, it is legislating to keep wool prices at their present heights. If the measure known as the Robertson bill goes through, the laws of supply and demand will be suspended as far as wool is concerned, and you, the consumers, will pay what the wool men demand. Isn't it time to let Congress know your views?

Perhaps you don't realize what you are already paying in tribute to the wool growers and manufacturers. According to an article in the January issue of *Fortune*, the tariff on imported wool added \$136,000,000 to America's clothing bill in 1946—\$10,000,000 more than the value of all wool produced in the United States that year. And, *Fortune* points out, this was only a beginning. "As wool is marketed, processed, woven into cloth, cut and tailored, then retailed, the original duty cost of 34 cents a pound is compounded with each successive price mark-up. Moreover, for the benefit of United States mills the tariff on raw wool is reinforced by an even higher tariff on woollen fabrics, so that last year the total extra cost—because of wool tariffs—to the citizens of the United States may have topped a billion."

You may not realize, either, that you have also been contributing to the support of the wool growers in your capacity as taxpayers. Since April, 1943, the government has been buying a large part of the American wool clip at above the market price. The Commodity Credit Corporation, the government buying agency, now holds some 420,000,000 pounds which, under present circumstances, could only be sold at a loss of many millions of dollars.

The purpose of the bill sponsored by Senator Robertson of Wyoming—a large sheep rancher himself—is to bail out the CCC and at the same time freeze the price of wool for the next two years at its 1946 peak. Both Senate and House versions of the measure instruct the Secretary of Agriculture to support domestic wool prices at 42 cents a pound "in the grease" and authorize the sale of present stocks at whatever loss is necessary. An amendment added by the House, however, seeks to bring the price of foreign wool up to the same level by instructing the President to impose a special "import fee," additional to the tariff, if he finds imports are reducing the amount of domestic fiber processed. This fee could be whatever amount was required to prevent foreign wools from underselling the domestic product. When the

bill goes to conference, the Senate is expected to agree to this amendment. A lot of its members come from states where there are far more sheep than voters.

The House voted this bill by 151 to 65 on May 23. You may not have noticed the press reports, for they were overshadowed by the story of the slashing cuts made by the Appropriations Committee in the Department of Agriculture's expenditures—cuts which threaten to cripple the soil-conservation, school-lunch, crop-insurance, and other programs. The report of this committee condemned "the paternalistic road along which there are subsidies and grants coupled with more and more direction from Washington." It went on to say: "As we give thought to soil conservation . . . we also have the responsibility of pursuing those policies that will prevent the erosion of that rugged individual character which has made the American farmer the greatest producer of agricultural commodities . . . in the world's history." Having issued these stirring thoughts, some members of the committee straightway voted to give the rugged sheep farmers what is, in effect, a new subsidy.

Your chief hope as consumers now lies in a Presidential veto of the Robertson bill. This may be forthcoming, although Mr. Truman is likely to get conflicting advice on the subject from his official family. The Department of Agriculture has supported the bill, including the import fee provision. The Department of State, on the other hand, is flabbergasted by a measure which makes the United States appear not merely inconsistent but hypocritical to other nations. For on the State Department falls the task of spearheading the *American-inspired* crusade to lower trade barriers and banish economic warfare from the earth.

Since early April an American delegation in Geneva has been engaged in negotiations with seventeen other nations in an effort to obtain worldwide, reciprocal reductions in tariffs. Among other objectives it is seeking a modification of the British Commonwealth's tariff-preference system, which has hindered the sale of American goods in some of their most promising markets. According to reports, the conference was making progress, with Australia in particular showing a more accommodating spirit than had been expected. Then came the stunning news from Washington of a Congressional move to slap a new tariff on a commodity of vital interest to Australia. No wonder the conference came to a jarring halt, forcing Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton to fly home for a last-minute effort to repair the damage.

There are, of course, plenty of unregenerate protectionists in Congress who will be only too happy if Geneva ends in failure. They never did believe in the reciprocal-trade-agreements program, and they want to raise tariffs, not lower them. But I doubt whether you, Madam, and you, Sir, will be so complacent. As consumers you know that high tariffs mean high prices; as producers, particularly if you are engaged in the increasing number of industries vitally affected by world trade, you know that prosperity cannot be won by a retreat to Hawley-Smootism; as citizens you know that a new era of international economic warfare will be fatal to all hopes of lasting peace. But if you want your views to prevail in Washington you must make yourself heard above the bleating of the special interests.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN HIS LATEST BOOK Sinclair Lewis has trained his guns and his gifts on the most deeply interesting as well as the most troublesome issue in the United States, commonly and coldly known as the Negro problem. "Kingsblood Royal" (Random House, \$3) is a tract, an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of the industrial middle-class North at the end of World War II. Its hero is Neil Kingsblood, handsome ex-captain of infantry with red hair and "freckled paws," who has been wounded in action and has come home early, with a limp, to his beautiful wife Vestal and their golden-haired daughter Biddy. He is nicely established in the Second National Bank in Grand Republic, Minnesota, and it is generally agreed that he will some day be president of that institution. Then while humoring his father's whim to prove that they are the true heirs to the British throne (shades of Colonel Sellers), he discovers that his great-great-great grandfather on his mother's side was a full-blooded Negro from Martinique.

Mainly because of this discovery, but also because he is having a few disturbing post-war thoughts, Neil Kingsblood gets interested in the colored people who live in Grand Republic. He falls in love with them, and finally reveals his secret, first to his colored friends and then to his white associates—under the provocation of their smug and scurrilous remarks. Whereupon the best people, and the worst, in the white community go to work. The story ends with a mob on the Kingsblood lawn successfully imposing the unwritten law that colored people are not fit to live in white neighborhoods.

It is extremely unlikely that a young banker in Grand Republic would reveal his secret or go over to the colored world as Kingsblood did. But if he did, it is all too likely, though some reviewers have maintained otherwise, that his white friends and associates would behave as badly as Lewis makes out. The device is arbitrary; the sequence that

flows out of it seemed to me painfully convincing. I grant that his portrait of the white world of Grand Republic could be richer in complexity and texture. But he takes into account not only the "lynchers of the Northern or inoperative variety" but also the weaklings of good-will, and their talk reads like something overheard, not invented. Again, his portrait shows the marks of one of the defects which have made Lewis an artist *manqué* and kept him from being the great or near-great novelist he might have become. For reasons which are probably to be looked for in the combination of a Sinclair Lewis and the country he was born in, he tends to submerge under a protective crust of scorn that becomes hard and dry what are actually ambivalent and profoundly creative feelings of love and hatred for the small-business and country-club world he knows so well. But here the ambivalence shows through often enough to provide the light and heat of reality.

His evocation of the Negro world of Grand Republic is much less successful. The love that Kingsblood develops for his new-found people is too pat, and since these passages are written out of a rational knowledge consciously acquired and imperfectly assimilated rather than out of experience unconsciously and completely absorbed, the glow of reality is missing.

But if Neil Kingsblood's affair with the colored race fails to convince, there can be no doubt of the authenticity and strength of Lewis's feeling about the "Negro problem," of which this affair is an unsuccessful projection, and this feeling sweeps through the reader's mind like a clean wind.

"Kingsblood Royal" is not a good novel, but it is the work, however imperfect, of a genuinely creative talent—and it leaves one with the exhilarated sense of having had an actual and purging experience. It also gives rise to the sad reflection that a writer with such gifts of wit, gusto, and skill should have been capable not only of a tract for the times but of a dozen books for the ages. There ought to be a more durable sanc-

tuary than "Kingsblood Royal" for such flights as his apostrophe to the Little Woman of the Ages, "very pleasant and kind and helpful to the ambitions of her husband and the boys, and many of them were very bad ambitions," who when she speaks says, "I don't know anything about anthropology and ethnology and biology and all that silly junk . . . but I tell you there's a darky family lives right down the alley from us where they keep goats and I know and I'm telling you that the darkies are inferior to us. . . ." All of this she learned "from my father, who was a wonderful man, and if he were alive today, he simply would not stand for all this nonsense"; and she finally announces that she doesn't want to hear "any more such nonsense. . . and now let's have another nice cup of coffee and say nothing more about it."

Or his collation of the American credo about Negroes, which must be read in full. Or his remark that the Union Theological Seminary believes in a Trinity consisting of Father, Son, and Sociology. Or such phrases as the "non-country-club races." Or his scenes in the Colonial Residence of the Young Banker in the Sylvan Park "development" of Grand Republic.

FOR THE department of exploded myths and overturned verities: Some weeks ago Aylmer Vallance reported deep discontent over the price of cigarettes in England. Where there are no smokes, there may be a conflagration. . . . A farmer who was struck and killed by a train in Pennsylvania had a four-leaf clover in his pocket. Which for some reason reminded me of the pedestrian who was all but run over by the bus I was riding in—but survived to walk under a ladder that was standing on the sidewalk.

THOUGHT BY THE WAY: A writer for the *New Masses*, having his own secular religion with its Trinity and Scripture, isn't bothered by the old Bible precepts. Nevertheless, he must spend a lot of time wrestling with the angle.



THE AUTHOR OF
INSIDE EUROPE
INSIDE ASIA
INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

John Gunther

introduces America to
Americans in his most
important book



Here is the whole United States spread out before you by the man whom Raymond Swing has called "the world's foremost political reporter." John Gunther's eagerly awaited book on the U. S. is a giant state-by-state report of trends, issues and personalities.

WILLIAM L. SHIRER says: "A magnificent book . . . Nothing like it has ever been published before . . . There is truth and a savage integrity and an adult approach to our problems that will not only thrill our citizens but drive them to think and take stock."

ELTON FADIMAN says: "By far the best of the *Inside* series . . . If any single book can tell us what it means to be an American citizen, this is it."

776 pages; 12 maps; charts

The June Selection of
The Book-of-the-Month Club

At all bookstores • \$5.00

HARPER & BROTHERS

More Blessed to Give

TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY.

Edited by Mordecai Ezekiel. Harper and Brothers. \$5.50.

WHEN somebody advocates lending, or giving away, billions or dollars all over the world, solid citizens snort at the vagaries of soft-headed liberals. Why don't these foreign ne'er-do-wells learn to feed themselves? A little post-war relief may be all very well, but the longer we continue it, the longer people will be prevented from standing on their own feet. As for equipping them with modern machinery, either they won't be able to repay us or they will emerge as dangerous competitors, perhaps even as menacing war economics. America is already far in the lead in production and ought to stay that way.

These arguments may sound good enough as long as there are scarcities at home and inflation keeps driving prices up. Adding a big foreign demand for American goods by financing their export makes things still harder for the American consumer—as in the case of food in early 1947. But the picture is changing. Some home markets are already flooded. Signs of depression and unemployment are beginning to appear in the skies like southward migrating birds in autumn. There may come a time in the not distant future when American employers and workers will be only too glad to investigate foreign markets. When that time comes, books like this will be eagerly consulted.

Mordecai Ezekiel argues forcefully not only that loan-financed exports would help employment in this country but that they would be good long-run policy. The twenty contributors, each an expert on the region concerning which he writes, demonstrate that there is ample opportunity for really productive investments. Britain needs extensive re-equipment with modern machinery so that its limited labor force can produce the great expansion of exports needed to sustain its population. Devastated Russia could not restore its industries, railroads, mines, and agriculture for many years without importing new equipment. France needs goods desperately, as does Italy.

Less developed countries cannot sustain a decent standard of living so long

as a large proportion of their populations are engaged in agriculture and extractive industries. A survey of this sort, broad and sketchy though it is, leaves one with an overwhelming sense of the need for capital that America must have a large share in providing, if it is to be forthcoming. The alternative is poverty and chaos, revolution and war.

The detailed estimates indicate that in the first post-war decade, \$50 billion would be required for investment in more backward regions alone—Eastern Europe, China, South and Central America, and India. Of this amount between \$30 billion and \$35 billion of goods would have to come from the nations already industrialized. Many of these nations in turn would need heavy imports from the United States. "Contrasted to these needs, the seven or eight billions with which the new International Bank opens its doors is small indeed." Large though the required sums are, they contrast with the \$325 billion spent by the United States on World War II.

Of course we could not go on forever maintaining our population by sending out our "surplus" product, and also sending out the money which foreigners could use to buy it. We should have to buy more from them as well. But the building of new industries and the reequipment of old ones has long been recognized as the foundation of rising standards of living. While it is going on, we might have a breathing space in which we could learn how to consume—without inflation—as much as we can produce.

GEORGE SOULE

A New Concept

WAR STRESS AND NEUROTIC ILLNESS. By Abram Kardiner, M. D., with the Collaboration of Herbert Spiegel, M. D., Paul B. Hoerber, Medical Book Department of Harper and Brothers. \$4.50.

FOR the lay reader the principal value of "War Stress and Neurotic Illness" will be in its clear-cut account of the factors responsible for breakdown, its rich and apposite case material from two world wars, its analysis of symptom formation, and the social effects of the disorder. The present work is a revision of Kardiner's mono-

graph on the traumatic neuroses. For the technical reader its most suggestive and challenging feature will be the author's rejection of the concept of instinct, traditional in psychoanalytic thought, and his replacement of it by an operational construct—the action system—as the key principle of his psychodynamics. The concept of instinct, the author finds, fails to provide a sound basis for understanding the traumatic neurosis, while the new concept has proved itself an aid to diagnosis, to treatment, and to its social implications. The book, which is by no means easy reading, is both provocative and brilliant and cannot fail to be of value to the interested lay or professional reader. The author insists that the greatest obstacle in achieving cures is still, and will continue to be, the lack of skilled workers. He looks with little favor upon piece-meal compensation which creates dependency and complicates and interferes with sound therapy. Treatment, not bed space and compensation, is what is required, and for that reason he urges greater attention to training competent psychiatric personnel.

PHILLIP J. ZLATCHIN

South Africa's Problems

STRUGGLE ON THE VELD. By Roderick Peattie. The Vanguard Press. \$3.50.

THE choice of Dr. Peattie, one of our most distinguished geographers, to head the South African outpost of the Office of War Information was an extremely happy one. For no country on earth offers more varied, interesting, and complicated problems of geography, human and physical, than the Union of South Africa. Dr. Peattie here reviews some of these problems, giving particular attention to relations between the huge, oppressed Bantu majority of the population and the ruling white minority. That is the question that looms menacingly over the future of South Africa, and the other main issues discussed in this book—the Indian immigrants, Anglo-Afrikaner tensions, poor whites, erosion, the lop-sidedness of an economy dominated by gold-mining—are intimately connected with it.

Dr. Peattie's observations on all these

matters prompt the hope that some day he will return to South Africa under his own steam and produce a more extensive and careful study. His present work provides a useful introduction to those unfamiliar with the subject, but it is really little more than a notebook and one, moreover, which would have benefited by more thorough editing.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

JOHN GIELGUD'S "Love for Love" (Royale Theater) is certainly the best of the four productions of that particular play I have ever had an opportunity to see. Unfortunately, however, that does not mean that it is as good as his "The Importance of Being Earnest" or that he has made its delights and its beauties accessible to as large a public. For the Wilde play he discovered a style which tells us exactly in what way we are to take it; for Congreve's even more famous comedy he has not been able to do the same thing with an equal degree of success. Quite possibly no one could succeed completely. Its theatrical conventions are too remote from ours, and, what is more important, its language and its peculiar synthesis of a complex of attitudes are equally remote. Wilde's play seemed even better than I had ever imagined it was. "Love for Love" still yields to the reader certain insights and felicities the full value of which do not come across in production.

This is not because of any obvious defects in the playing of the principal parts. Mr. Gielgud has taken for himself the straight and relatively colorless role of the hero Valentine, probably for the sake of the feigned madness scene in the second act, where he gives a really superb performance as a sort of parody Hamlet. Pamela Brown, who was incomparable as Wilde's Gwendolin, gives considerable substance to the rather sketchily written part of Valentine's beloved, Angelica; Adrienne Allen is almost too attractive for Mrs. Frail; and Jessie Evans is amusingly abandoned as Miss Prue. Robert Fleming's Sailor Ben is excellent, and if he is by no means as funny as Bobby Clark was in the Players' revival, at least his performance does not, as Bobby's did, first demolish and then ex-

"There will be many stirred by the importance of the atom, who have never had much hope of understanding, who will be able to READ this story."

—WATSON DAVIS,
Director, Science Service

THE STRANGE STORY OF THE

QUANTUM

By Banesh Hoffmann

Department of Mathematics,
Queens College, N. Y.

THIS BOOK promises to become the definitive account for the general reader of the growth of the ideas underlying present atomic knowledge. By a novel use of familiar analogies and by a dramatizing of the contributions of the key scientists linked with this development, the author explains how the quantum has revolutionized scientific thought. Achieving unprecedented clarity without sacrificing accuracy, he supplies genuine illumination as to the new quantum concepts of the atom and the electron, matter and energy, causality.

"In my opinion this is a great book in the same class with the popular science classics of Jeans, Eddington and E. T. Bell." —Professor Harris F. MacNeish, Chairman, Department of Mathematics, Brooklyn College.

\$3.00 at your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 EAST 33rd ST. ■ NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

tinguish everything else. But despite these and other good performances, despite also a generally very smooth production, we still do not quite know into what whole the cynicism, the bawdy, the elaborately intellectualized wit, and the few but important touches of sentiment are to combine.

It helps to know something of Restoration society, of Restoration dramatic conventions, and even, also, something about Congreve himself. But the general public can hardly be expected to be students of the manners and customs of that remote epoch, and though I happen to have devoted considerable time to it I must confess that I quite have never been certain that I quite grasped the way in which the play as a whole could be found entirely satisfying aesthetically. The author's great reputation is certainly not undeserved: there are scenes upon which a critic may profitably dilate at length, and Congreve's language, always perfectly under control, can alternate between a rich, almost poetic exuberance which sometimes suggests the Elizabethan and a cold, witty precision which ought to delight a semanticist. But "Love for Love"—though less conspicuously than "The Way of the World"—is, among other things, inescapably a love story also, and the hero, who is first introduced to us at the moment when he is irascibly blaming a whore for not abort-

ing his bastard son, whom he refuses to have anything more to do with, is also romantically faithful to his Angelica in his fashion. What are we to make of that?

Perhaps it will help to remember that "The Importance of Being Earnest" and "Love for Love" were written almost exactly 200 years apart—the one in the sixteen nineties, the other in the eighteen nineties—and that both were, in something more than a merely chronological sense, *fin de siècle*. Wilde's play was written at the end of a sentimental epoch which it burlesques; Congreve's was written at the end of a brutally debauched and cynical epoch which was about to give way, in the theater at least, to a reaction which took the form of a more than Victorian abandonment to maudlin sentimentality. Indeed, there is a theory, supported by some evidence, that Congreve cut short his brief and dazzlingly successful career in disgust at the popularity of Colley Cibber, the inanity of whose plays is both unbelievable in itself and doubly incredible as writing done in Congreve's own time. Congreve's own plays show a certain tentative attempt to suggest that the possibility of one kind of romantic love has survived, and that Valentine recognizes in Angelica something which he has been educated not to believe in but to which he nevertheless responds.

There is significance in the fact that

Congreve himself was reputed to have pursued—perhaps successfully, perhaps not—the feminine star, Ann Bracegirdle, whose personality led playwrights to create for her roles somewhat more romantic than those which had previously prevailed—just as the personality of Nell Gwyn, a generation earlier, had led other playwrights to create the hoydens who had once been so popular. Angelica is but a slight preliminary sketch for Millamant in "The Way of the World," but in the case of both the essential fact is that they are witty creatures trained in smart cynicism but eager for a kind of love in which neither they nor their suitors profess to believe. The problem for both of them, as well as for both of their lovers, is to confess their true feelings without losing that reputation for wit and sophistication which they cannot lose without forfeiting their own self-respect and also the respect of the men who are demanding both romantic love and a worldliness which is all but incompatible with it.

One of the characters in "Love for Love" closes a scene with the now well-known couplet:

Women are like tricks by slight
of hand,
Which, to admire, we should not
understand.

Or, as our idiom has it, "It's fun to be fooled." But Congreve, one gets the impression, was trying, perhaps against his better judgment, to understand them.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE first representative showing anywhere outside Spain of the work Joan Miró has done since 1939 (at Pierre Matisse's through June 7) is an event whose importance to the American art world cannot be overestimated. Miró is the only painter to have emerged since 1925—that is, after Matisse, Picasso, Klee, and Kandinsky—whose art has extended the limits of Western painting in a way at all comparable to theirs. He took up the cubist tradition where Picasso left it and added not only a positive personality but a wider demonstration of what is possible in the use of flat color and the closed silhouette. A Mediterranean like Picasso, Miró adheres similarly to a certain quasi-sculptural conception of the picture as

RESIDENCE ON EARTH
AND OTHER POEMS

Neruda - Communist Senator of Chile - greatest poet now writing
in Spanish - A representative selection of his work - translated by
Angel Flores - with the Spanish texts - A New Directions Book. \$3.50

involving the monolithic definition of shapes, flat surfaces, smooth, compact brushwork, pure, uniform color. He too favors the figure as a motif, hardly ever the landscape, rarely the still life. In his rejection of impressionist and expressionist immediacy as conveyed through open forms and loose brushwork, Miró brings himself closer at the same time to Mondrian; however spontaneous and instinctive his mode of operation, however open his art to instantaneous suggestion, he likewise conceives of the picture as primarily a finished, sealed product and only secondarily as a direct revelation of the artist's temperament.

If Miró were only the quintessential lyric painter he is commonly held to be, his influence would not be such a potentially great factor in the future of painting. That influence, paradoxically, has been felt mainly in this country, since both the younger French and the younger British painters, in their desire to hold on to traditional easel painting, seem reluctant to go beyond Picasso and cubism proper. That desire has been less strong in this country, and in any case the presence and the precepts of Hans Hofmann have been enough to in-

sure that our most alert and ambitious young painters do not overlook the Catalonian artist. And it is indeed impermissible that any new painting which transcends the merely pleasing and advances the frontiers of art historically should fail to deal with Miró any more than with Matisse and Picasso. It is significant that Miró's influence is prominent, along with Picasso's, in the formation of Jackson Pollock's art; and Pollock is the most important new painter since Miró himself.

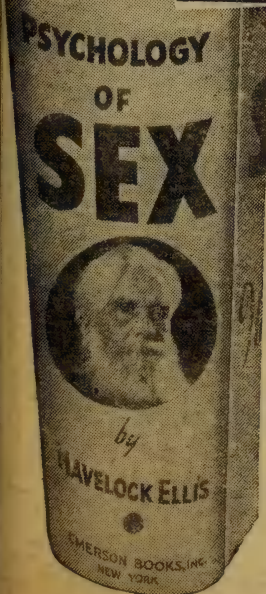
Miró's development is somewhat difficult to trace in a straight line after about 1930, at which time he precipitated the integral elements of his style; upon these he has played powerful variations but without adding anything essentially new—refining and elaborating rather than expanding and assimilating. Nor does the present exhibition, crowded as it is with successful pictures, large and small, in oil, gouache, and pastel, add anything essentially new to what we already know about Miró. As usual, he shows almost infallible tact in setting himself terms that he is able to fill exactly. Again we have his marvelous calligraphy, the inevitable justness with which he handles black, royal blue, deep

red, and yellow, his control of and agreement with the flat surface, again the pastoral, everyday subject, the mocking descendant on the phallus and the pudenda. Here and there an even greater tendency toward linearism is perceptible, but where Miró, as in a picture like the vertical "Woman and Bird in Sun," tries to escape from the arabesque and soften the silhouette into a more "painterly" harmony with the supposed background (really, there are no backgrounds in Miró's pictures), he falls flat with a definiteness of failure such as he shows nowhere else.

Miró remains still in the private hedonism of the first decade after the First World War, his impulse still the personal optimism of the twenties, the optimism that said, "We can at least have fun." In retrospect it is he who seems the painter-laureate of the Left Bank in its heyday, and aptly enough, he was the inspirer of such other celebrators of that same place and period as Calder and Stuart Davis. And perhaps it is because Miró's mood fitted the American one at that time better than any other that Americans have shown greater receptiveness to his art.

Miró's hedonism is responsible for

NOW EVERY ADULT CAN STUDY this BASIC BOOK on SEX



"Best of All"

"The best of all available books on this subject."
—*Hygieia* (Published by the American Medical Association)

"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."
—*Carl Van Doren*

"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."
—*Bertrand Russell*

"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."
—*The Nation*

"Best book yet published on the subject."
—*Mail and Empire*

"The Art and Technique of Love"

"Dr. Ellis deals in detail with the technique of love and the necessity of converting it into an art if marriage is to be saved from many of its present frustrations and failures. Never sensational, but always scientific... a sex classic of our age."
—*The Observer*

"Ellis knows his husbands! He does not hesitate to ascribe to them the 'frigidity' of so many wives."
—*Alexander Goldensweiser*

"Art in love is defended and described."
—*Journal of Public Health Reviews*

"Another chapter, perhaps the best in the book, deals with marriage and with the difficulties which are so often encountered."
—*Journal of Mental Science*

"Packed with most interesting and significant facts concerning sex life."
—*Mental Hygiene*

"The best place to go to get straightened out on the sex business."
—*Cincinnati Inquirer*

"Sexual Difficulty"

"Should prove a certain help to any one perplexed with sexual difficulty."
—*The Churchman* (Oldest Religious Journal in the English-Speaking World)

"Sexual Joy"

"Sexual joy is neither immoral nor unmoral. It is positive good... The finest art can only grow out of knowledge and understanding; hence the need for science of sexual behavior."
—*Marriage Hygiene*

"The section on coitus is full of detail skillfully welded together, nearly every line contains information invaluable to doctors whose advice is asked by nervous young couples."
—*British Journal of Medical Psychology*

"Fearless and Direct"

"His approach is fearless and direct: yet he never gives offense."
—*The Lancet* (Leading English Medical Journal)

READ FREE

Mail this coupon now to your bookseller or to EMERSON BOOKS, Inc. Dept. 812-C, 251 West 19th Street, New York 11, N. Y.
Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' **PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX** in plain wrapper marked "Personal." I will pay \$3.00 and five cents postage on delivery. I MUST BE SATISFIED or I will return book within 5 days and you will refund purchase price. (I am over 21 years old.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only \$3.00 with coupon (thus saving delivery charges. (Some money-back guarantee of course.)

that elegant, tactful exuberance which has led some people to charge him with *ebcité*, frivolity, thinness. It is true that some of his most ambitious pictures seem to lose their substance under long scrutiny and that his invention—whose impulse owes so much to Klee—appears unsuitable at times to the large surfaces it tries to populate. Whimsy does not translate into murals—or does it? And is Miró wrong to be more ambitious than Klee, who was more original? The fact is that we are sometimes puzzled to see so much originality, in both

painters, put to the service of what seem small ideas. But I think we may be wrong, and more so in Miró's case than in Klee's.

The same charge of frivolity and superficiality has been made against Matisse. And just as Matisse's cold hedonism and ruthless exclusion of everything but the concrete, immediate sensation will in the future, once we are away from the present *Zeitgeist*, be better understood as the most profound mood of the first half of the twentieth so, I feel sure, Miró's warmer and

gentler hedonism will take on great seriousness, and we shall see that his like Tiepolo's, is larger than the mo from which it springs. Many of Miró paintings, perhaps even that large o in the Museum of Modern Art's permanent collection with which I myself have fallen so much out of love, will then regain their potency and their creator receive more convinced recognition as one of the masters of Western painting. Time will perhaps do as much for him as it has just done for Pissarro and Sisley.

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
91st ST.
101st ST.
11th St.
12th St. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW

TERESA ROBERT
WRIGHT • MITCHUM
'PURSUED'

Directed by RAUL WALSH

— and —
'That Way with Women'

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

'FORCEFULLY GOOD' APPEALING—PR
Loretta **YOUNG** • Joseph **COTTON**
Ethel **BARRYMORE**

'The FARMER'S DAUGHTER'

— and —
'Devil Thumbs a Ride'
LAWRENCE TIERNEY

BRONX

CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FERDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER

MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

QUEENS

ALLEN, Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kelt's
FLUSHING
Kelt's
RICH HILL
STRAND
For Rockaway
HATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland.
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents

BORN YESTERDAY

The Illustrious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way, CH 4-238
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"OBT LAUGHS."—*Walter Winchell*

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"IRRESISTIBLE HUMOR."—*Barna, Her. Trib.*

HELEN HAYES in

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"MERMAN'S A WOW!"—*Chapman, News*

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Muscle and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HEINBERT & DOROTHEA FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan

IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St., West of B'way

Even. 8:30 Sharp. Mats Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

★★★★★
**Give to Help
Fight CANCER!**
★★★★★

MOTION PICTURE

MAUREEN
O'HARA

JOHN
PAYNE

"MIRACLE ON 34th STREET"

A Twentieth Century-Fox Film

In Person

JERRY LESTER

ART LUND

JAN AUGUST

Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

STAGE PLAY

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Sketches by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York: **NATIONAL THEA.**—with Jane KEAN
Chicago: **BLACKSTONE THEATRE**

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—*Life Magazine*

Buy Your Books Through the NATION

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation*.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THERE is nothing quite like the way the New Friends of Music rave and clamor for approval of their aims and achievements. They crave it equally for aims that are important—like giving good chamber music concerts at low prices, or giving a work without interruptions and disturbances between movements; and for aims that are trivial or questionable—like abolishing encores, flowers, and intermissions—the intermission is a necessary break in programs as long as the New Friends'; and their way of rushing the concerts through, under the pressure of other concerts and meal-times, creates a tense and hectic atmosphere that is undesirable. And they crave it for the achievement of important aims which, actually, they do not carry out.

But what is astonishing is the way the New Friends succeed in getting the approval they want—even from people whom one would expect to know better. It isn't surprising that a Mark Schubart—in a *Times* article on the occasion of the New Friends' tenth season—should accept all the pretensions and claims and, among other things, write that "many artists—including the now famous Budapest Quartet—were introduced to this country by the New Friends"—when in fact the Budapest Quartet had become famous here a few years before the New Friends started. But it is amazing to have Virgil Thomson, on the same occasion, write: "One cannot deny that the aims . . . are excellent and that the New Friends have pursued them assiduously," and then criticize only their concentration on Central European music—the fact that only in their ninth season had they given half the program-time to French music, and that in the tenth they were retreating to Bach, Schubert, and Brahms again.

Thomson's criticism was justified; but I should have expected him to point out that even when the New Friends had presented French music they had not done so in accordance with two of their important aims—which are to give "complete cycles of composers' works" and "as complete a representation of the literature of individual composers as feasible." I should have expected him to point out that instead of a complete representation of an individual composer like Debussy or Fauré they had offered "a comprehensive survey of the

chamber and vocal works of the great French composers, from Rameau to Ravel," to "make evident their musical diversity and cultural unity"—which was as though they had dealt with Central European composers by offering in one season a smattering of a work or two by Bach, Händel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Brahms as "a comprehensive survey . . . to demonstrate their musical diversity and cultural unity" (it has just occurred to me that in all these years the New Friends have not given the songs of Hugo Wolf). Thomson also might have criticized the New Friends' poor judgment in the selection of works for their French survey, pointing out that to choose the Piano Quartet Opus 45 as the single work to represent Fauré's instrumental chamber music was like choosing one of the Opus 59's as the single work to represent Beethoven's quartets, and that instead of still another performance of the frequently played Quartet of Debussy it would have been better to give the rarely heard "Proses lyriques" and "Chansons de Bilitis" or some of the sets of piano pieces.

Now although Thomson didn't make these criticisms I did make them; but there is this curious fact about the New Friends: one can point out, as I have done, how they have not lived up to one of their high-sounding pretensions, and they will again make the same pretension and again not live up to it; one can do that year after year, as I have done, and achieve the same result each time. And so my demonstration of the discrepancy between proclaimed aims and actual performance in the case of French music did not keep the New Friends from repeating, the next year, the claim of "complete representation of the literature of individual composers" and then presenting, during the past season, "the chamber music of the Slavonic masters" in the form of a work or two, often poorly chosen, by Borodin, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Glazunov (imagine performing Glazunov's Quartet Opus 1), Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Shostakovich, Smetana, and Janacek, in addition to a large number by Dvorak. With these there were presented all six quartets of Bartok, all six violin-and-clavier sonatas of Bach, the instrumental chamber music of Schumann, some of his songs, and a couple of his piano works; and the scrambling of all these elements produced some of the ghastliest programs the New Friends have ever contrived.

Thomson also criticized the New

Friends for using so many Central European performing artists, even for the French works; but I should have expected him to point out the discrepancy between the New Friends' claims and their practice here too. Their formulated aim is "to build the programs first and choose the artists on the basis of the programs"—in other words, to engage artists only for their fitness for what they are to play or sing; and they have claimed, in publicity material, to offer the public music, not performers; in one interview a number of years ago there was the pretension, among others, that anyone calling up their office to ask who was playing next Sunday was told that Beethoven was being played. Actually, right at the start, the New Friends offered their first series to the public not with an announcement that Beethoven and Brahms would be played, but with the announcement that these composers would be played by the many performers whom they named—including big-name performers with powerful box-office appeal; and they have done the same thing ever since. It is true that some of these big-name artists—Schnabel, Szigeti, Lehmann, Elisabeth Schumann, the Budapest Quartet—have been suited to the music they were engaged for; but others have been as unsuited as some of the less celebrated—and on occasion insufficiently competent—performers whom the New Friends have indiscriminately and ruthlessly scrambled together with the music.

I should have expected Thomson to point out that the New Friends had Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, a few years ago, played not by Landowska but by Serkin, who had given no reason previously for expecting anything better than the shockingly uncomprehending performance he gave. And in the past season, too, when they had Schumann's piano works played by Arrau or his "Dichterliebe" sung by Singher, it was not because of any fitness that either had demonstrated in previous performances of such music.

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE

announces its Summer Session
JUNE 13 to AUGUST 23

VISIT FACULTY: Erich Kahler, Princeton; Beaumont Newhall, Museum of Modern Art; Ilya Bolotowsky, New York; Erwin Bodky, Cambridge; Frank Rice, Charleston; Carol Brice, New York; Charles Bell, Princeton; Harold Sproul, Columbia University; Carl Clement, University of California.

In addition regular faculty in music, the arts, science, and the humanities will be in residence.

Write Registrar,

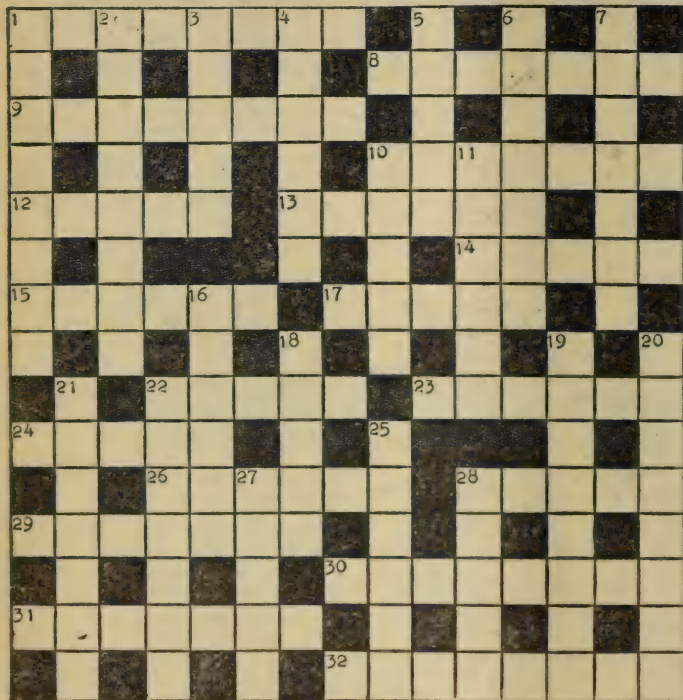
BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE

Black Mountain, North Carolina



Crossword Puzzle No. 215

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Look, a ham! Where?
- 8 A tank, but if a ship, not a tanker
- 9 Uprightness should distinguish people of this
- 10 Children are the ----- that hold a mother to life, said Sophocles
- 12 "What! -----, and so bold, O earth?" (Shelley, on learning of the death of Napoleon)
- 13 Get together
- 14 Not Robin Hood, except to Marian's family
- 15 Not a Simple Simon—the villain!
- 17 They produce bores
- 22 A seer, but not exactly of the crystal
- 23 "Is there a parson whom bemused in beer, A maudlin poetess, a rhyming peer, A clerk foredoomed his father's soul to cross, Who pens a ----- when he should engross?"
- 24 Junior, but may be for the senior service
- 26 Reclined at ease
- 28 Moral
- 29 Fled back surrounded by bees in India
- 30 He is keen on scent
- 31 "All hands on deck, your feet as well, the Captain loudly roared; 'Go, climb the ----- quick, and throw the maindeck overboard!'"
- 32 The continent "down under"

DOWN

- 1 This race is not always to the swift
- 2 They go to the dogs

- 3 Podge's senior partner
- 4 Channel in Manchester
- 5 Make of torch, perhaps
- 6 English author, wrote *The Garden of Allah*, etc.
- 7 One does not turn a deaf ear to this, though perhaps one should
- 10 As much as you please (2 & 3)
- 11 The lawyer's customer
- 16 A person of note, on occasion
- 18 Worn by our ancestors in the jungle, and by ourselves in polite society
- 19 Where wrestlers really get down to it (2, 3, 3)
- 20 A patron of letters
- 21 Ale seems to go to the head of this French girl
- 22 French medley
- 25 Settle satisfactorily
- 27 Inclines
- 28 Additional

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 214

ACROSS:—1 SADDLER; 5 RED HAIR; 9 TRACE; 10 CLASSROOM; 11 REOPENING; 12 IBSEN; 13 EFFECTS; 15 RELEASE; 17 BAY-TREE; 19 WORSTED; 21 LATIN; 23 HORSESHOE; 25 EVENTUATE; 26 BLOKE; 27 EARLDOM; 28 SAWYERS.

DOWN:—1 SET FREE; 2 DRAGONFLY; 3 LIDGE; 4 ROCKIES; 5 REALGAR; 6 DISTILLER; 7 ATOMS; 8 ROMANCE; 14 CORONATED; 16 AITCHBONE; 17 BELIEVE; 18 EPHRAIM; 19 WORKERS; 20 DEEPENS; 22 THEIR; 24 ELBOW.

Letters to the Editors

Common Sense for Greece

Dear Sirs: The natural leaders of our people are divided and appear to be in a frenzy of fear and disillusionment because of the inexplicable course of Russia and the Communists. Many liberals are taking a course which can lead only to a new version of the anti-Comintern pact. The implications of their position grow ominous. They are now allied with those who are demanding that Wallace be prosecuted for stating views which reflect those of two-thirds of the American people—as shown by the latest Gallup polls.

The time calls for a simple, clear program which decent, peace-loving Americans can accept. It also calls for a program which President Truman and his advisers can push. If Franklin D. Roosevelt were alive, he would probably announce some such program as the following:

First, the United States cannot undertake to establish democracy in a nation where a king rules surrounded by monarchists and plutocrats. Help must be conditioned on withdrawal or collapse of these forces.

Second, order and peace must be restored within Greece. As matters now stand, our army officers will do nothing except arm the monarchists and assorted reactionaries. This will inevitably enrage and frustrate the Greek people, who have been revolting for twenty years against these forces, despite hunger, privation, and war. We must arm only Greek republicans and democrats. This requires that Americans or U. N. representatives know something about political philosophy.

Third, we must rebuild the Greek economy. We must do this in a way which the American people will understand, and which is within the framework of our own system. We must not make a lot of Greek plutocrats into despotic millionaires in the process.

Franklin D. Roosevelt would rebuild the Greek economy in the same way he rebuilt our own: (a) Provide for electric power, which is basic, by a Greek TVA owned by the Greek people. (b) Reestablish transportation by first paying off any private individual who claims ownership of the dilapidated Greek railways. Rebuild these railways in the name of the Greek people, to be owned as our own post-office system is owned. (c) Establish a Greek National

ank similar to our own Federal Reserve System or the present Bank of England. (d) Provide for rehabilitation of private productive enterprises through an RFC. Provide for the farm economy through a Farm Credit Administration based on cooperative loan associations, together with a Farm Security Administration.

This program would make sense to the American people. It would make sense and give tremendous encouragement to democrats everywhere. It would be the support of all middle-of-the-road nations, such as Britain, the dominions, the Scandinavians, France, Central and South America.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Montgomery, Ala., May 17

Spanish Intellectuals Appeal

Dear Sirs: The Union of Spanish Intellectuals was founded shortly after the liberation of Paris. Its members include writers, scientists, technicians, professors, and artists, all Spanish refugees who have been in France since 1939. Its aim is to acquaint the public with Spanish culture. As one of our projects we are publishing a monthly bulletin containing original works by members of the association on literary, artistic, and scientific subjects.

However, despite our own enthusiasm and the interest of intellectual circles in France and other countries of Europe, the minimum base necessary to make possible this work is lacking and has forced us to publish only intermittently.

We hope that in view of our difficulties your readers may be able to do something to help us financially so that we may continue our work. Our address is 36 Rue d'Assas, Paris 6.

JOSÉ QUIROGA PLA,

President

Paris, May 25

In the Ring, but Angry

Dear Sirs: On April 8 I announced through the *Tax Journal* my candidacy for Vice-President on either ticket. On April 10 I wired Gael Sullivan, challenging him, or his designee, to a series of debates similar to, or rather reminiscent of, the Lincoln-Douglas debates. On April 12 I telegraphed Senator Pepper, issuing a like challenge. . . . I have received no response to date, which I consider peculiar, to say the least. . . .

DON B. HATUAKER

Jacksonville, Fla., May 17

Digging Out the Truth

Dear Sirs: No great Victorian novelist has suffered more than George Eliot from the good intentions of biographers. Her husband, J. W. Cross, admits in his Preface to "George Eliot's Life as Related in her Letters and Journals" (1885) that "no single letter is printed entire from the beginning to the end. . . . Each letter has been pruned of everything that seemed to me irrelevant to my purpose—of everything that I thought my wife would have wished to be omitted." . . . His misguided piety has done more than anything to create a false image of George Eliot as melancholy, heavy-handed, humorless.

Fortunately, the manuscripts of her letters survive to provide a truer portrait. About 1,000 of them are in the Library of Yale University, where they are being prepared for publication by Dr. Gordon S. Haight.

In the case of so prolific a letter writer an edition can only approach completeness if the owners of small collections or of single letters are willing to have them included in the Yale Edition, where their cooperation will be duly acknowledged. The most trifling autograph sometimes supplies just the link needed to connect a whole series of letters of great importance to biographers. All correspondence should be addressed to Professor Gordon S. Haight, 464 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Haven, May 20

Correction

Through a printer's error the salary of the top executive of the private power companies' association was given as \$650,000 in A. G. Mezerik's article last week. It should have been \$65,000.

Next Week in *The Nation's*
SUMMER BOOK ISSUE

Willa Cather

by Morton Dauwen Zabel

AAA—Second Round

by Anthony Bower

Poems

by W. H. Auden and Randall Jarrell

Reviews by R. P. Blackmur, Theodore

Spencer, Diana Trilling, Andres

Iduarte, Robert Bendiner, William

Empson, and others.

Music by B. H. Haggin

Films by James Agee

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 10th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-4917

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

LANGUAGES

SPANISH, RUSSIAN, POLISH, FRENCH, HEBREW, NORWEGIAN, DUTCH, SWEDISH, JAPANESE, 21 other phonograph language courses. ALL MAKES, sold, bought, rented. Free catalogue. A. A. Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. 17, MURRAY Hill 3-1093.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA, Free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

TECHNOCRACY

THE TREND TOWARD AMERICAN FASCISM Starting in June a series of documented articles on this subject will appear in our magazine. Send 25c for June issue or \$2.50 for year's subscription to TECHNOCRACY DIGEST, 1166 W. Georgia, Vancouver, Canada.

SITUATION WANTED

EX-MARINE CORPS EDITOR, 28, married, industrious, desires permanent challenging position. Formerly reporter, publicity writer, field representative, office supervisor. Three years college, unusually high recommendations. Any locality, but prefer West Coast. Box 1716, c/o The Nation.

MISCELLANEOUS

CORRESPONDENT WANTED: Would liberal-minded American with broad cultural interests, care to correspond and exchange views with Englishman, on current events in their respective countries. Box 1717, c/o The Nation.

WANTED: INTELLIGENT COUPLE to help drive to Los Angeles, share expenses, stop at places of interest; trip to last about three weeks. Phone Charles Greenhauff, Kingsbridge 3-4693.

YOUNG GIRL, 25, teacher, looking for interesting, enthusiastic, young female company for 3-week jaunt to California beginning July 18. Box 1715, c/o The Nation.

SAY YOU SAW IT ADVERTISED
IN THE NATION!

RESORTS

North Shore Lodge

Overlooking Long Island Sound at Mt. Sinai, L. I.
65 miles from New York City

A Young People's Resort

THRILL to the romance of a vacation on an exclusive 50-acre Long Island estate! A country setting for seashore pleasures. All sports activities including tennis, archery, golf, horseback riding, fishing, sailing and safe water bathing. Finest horsefarms and cuisine. Dancing and entertainment. Moderate rates. Under personal supervision of Elizabeth Chandler.

OPENS JUNE 12th • RESERVE NOW!

N. Y. C. Office: 10 Bleeker St., Phone ALconquin 4-9086

HUNNLS LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK

90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central

Charming lake and countryside, rustic surroundings. Bathing, boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful walks. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for vacations and weekends.

Adults • Pre-season rate \$45.00
RESERVE EARLY

GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2931

Derel Hollow House

WINGDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691

In Berkshire foothills, 75 miles from N. Y. City on N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path, delightful hiking country. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Tennis, volley-ball, badminton, boating, swimming and fishing. Complete informality. Adults.

SPECIAL JUNE RATES

RAIZEL COHEN DAVID SACKS

world famous **lake placid**

year 'round wonderland
invites you to the luxurious new

Hotel Marcy

Send for booklet No. 8, "The Lake Placid Story"

Pine Crest In the Berkshires

WEST CORNWALL, CONN.

on the beautiful Housatonic River

A delightful Adult Resort

Main House and Delana Bungalows for 2, Doublets, Swimming, One Tennis, Bicycling, Music, Recordings and dancing.

DIANA & ABE BERMAN
Phone—West Cornwall 88-12

MORE THAN A VACATION—

World Fellowship, INC. CONWAY, N. H.

Forest-Farm-Lake-And-Mountain Paradise

274 acres, 8 buildings. Swimming, Rowing, Fishing, Hiking, Mountain Climbing, Excursions, Games, Auto Conferences (between June 30th and Sept. 5th), and the intellectual stimulation of association with our guests from all parts of the world. \$24 or \$31 weekly. \$4.50 or \$5.50 daily. Circulars free.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

WALTTEL HOUSE ON FRANKEL FARM

MT. BETHEL, PA.

VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm.

Rates: — Adults \$100 Week — Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

CAMP ELLIOTT NEWTON New Jersey

1,600 foot elevation — 11 miles from N. Y.

Large private lake & pool, boating, fishing, horseback riding, gardening, farm animals, arts, crafts, shop and music. Co-ed, age 5-18.

MRS. HELEN G. ELLIOTT
76-36 131st St., Forest Hills, N. Y.
BO 8-2263 or GR 7-0997

ALL ABOARD

For our 40-acre private lake where you swim in cool, clear waters, fish for pickerel or just relax in one of our grand canoe boats and drift aimlessly with the breeze.

SOUTH WIND

P. O. Box 181 Woodbourne, N. Y.
Six sports—four fast play tennis courts
RATES: \$37.50—\$42.50

Green Acres

LODGE

On the Hudson River

A Picturesque Estate • • • Library
Diversified Music and Book
Swimming Pool • Golf

An Adult Resort 45 miles from N.Y.C.
TEL. HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful... swimming and boating on
...our private lake
Different... charming colonial atmosphere
Delicious... our unexcelled cuisine
Diversing... recordings for listening
...and dancing

53 miles from NYC—Adults Only

SAUGERTIES, NEW YORK

Tel. 590 J.

Unusually picturesque countryside. Pine woods. Finest food. Modern accommodations. Inmate and rental. Tennis, swimming, bicycling, horseback, and other sports.

\$40 per week for June,
\$45 and \$50 thereafter

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT

Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, horseback, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.

From June 14 to 28 rate \$45 weekly
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906

Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester. Completely remodelled, all conveniences, new furnishings. Beautifully maintained, all sports, boating.

Rates \$10 weekly; \$10 daily. American Plan.
American-Jewish Cuisine

N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-3243

LAKEVIEW

On Granite Lake... 1500 feet elevation

An ideal spot for adults who want to rest and enjoy water sports, hiking and fishing. Hotel cottages with private baths and Simmons beds. Excellent food, modern conveniences and attractive recreation room. Open from June 28th through September.

Rates from \$45.00 weekly, American plan.
Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire

RESORTS

★ STAR LAKE CAMP

In the Glorious Adirondacks

Between Thousand Islands and Ausable Chasm. A marvelous pleasure playground, 1,800 feet of elevation and right on the lake with plenty of gorgeous woodlands. Bungalows and lodges with hot and cold running water and modern conveniences. Tennis Courts, Canoeing, Swimming, Handball, Baseball, Ping Pong, Fishing, Saddle Horses, Golf, Cards, Dancing, etc. Interesting one-day trips arranged. Delicious wholesome meals. Dietary Laws. Rates: \$45, \$50, \$65 per person.

NOW OPEN

Send for Booklet — New York Office
725 Broadway Room 906 CO 7-2685
Sundays, Evenings, Holidays — PR 4-1390

The
LITTLE CLUB

ON SCHOON LAKE
In the Adirondacks
NEW YORK

SPECIAL JUNE RATES

Early Reservations Suggested
Private beach, golf, excellent fishing, outdoor activities, fine food.

T. H. FLAL

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Mott estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Tennis courts, handball, badminton, swimming pool, sun bather. Horseback riding. Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.

For reservations or for brochure or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

CAMP CAMYSOUN

This Adult Camp

Sheltered cove near picturesque Gloucester. Salt water swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premier. Dancing, tennis, trips and sports.

Gloucester, Mass.
Abram Resnick
Director

Write for booklet & rates **OPENS JUNE 17th**

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820

A MODERN RESORT OF DISTINCTION

Marriott lake. All water sports and outdoor activities. Interesting indoor program. Excellent cuisine. New Low Rates.

Relax, Rejoice with Spring at

Lakecrest

On Munn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.

38 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of Dutchess County. Excellent accommodations. Cordial hospitality. Records, Library. All seasonal sports. Via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. Open all year.

WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATION

EVA BERG Director Stanfordville 2326

Enjoy a Wonderful Vacation at

COLD BROOK HOUSE

"On the banks of Esopus Creek"

A small resort with a friendly atmosphere in beautiful surroundings. Tennis and other sports. Adults only.

Rate \$35 per week—10% discount to July 1

COLD BROOK HOUSE, Boileville, N. Y. Shokan 2648

Tel. Su days only bet. 9-12 a.m., Mansfield 6-3065

Homestead Inn

and Annex

NEW MILFORD, CONN.

Recommended by DUNCAN HINES
Recommended by GOURMET
\$6 to \$8 per day
European Plan

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 14, 1947

NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

THE REPORT OF THE COMPTON COMMISSION on Universal Training has brought this country face to face with the realities of atomic war. According to the report, the first day's attack might well obliterate our twelve major cities, eliminate most of our productive facilities, and throw our transportation and communications systems into chaos. Possibilities of intercepting this initial attack were considered to be slight. The only hope of emerging "victorious" rested upon a national population trained to meet the emergency and rapidly to mount a counter-offensive. It may be useful to project the lines of present political conflict into the future and face the logic of cataclysmic war to which they point. Certainly, we can take little comfort from the labors of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission which this week arrived at a new stalemate. It is clearly suicidal to abandon such efforts toward international agreement on a control system. But time is running out, as David Lilienthal's speech to the commission last week indicated. Stressing once more the necessity of an Atomic Development Authority with super-sovereign powers, Lilienthal emphasized that the United States would continue research in the field of atomic energy and keep up the manufacture of bombs until agreement was reached. His remarks underline the fact that the alternative to a United Nations system of security are competing national-security systems based on the assumption that war will come.

★

BUT ARE WE DOING ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE to make such a war unlikely? Wars are not deliberately chosen by nations. They grow out of deteriorating political and economic situations and out of the fears, suspicions, and human misery these situations breed. The structure of the United Nations is evidence of this truth. Many of its functions are related to the rebuilding of the world economy. But the U. N.'s various agencies are powerless unless they have the full support of the one power of paramount economic strength and resources. The efforts of the United States so far, magnanimous in the emergency activities of UNRRA, have been faltering and equivocal in the job of reconstruction. The outside world is going bankrupt, its dollar stocks are being rapidly exhausted, its imports are threatened with blockade, political chaos is succeeding economic chaos.

Quite apart from the imminent threat to our own economy of a bankrupt world, Europe and Asia in prolonged economic misery will inevitably become the breeding ground for that war the Compton commission asks us to prepare for. If we are going to come to our senses we had better come quickly—and that goes for our President, our State Department, and, most of all, our Congress. Perhaps Secretary Marshall's Harvard address last week indicates a broader wisdom in high places than has previously been demonstrated. The Secretary said: "It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." Whatever we do, it should be done soon and on a scale vastly larger than any suggested by our previous efforts.

★

"SPEAK LOUDLY AND STAND YOUR STICK IN the corner" might be Mr. Truman's rewording of the famous motto of the redoubtable T. R. In any case, his denunciation of the government upset in Hungary as a "terrific outrage" was followed by a temperately worded State Department note to the Russian commander in Budapest protesting against Soviet intervention and requesting a three-power investigation of the crisis. Various proposals that strong steps be taken to deal with the matter have mostly subsided; not because the Administration is reconciled to the ousting of Premier Nagy or the concentration of Communist control that has followed, but because it is quite clear that the United States is not in a position to apply effective penalties either to Russia or to Hungary. This being the case, it is too bad that Mr. Truman—and, more cautiously, Senator Vandenberg—should have made such loud and threatening noises.

★

THE STORY BEHIND THE HUNGARIAN UPSET is still obscure. The Communists and Socialists insist that an anti-government plot existed and that the ex-Premier was a party to it. Mr. Nagy denies the second charge, inquiring why he should conspire against his own government. On this point one must suspend judgment. Only full publication of the facts, which the Russians say they obtained from Bela Kovacs, arrested secretary of the Smallholders' Party, and then turned over to the Hun-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	699
Arm Thine Enemy	701
Divided India	702

ARTICLES

Moscow Letter by Alexander Werth	703
Behind India's Crisis by Shiva Rao	704
The Battle of A. V. C. by Daniel James	706
Is Life Insurance Healthy? by Martin Gumpert	708
Bright Spot in the West by Carey McWilliams	709
"Report on Spain" by Del Vayo	711
Everybody's Business by Keith Hutchison	712

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Willa Cather by Morton Dauwen Zabel	713
A Field Hospital A Poem by Randall Jarrell	714
Report on America by Robert Bendiner	716
The Fall of Rome A Poem by W. H. Auden	716
A Good Reminder by R. P. Blackmur	718
If and When by Benjamin Harrow	719
Science as Myth by Wylie Sypher	720
Books in Brief	721
Fiction in Review by Diana Trilling	722
Films by James Agee	723
Records by B. H. Haggin	725

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1875, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

garian government, will clear the matter up. But independent observers are convinced that the reactionary wing of the Smallholders—a catch-all party in which many dispossessed and disgruntled aristocrats have found refuge—has been actively plotting to undo the revolutionary changes instituted by the government. Leftists also charge that this faction is in constant touch with agents of the Western powers. But aside from conspiracies, many sharp and open divisions of policy separate the left political groups from those on the right, even within the government. One of the factors in the recent coup was the bitter dispute between the Smallholders and the two working-class parties over the nationalization of Hungary's leading banks, which today dominate the financial life of the country. Premier Nagy, who opposed nationalization, was outmaneuvered during his absence in Switzerland when the Hungarian Economic Council appointed controllers for the thirteen major banks. According to Tibor Mende, financial editor of the European edition of the New York Herald Tribune, this move, which put the banks directly under supervision of the Ministry of Finance, must have been regarded by Mr. Nagy "as a first step . . . toward nationalization. His forced resignation and the appointment of Mr. Dinnyes came close on the heels of this economic coup

★

FOR THE UNENVIABLY DIFFICULT AND delicate job of administering the aid-to-Greece program President Truman has at least chosen a better candidate than we feared he might. If Dwight P. Griswold is no as well informed on the Balkans as Mark Ethridge or a incontestably liberal as Robert M. La Follette, both prominently mentioned for the post, neither is he an other general or a representative of big business, like William H. Harrison, Paul Hoffman, and Philip Reed who were likewise under consideration. The former governor of Nebraska, a Willkie Republican, was defeated for the Senatorial nomination last year by the violently isolationist Hugh Butler, whose opposition is in itself something of a recommendation. Although the enthusiasm on Capitol Hill is considerably less than hysterical, there is little reason to doubt that the appointment will be confirmed by the Senate. The coolness has more to do with domestic than international politics. Some Democrats resent the appointment of a Republican; some Republicans resent the choice of an avowed supporter of Stassen for President; and other Republicans, we suspect, are not too keen at the prospect of sharing party responsibility for what is at best a risky undertaking. Mr. Griswold's little acceptance speech was sensible and moderate. "Communism," he said, "seems to thrive on distress." The program would be directed toward eliminating that distress. "The major matter" is not the military aspect of the enterprise, but rather the necessity of putting Greece "back on her feet economically." That

will require a stiff backbone, a keen mind, and a hide tough enough to take the arrows of jittery Congressmen as well as outraged Greek royalists.

✱

THE UNITED NATIONS LAST WEEK CANCELED its agreement to rent 912 apartments for its employees in housing projects of the Metropolitan and New York Life Insurance companies. It is hard to see how a world organization dedicated to promote "the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race" could have done otherwise, for the insurance companies wanted to pass on each applicant individually. The attitude of the companies in excluding Negroes from their projects has long been demonstrated. In Metropolitan's tax-exempt Stuyvesant Town there will be no Negroes, for "Negroes and whites don't mix," says its board chairman. "A hundred years from now, maybe they will." The United Nations refuses to wait a hundred years. It insisted upon leasing the dwelling units in bulk so as to forestall another Stuyvesant Town ghetto. The issue is more serious than appears on the surface. No housing project can be built today without the help of New York's big lending institutions. Without housing for its employees, U. N. cannot function. Every news item pointing up racial discrimination here is a big story abroad. Three steps should now be taken: (1) The insurance companies are supervised by Governor Dewey's insurance superintendent. A complete investigation should be made and the facts aired without delay. (2) The United States District Attorney should investigate and bring indictments if warranted. A government proceeding is now pending against lending institutions in the New York area for racial-discrimination practices in mortgage lending. (3) Mayor O'Dwyer should have the New York City Housing Authority provide the housing needed without delay. The machinery is available, and the Authority could build the housing in less than a year.

Arm Thine Enemy

AS A diplomat, Spruille Braden had strange ideas. Just because Argentine President Juan Domingo Perón had all but made a career of *yanqui*-baiting, Braden assumed that he was hostile to the United States. Because Perón had set up a systematic and thorough-going tyranny, replete with violence and the *Führerprinzip*, Braden regarded him as an enemy of democracy. Because Argentina, militarized and rich, had blatantly intimidated Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, Braden considered it aggressive. And on the basis of these hasty conclusions he thought it ill-advised to sign a defense pact with the Argentines and perhaps even dangerous to send them arms.

In contrast to this dreamy approach, Ambassador Messersmith, with strong backing in the War Department

and in the Senate, stood for stern realism. Perón had said that he was getting rid of the Nazis who had helped boost him to power, though, of course, his secret police could not be expected to round up all of them. Why not take his word, just as Chamberlain took Hitler's word at Munich and at Godesberg? And if Perón had corrupted the courts of Argentina, hamstrung its democratic newspapers, and exiled its best teachers—all in violation of international pledges—surely that was not our affair. As Sumner Welles repeatedly pointed out, the days of Yankee intervention were over. Good neighborliness required us not merely to ignore these human foibles of the Peronistas but to invite them to share with us in the defense of the hemisphere.

Now Mr. Braden is on his way out, his resignation "reluctantly" accepted by the President. Friendship between the United States and Argentina has been restored, and the way is being smoothed for calling the long-delayed Rio conference. Messersmith, too, is on his way home, his mission accomplished. Once again realism has triumphed.

In view of this diplomatic success, the air is remarkably clouded with doubt. The *New York Times* trusts that "the course now chosen will restore that hemisphere unity which has been strained by the long impasse," but its trust is not so great as to overcome its fear that "the Perón regime . . . is still potentially a seed-bed of fascism on this continent." The *Washington Post* says we have merely "patched up" our quarrel with a country that "had become a haven for fascist activity in this hemisphere." And the *New York Herald Tribune*, conceding the development as "the only practicable solution for an impossible situation," admits that it means giving arms to "this unreliable and dangerously dynamic experiment in New World fascist totalitarianism."

In this murky atmosphere one must suppose that Secretary of State Marshall sees some compensating gain not quite visible to the rest of us. As far as we know, the immediate consequences of the great rapprochement will be these: the nations of the hemisphere will meet at Rio de Janeiro some time this summer and sign a joint defense agreement, whereupon the United States, Congress permitting, will sell surplus and new war materials to the signatories in a planned effort to standardize weapons. Undoubtedly such standardization has technical merits, and for us it would offer certain advantages beyond the technical. Not only would it freeze out European arms manufacturers—always an appealing argument—but it would make the United States preeminent in Latin American military circles. It would be we who would replace parts, train men in the use of weapons, and presumably spread our influence where that of Germany was once so dominant.

But these advantages seem to us more theoretical than real. In the first place, a large number of our weapons

would go to wealthy Argentina, which can readily dispense with our training, and will gladly dispense with our influence. Second, an increasingly powerful and expansionist Argentina will stimulate an arms race throughout Latin America, most of which is even now too impoverished to afford its people a minimum standard of decency in food, shelter, and education. And, finally, the program will greatly strengthen the military—no small consideration on a continent where politicians jockey for garrisons the way ours do for convention delegates. All in all, a high price to pay for questionable protection against an unlikely invader taking the least probable route of invasion.

Divided India

NO ONE will pretend that the judgment of Solomon which the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, has rendered on behalf of the British government is a perfect solution of the Indian problem. The unity of India is much more than a nationalist slogan. For a long period the country has been ruled and its economy developed on a centralized basis even though its constitution allowed for a considerable measure of local autonomy. Now it is to be divided into two and perhaps more sovereignties. The eggs are to be unscrambled, and the process is likely to prove costly to the Indian people.

Nevertheless, as Lord Mountbatten said in his radio address on June 3, unification could not be secured if it involved the coercion of minorities, and the "only alternative to coercion is partition." The Cabinet Mission plan for a centralized government with authority limited to defense, foreign affairs, and communications, leaving the provinces to be grouped according to their communal make-up and given very broad powers, was grudgingly accepted by both the Congress Party and the Moslem League. It passed into political limbo when the Moslems later returned to their demand for "full Pakistan," and savage and continued rioting broke out almost everywhere that Moslems and Hindus were in close contact.

It was this murderous strife which brought the mainly Hindu Congress to the reluctant conclusion that without partition the country would be plunged into a devastating civil war. "The united India we labored for," said Nehru in his indorsement of the Mountbatten proposals on June 3, "was not one of compulsion and coercion but a free and willing association of free people."

The surprise element in the Mountbatten plan was its announcement of Dominion status for both Indias as soon as the necessary legislation can be passed by the British Parliament. This promises almost immediate de facto independence, for although many Americans do not realize it, Dominion status confers full sovereignty, including the right of secession from the British Commonwealth. The new Indias, when they write their con-

stitutions, can declare themselves independent republics if they wish, severing every connection with the British crown. Moreover, as Lord Mountbatten was at pains to make clear, there are no strings attached. There are to be no British bases in India and apparently no claim for special economic privileges. Britain, in fact, is retiring from India on terms that contrast very favorably with our self-advertised "generosity" to the Philippines.

While a basis for the peaceful transfer of power in India has been achieved, let no one think all will be smooth sailing from now on. The problems that remain to be solved are formidable and likely to cause plenty of friction. Delineation of the boundaries between Pakistan and Hindustan, for instance, will surely prove an arduous task, requiring prolonged bargaining. Then there is the question of communications. India is knitted together by a great network of railroads designed partly to satisfy defense requirements and partly to promote economic unification. To break up this network into two national systems would be absurd.

How are commercial relations between the two Indias to be conducted? The introduction of tariff barriers in what has been a great free-trade area would be a most retrograde step, costly to both states. Pakistan is likely to be a surplus food area; Hindustan will have most of India's industrial and mineral resources. The basis for a continued free exchange of goods remains. Yet there is a distinct danger that the Moslem area will follow a policy of economic nationalism and seek to acquire industrial strength by protective measures.

Another complication is provided by the princely states, large and small, with their more than 90,000,000 inhabitants. The British government has made it clear that "paramountcy" relations between the British crown and these states will lapse and that their rulers must come to terms on their own with the new Indias. They may try to establish complete independence but they cannot hope to attach themselves directly to the British Commonwealth. Most of the smaller states will probably agree to adhere to whichever of the two Indias surrounds them. But there are possibilities of trouble with such large states as Kashmir and Hyderabad. The former, with a mainly Moslem population but a Hindu ruling class, is contiguous with the western Moslem area. The latter, with a Hindu population and a Moslem ruler, lies in the heart of southern Hindustan. Any attempt by these two states to establish themselves as independent nations would be bitterly resisted.

We have touched here on only a few of the problems that face divided India. They are not insoluble provided that the two Indias tackle them in a spirit of genuine cooperation. Without that cooperation the future will be a stormy one; with it there is hope that India, free at last to develop along its own lines, will come to play an outstanding role in Asia and the world.

Letter from Moscow

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, June 8

I HAVE not written to *The Nation* for some weeks because the situation here has continued rather fluid, with nothing much, as the phrase goes, to get one's teeth into. Now there are two things: Hungary and the aftermath of the Margate conference.

President Truman has just said that the present Hungarian situation is an "outrage" and that "the United States does not intend to stand idly by in the matter." Of course not. But why, it is asked here, before a full investigation of the facts, suggest that this is a red plot? If you question the British about it, they say, "Whatever one thinks of Russian methods of dealing with a situation of this kind, it is pretty certain there was a plot led by Bela Kovacs and involving several other leaders of the Smallholders' Party. The State Department jumped in last month with its fierce protest about Kovacs's arrest, and we as usual followed rather meekly; but we did not have a strong case. Since there was undoubtedly a plot, the Russians have a good *prima facie* case. Before jumping in with all fours we ought to see what the rights and wrongs are or we may look pretty silly when all the facts are known."

There is an uncomfortable feeling, however, among many diplomats here that "fact-finding" may not be the real problem any more. Isn't American "toughness" being exercised in places closer and closer to Russia's borders? Wherever there is opposition to the Russians or to pro-Russian governments, are not its leaders always confident of American support—whether their case is otherwise good or bad—and are they not always getting such support? Small wonder the Vienna commission set up by the Moscow conference is getting nowhere; the question of German assets is not really the key problem at all. One well-known Austrian here remarked the other day: "Nothing is simpler than the problem of German assets. Under the Russian formula the Russians are entitled to 180 plants, under the American formula to 100 plants. If they were willing to split the difference, the matter could be settled in five minutes. But that is no longer the real problem, and the coming clash over Hungary proves it conclusively."

The real danger now is the stimulation of a great political hullabaloo in Hungary which will inevitably cause a grave economic upset at the very time of year when bringing in the harvest is the country's first task. Hungary's harvest is particularly important, for Rumania, through an extraordinary run of bad luck, is having its third drought year in succession. Already half of its

maize crop is reported ruined, and its livestock was slaughtered last winter on a disastrous scale.

I wrote last time about developments in the first few weeks after the Moscow conference. All the guns of the Soviet press, radio, theater, and screen were turned against America, while Britain was left in peace, and there were even numerous hints of Russia's desire for a rapprochement with it. At a public lecture in Moscow a well-known speaker talked on "The British Empire Today" and indicated that it was a factor of stability in the world and that not the Soviet Union but the United States was threatening its integrity. Who was the great enemy of imperial preference? America. Who was competing with British oil interests in the Middle East? America. Harold Wilson's trade mission was well received in Moscow. Eventual prospects seemed bright for large-scale British trade with a non-dollar area like the Soviet Union.

A few days before Margate, when Bevin made his Commons report on the Moscow conference, *Izvestia* came out with a four-column sledgehammer attack on the Foreign Secretary which was stronger than anything previously written against British foreign policy. On no point whatsoever did *Izvestia* agree with Bevin, and it came as near calling him a liar as diplomatic conventions permit. The attack on Bevin was fully as sharp as the attack on Marshall some time earlier. It had the effect on the Margate conference that could have been foreseen.

There was great disappointment here with the results of Margate. This could be seen in the prominence given to Harry Pollitt's article on the conference, which even criticized the Labor "rebels," insisting that they should try to influence "the masses"—the workshops and the trade unions—rather than "merely the readers of the *New Statesman and Nation*." All this is naturally linked with the topic which is dominating all Russian political reasoning today—America's diplomatic and "dollar" offensive. Perhaps it was decided that wooing England at this stage might only be interpreted as a sign of weakness.

Recent anti-British newspaper attacks have not been confined to Bevin. Several blasts were directed against the British press—even more than against the American press—because of articles by British correspondents who wrote their "inside Russia" stories after staying here seven weeks, mostly at the Moskva Hotel. Various kinds of articles appeared, but the Russians concentrated on the silliest and most malicious. As a result the Russian reader received a pretty hideous view of the British

press. Undoubtedly many of the writers sneered unnecessarily at the shortage of food, housing, and consumer goods, which was attributed to the Russian system rather than to the war. Since then the *New Times* has come out with a statement that the censorship of foreign-press telegrams has only one purpose: to prevent misinformation, lies, and slander being printed about the Soviet Union abroad. One trusts this will be the censorship's immutable rule.

Meanwhile, the Russian people appear largely occupied with domestic affairs. They and the government are expecting to reap the reward of a particularly strenu-

ous year in the form of a good harvest. In most parts of the country weather conditions have been reassuring. There has been a good deal of rain in the Volga country, the Don country, the North Caucasus, Central Russia, Siberia, and the greater part of the Ukraine—where the hot weather has now set in—and estimates of the harvest vary from "very fair" to "good." All this is important for Russia for various reasons—for example, the great difficulties which Rumania and Bulgaria may face owing to the drought in both countries. And there are other places, including England, where Soviet grain may be welcome.

Behind India's Crisis

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, June 6

MOUNTBATTEN has scored a great personal triumph which may mark him as an outstanding contributor to world peace. Six months was the period originally granted him by Attlee to study the Indian situation and report back to the British Cabinet. It was widely stated that he had been given full discretion to make any variations in the British plan for India which might seem appropriate.

Within six weeks Mountbatten was convinced of two things: (1) The original plan for the transfer of power by June of next year was too slow. It required the assumption of an interim responsibility for the maintenance of peaceful conditions which British authorities were finding it increasingly difficult to discharge. From his talks with Indian leaders Mountbatten realized that the transfer of power must be begun sooner if the rapid deterioration of conditions was to be arrested. (2) The original plan for a single federal authority for the whole of India—the "union center" with power over defense, foreign affairs, and communications—had no chance of acceptance by Jinnah and the Moslem League. They refused to compromise on their demand for the division of India and therefore would not enter the Constituent Assembly.

The Cabinet time-table for India—first a new constitution framed by a single constituent assembly and then the taking over of power next June—obviously could not be carried through. Mountbatten made repeated attempts to persuade Jinnah of the dangers inherent in a division of the country, which meant also a division of the armed forces. In these prolonged talks he made not the slightest impression. Indeed, at a late stage Jinnah introduced a new demand for a corridor a thousand miles long between Eastern and Western Pakistan.

Mountbatten saw only too clearly that without some

measure of cooperation from the Moslem League the transfer of power next year would mean catastrophic civil war. The large-scale riots throughout northern India from Calcutta to Peshawar seemed only a rehearsal for yet greater bloodshed. The abandonment of the original British plan, however distasteful, struck him as a painful necessity. Patiently but with quick decision he worked out a new plan, "at every stage and every step inviting the cooperation of the Indian leaders," as he revealed at a press conference in New Delhi earlier this week.

The Congress leaders, while insisting that the work of the Constituent Assembly go on, were wedded to the principle of coercing no areas into accepting the authority of the federal center. But they insisted that the principle applied with equal force to those parts of Bengal and the Punjab which, being non-Moslem, would not consent to inclusion within Pakistan. Jinnah resolutely refused to agree to a truncated Pakistan as economically impracticable. Gandhi, a passionate believer in the unity of India, preached the gospel of non-violence in the face of unexampled mob fury. Then, suddenly and characteristically, he called on the British to quit India immediately instead of waiting until next June. To Jinnah he said: Convince us of the soundness and desirability of Pakistan after the British withdrawal; everything would be yielded to reason but nothing to force.

Meanwhile the situation was rapidly getting worse. Arson, murder, and stabbings became common happenings; bombs, hand grenades, tommy-guns, rifles, and revolvers seemed abundantly available. The movements of the rioters revealed skill and experience in organized warfare. The food situation caused anxiety. India's wheat crop had been poor, and the shortage of food grains this year is estimated at four and a half million tons—about 15 per cent of the normal production. Strikes have cur-

ailed cloth production by eight hundred million yards, or one-sixth the annual output of the textile industry. The cost of living shows little sign of coming down, the index of wholesale prices last week being 250.

Mountbatten took one of those "calculated risks" which he said he had learned to take in Southeast Asia during the war. Jinnah wanted a second constituent assembly and the partition of India.

Very well, he could have both, but the lines of division would be decided only after the wishes of the people concerned had been ascertained. Next week in all probability the Bengal and Punjab legislatures will meet and vote on the division of these provinces into Moslem and non-Moslem areas. It will be a rough-and-ready process based upon accepting the census figures of 1941 as correct. Later a boundary commission will be appointed to demarcate the areas with greater precision.

The Northwest Frontier Province, though overwhelmingly Moslem, has a Congress ministry wielding authority. Jinnah wanted its dissolution and the absorption of the province into Western Pakistan. Mountbatten, in rejecting this demand, made the concession that the issue would be decided by a referendum.

Similarly in Assam, bordering on Burma, a referendum will be held in Sylhet, which has a Moslem majority. The utmost that Jinnah can expect from this balloting is a truncated Pakistan consisting of Sind, with its great airport and harbor at Karachi, the western Punjab, the Northwest Frontier Province, eastern Bengal, and Sylhet. Presumably he has reconciled himself to such an outcome since he cannot obtain more without bloodshed. He had cautiously recommended the Mountbatten plan to his followers as the best possible under present circumstances.

The Congress leaders for their part can go forward with their task of framing a permanent constitution without the handicaps imposed by the Cabinet mission's plan. For instance, the powers of the union center need not be restricted to foreign affairs, defense, and communications as was originally contemplated. However, partition of the country, as Nehru confessed "with a heavy heart" in a broadcast two days ago, is not a pleasant prospect. He sought comfort in the hope that after a taste of it "India might still reach that conception of unity sooner than otherwise," and the unity might have more secure foundations.

Gandhi has finally reconciled himself to partition. Through the grant of dominion status, he has obtained in substance his demand for an immediate British withdrawal—by the middle of August British control over India's administration will be replaced by that of two dominion governments. Even this seems to him inadequate compensation for the division of the country,

but Mountbatten did not go farther than to accept the Congress Party's resolution indorsing the principle.

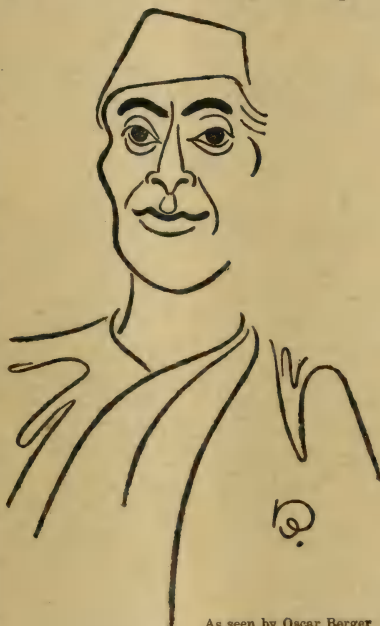
The Sikhs, perhaps more than any other major party, have reason to feel dissatisfied with the latest proposals. They have been supporting partition of the Punjab, but the line of demarcation cuts their homeland into two equal halves and leaves an important center like Lahore in Western Pakistan. There is talk of resistance, though many Sikh leaders realize that no compromise solution of such a complex problem can satisfy all parties. The surprise is that Mountbatten has come so near an ideal solution that both here and in London it has received overwhelming support, even Churchill and the diehard Tories accepting it.

Recent experiences, however, are a warning against easy optimism. At least twice in the course of the last twelve months British proposals

have met with a favorable reception, only to be rejected by Jinnah. Next week the Congress Party and the Moslem League will pronounce their final verdicts on the Mountbatten plan. It seems safe to prophesy that both organizations will support it despite its obvious defects.

What the princes will do is a question. Mountbatten has told them plainly enough that they must join one of the two constituent assemblies and rely no more on British protection. Several princes have prudently already taken steps to fall in line. Some, however, under the influence of reactionary British officials who have been so long in India that they fail to appreciate world trends, are perversely holding out and threaten to declare their independence of both Pakistan and Hindustan. But the princes are perhaps a comparatively minor factor in the Indian problem.

In normal times one would say that the promise of full dominion status by the middle of August was a step of revolutionary proportions. But times are abnormal. India's administration for months past has been running dangerously slow because of political uncertainty, economic discontent, and Hindu-Moslem strife.



As seen by Oscar Berger

Nehru

Nehru, in expressing his determination to suppress "shameful, degrading, and revolting violence," condemned the use of violence to achieve political ends. A similar condemnation was evoked from Jinnah, though it sounded inadequate and mild.

The boldness of Mountbatten's solution, his resourcefulness and amazing energy, has won him enormous

regard throughout India. If these qualities enable him to prevent further civil strife, not only will India be spared untold horrors, but there will be hope, in Nehru's words, of "building anew our relations with England on a friendly and cooperative basis, forgetting the past which has lain so heavily upon us." Mountbatten may yet do for India what Lord Durham did for Canada.

The Battle of A. V. C.

BY DANIEL JAMES

ONE year ago a thousand vocal, idealistic young men and women gathered at Des Moines, Iowa, to launch formally the most impressive of the new World War II veterans' organizations—the American Veterans Committee. A program of progressive aims and principles was hammered out. Democracy prevailed in the elections. At the same time a sharp undercover struggle was fought between the Communists and the national leadership, and while the non-Communist forces succeeded in reelecting Gilbert A. Harrison as vice-chairman, their opponents were only temporarily downed.

A decisive battle between these elements will almost certainly take place when the A. V. C. convenes in Milwaukee next Thursday. Since Des Moines the Communist issue has become crucial. In certain parts of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois it has received more attention at chapter, city, and state meetings than housing, employment, or education. At times the smoldering dissension has burst into the open, as when Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., attacked A. V. C.'s Communists in a widely reported speech last January. In fact, A. V. C. now harbors two highly organized, opposing factions which are preparing feverishly for Milwaukee.

Like many Americans, A. V. C. members are concerned with the mounting anti-red hysteria, which threatens also to inundate progressivism. They rightly sense the danger of a real fascist movement inherent in it. And like many liberals, therefore, these "citizens first" have been worried lest opposition to communism provide grist for the fascist mill. But experience has shown the veterans in A. V. C. that there is a fancied menace manufactured by the enemies of progress and a real menace confronting them in their daily organizational life; that while they fight totalitarianism without, they are being weakened by totalitarians within; and that

at some point being a liberal means repudiating the false premises of both extremes and planting one's feet firmly upon a third path.

The Battle of A. V. C. began early in 1946 when the Communist Party began seriously to "infiltrate" the organization. Regarding the ex-service man as a particularly vital force, the Communists are determined to exert as much influence over him as possible. In the event of a national crisis, not to speak of another war, America's fifteen million veterans may overnight become the nation's most important bloc. Whoever leads any sizable articulate and organized fraction of these millions can conceivably wield great power of decision.

Toward the end of the war the Communists decided to try to capture the American Legion, which they believed would eventually contain a preponderance of youthful World War II veterans who could be activated against the old Legion bureaucracy. But while they set their sights on the great wealth, powerful machinery, and community standing of the Legion, they had no intention of neglecting other groups. In the August, 1946, issue of the Communist Party organ, *Political Affairs*, John Gates, chairman of the party's Veterans' Committee, wrote, "Progressive-minded veterans, especially trade-union veterans, should follow the lead of the Communist veterans . . . [who] are increasingly active in all veterans' organizations, including, and not the least of all, the Legion and the V. F. W., and seek to unite all veterans in the struggle."

Inside the Legion the party made a special effort to capture the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires and to weld all pro-labor elements into a single power bloc. To corral another potent force, the Negro, it established what amounts to a segregated group of its own, the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. And to entice members of other minorities, it organized Veterans Against Discrimination. Boring from within and pressuring from without, the Communists early resolved to have a finger in every veterans' pie.

When A. V. C. made its modest start, the Commu-

DANIEL JAMES, a rank-and-file member of the A. V. C., was formerly on the staff of *Army Talk*.

ists thought they could afford to ignore it. They became irritated, however, as soon as the new group promised to attract those most useful to the party's ends, the progressives. They accused A. V. C. of "dividing" the veterans and especially of diverting the liberal-minded from their main task, which was "to unite all veterans" in the Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars. When Charles Bolté's book, "The New Veteran" was published, various literary hatchet-men went to work on it. Walter Bernstein, a former *Yank* correspondent, wrote such a slanted and inaccurate review of it for *The Nation* that the editors found it necessary to invite his ex-colleague on *Yank*, Merle Miller, to present the other side of the case in the same issue. Bernstein's chief complaint was that A. V. C., while "noble in purpose," could "easily become isolated from the mass of veterans."

But A. V. C. did not become "isolated." Throughout the demobilization period it grew at the rate of 500, then 1,500, then 2,500 a week. And its physical growth was outstripped by its mounting influence. A. V. C.'s counsels were heeded by the nation's legislators. It was the only veterans' organization to testify at the Senate hearing on full employment. It was the first to launch a veterans' housing campaign. It was credited with responsibility for breaking down the navy's barriers against Nisei enlistments. Bolté was news almost daily. Diverse national figures like Harold Stassen, the late Evans Carlson, and Marshall Field, Jr., became members. A. V. C. had become a force and was here to stay.

The Communist position changed accordingly. Within a few months—to judge from the line taken by the *Daily Worker* at any rate—it swung from bitter enmity to excessive ardor. In November, 1945, the Communist daily mentioned A. V. C. only four times, once most disparagingly in a review of Bolté's book. By March, 1946, a month in which more than 10,000 ex-soldiers joined A. V. C., it was giving the young organization three or four pats on the back weekly. By May, when A. V. C.'s membership had shot up to over 50,000, the *Daily Worker* was positively coddling it with a plug a day. A pre-convention interview with Bolté in the issue of June 2, 1946, did as much to build up the national chairman as another article had done a few months earlier to knock him down.

By May, 1946, the party had sent the bulk of its available forces into A. V. C. At about the same time the New York City chapters planned to hold their first convention. Here was a chance for the party to make its initial bid for power. Hundreds of delegates who met to draw up a platform and write a constitution never knew what hit them. The Communists, with the advantage of surprise, a tightly disciplined machine, aggressive leadership, and long experience in boring from within, achieved a victory which shook both New York and the national organization to their foundations.

The next step, planned as the final one, was to be the seizure of the national machinery. Early in the spring of 1946 a document attacking Harrison, founder of A. V. C., was circulated among the national membership. Its arguments were repeated in prolific correspondence and in speeches made by leaders later found in the pro-Communist camp.

By June the Communist caucus, A. V. C.'s first, was fully organized, and Harrison had emerged as its special hate, a symbol of the supposed "conservatism" of A. V. C.'s national administration. (His real crime, it developed afterward, was that he had been one of the first to sound the alarm against the Communists.) Frederick Borden, a publicity man for the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, became the darling of the "progressives" because he claimed to represent a militant "leftist" approach. Thus the Communists and their allies deliberately destroyed the broad agreement on liberal objectives on which the organization's existence was predicated. Borden now entered on a struggle with Harrison for the vice-chairmanship.

Meanwhile, what of Chairman Charles G. Bolté? Though he was denounced by the Communists, Bolté's prestige in A. V. C. was unharmed. No figure of equal stature had arisen to challenge him. Knowing he would be elected at Des Moines, the Communists decided to make it unanimous. Their strategy was to contest the vice-chairmanship, elect as many of their men as possible to the National Planning Committee, and try later to make Bolté their "front" man and captive.

But the Communists had pushed A. V. C. too hard. The other delegates did not want the nation to go like New York. They organized at the eleventh hour. Bolté publicly announced his support of Harrison. Borden suddenly came out for "unity" and withdrew in favor of a "compromise" candidate. Harrison won comfortably, and the party's adherents were lucky to gain a third of the seats on the N. P. C.

The continuing undercover struggle was brought into the open in November by the passage of an anti-Communist resolution by the National Planning Committee, which is A. V. C.'s ruling body. The vote was fifteen for, four against, with five abstaining for tactical reasons. When the resolution was submitted to a national referendum, it was supported by nearly two-thirds of all A. V. C. members. The opposing third consisted of out-



Caricature by Seligson
Charles G. Bolté

right Communists (least in number), close sympathizers, fringe friends, and confused liberals.

Organized opposition to the Communists now increased, and early this year it became obvious that they were in retreat. But Communists admit neither retreat nor defeat. Having failed to take the fortress by storm, they are now stealing up on it by the devious paths of "unity." This is the current aspect of their campaign in A. V. C. Epithets like "left" and "right" are now used apologetically, only by way of explanation. True, the national leaders are still attacked as reactionaries, but other approaches receive greater emphasis. Lesser leaders are visited and built up, independents are taken out to lunch, all and sundry are begged to sit down and discuss calmly how to do away with factions—that is, all factions but the Communists.

Twelve months ago the siren call of "unity" might have brought thunderous applause from A. V. C.'s rank and file. Today it falls on deaf ears. A year of intern warfare has taught the average A. V. C. member more of what he ought to know about Communist technique. Some have fallen by the wayside, unable to stomach the in-fighting. But the majority are no longer a disorganized mob battling against a disciplined army; they are themselves a trained and disciplined force.

In a double sense these A. V. C. independents carry heavy responsibility. If they defeat the Communists in Milwaukee—and there is reason to believe they will—then A. V. C. will have a second chance to grow into the great veterans' movement it ought to be. At the same time the victory will lend new courage to those outside A. V. C. who are fighting the same battle.

Is Life Insurance Healthy?

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

HEALTH education is in great danger of falling into the hands of high-pressure advertising agencies and their copywriters. The National Health Council's Gunn-Platt report on "Voluntary Health Agencies" strongly criticized uncoordinated attacks on specific diseases, but new groups and campaigns are still springing up like mushrooms. The New York Medical Society expressed its concern over the situation in an article in its official publication called *The Atomization of the Health Education Movement*. We now have fund-raising foundations to combat tuberculosis, heart disease, venereal disease, mental illness, old age, infant mortality, infantile paralysis, rheumatic fever, hypertension, arthritis, cancer, diabetes, epilepsy, alcoholism, multiple sclerosis, Hodgkin's disease, birth palsy, and high blood pressure; and the list cannot claim to be complete. Too many of these agencies base their money-raising campaigns on the fears they arouse. Indeed, one of the biggest advertising firms, we are told, has hired a famous scholar as a specialist in the psychology of fear. Practicing physicians are greatly disturbed by the unfortunate effects on their patients of this stimulated anxiety about their health.

We have just witnessed, for instance, the overstatements of the anti-cancer campaign. The fact is that the death rate from cancer has been steadily declining in recent years—see the *Statistical Bulletin* of the Met-

ropolitan Life Insurance Company for April, 1947.

Another aspect of the situation is brought out by the following case-history, which could be duplicated many times. An intelligent and sensitive patient who has been subjected to anti-cancer propaganda notices a small tumor. He has just been implored by film stars and advertising writers to ask for immediate medical attention. The doctor, though the tumor looks completely harmless, recommends surgical removal and microscopic inspection of the tissue in order to cure the aroused cancer fear of his patient. The small operation is performed, and the laboratory findings completely confirm the benign character of the tumor. The patient then forgets about the incident—until, a few years later, he applies for life insurance, answers his questionnaire conscientiously, and is rejected as a bad risk.

To many people getting or not getting a life-insurance policy seems to mean life or death. Rejection as a bad risk starts in them a severe traumatic neurosis. The judgments of the medical supreme court set up by the private insurance business are a greater interference with a doctor's sacrosanct relationship to his patient than any system of compulsory insurance against sickness could ever be.

I am not the only doctor concerned about the psychological effect of rejections by insurance companies on sensitive patients. Dr. H. T. Hyman in his "Integrated Practice of Medicine" says: "The practitioner often finds himself in conflict with the life-insurance investigators and their medical staffs. . . . Confidence and faith in the physician are undermined through the stupidity of attempting an art [the art of prognosis] in terms of

MARTIN GUMPERT, a New York physician, contributes a monthly page on interesting developments in medicine and related fields.

mathematics." The rejected patient, of course, believes that his doctor has withheld from him the gravity of his condition.

I think this situation deserves the serious consideration of both insurance companies and physicians. Intelligent patients responding to the exhortations of our public-health propaganda in a conscientious and rational manner, as did the patient with the tumor, ought at least to know that they are exposing themselves to punitive action by an insurance company. Automatic classification of such cases as bad risks is not only contrary to all reason but conducive to unnecessary emotional shock.

Before I sat down to write this article I asked the advice of the medical director of one of the biggest insurance companies in the country, and I am sorry that I cannot quote his whole pro-insurance reply. This official recognizes the need for greater cooperation between insurance physician and private physician, but he maintains that "a policy is a contract, and a person is not bound to apply to any particular company for his insurance; nor is the insurance company bound to issue the insurance as applied for . . . our rules are not as autocratic as you suggest."

I am not in a position to solve this problem. I feel that the activities of life-insurance companies belong in the domain of public interest. I feel that their statistical and clinical techniques for medical evaluation of life expectancy lag far behind the latest medical knowl-

edge and are largely based on mechanical and scientifically unsatisfactory tests and figures. The relationship between life and death is a very sensitive one. The evaluation of a person's biological age and life expectancy, in contrast to his chronological age, is probably medicine's most urgent problem and the one in which the least progress has been made. The price of life insurance has only recently been partly adjusted to the tremendous extension of our life expectancy. Previously it was based on antiquated and incorrect—and from the standpoint of the customer unfair—census tables.

Ways and means must be found to prevent our valuable life-insurance system from becoming a danger to public and individual health. Perhaps some method of impartial arbitration might be set up, conducted by neutral physicians who could reach a compromise between the business interests of the company and the responsibilities of the physician for his patient. The whole system of acceptance or rejection should be reorganized; each case should receive at least as much individual consideration as draftees received from the Selective Service authorities. There should be opportunities for appeal, with a reasonable chance of success, in cases of alleged injustice. Exchanges of opinion should be possible between company and private physicians.

Everybody might derive more benefit from the institution of insurance if the companies would realize that death is something more than a financial risk.

Bright Spot in the West

BY CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Denver, June 2

IN THE prevailing gloom of November, 1946, Western liberals and progressives overlooked the one bright spot on the political scene. In Colorado, the Republican Congressman from the Denver district, Dean Gillespie, who might best be described as a caricature of the Republican politician at his inimitable worst, was replaced by John Carroll, a liberal Democrat, and the Republican Governor, John Vivian, was defeated by the Democratic candidate, W. Lee Knous. The victories of Carroll and Knous were generally ascribed at the time to the maladroitness of the Colorado Republicans, notably Governor Vivian, who had been repudiated by his own party. But today there is reason to believe that the reaction against the G. O. P. was not a mere convulsive spasm but the start of a new trend in Rocky Mountain politics.

Recently the citizens of Denver, turning out in record numbers, elected Quigg Newton mayor by an impressive

margin. Supported by a coalition of forces, Newton received more than 80,000 votes, nearly double the number cast for the runner-up, United States District Attorney Tom Morrissey, a Truman-Tom Clark Democrat. Ben Stapleton, the incumbent, who with minor interruptions has bossed municipal politics in Denver for twenty years, received only 17,551 votes, though he was supported by the A. F. of L.; District Judge William A. Black, who was backed by the Republican stalwarts, only 5,203. William Dietrich, said to have been the candidate of the Communist Party, got a mere 400. Newton's striking victory was probably due less to the general dissatisfaction with the Stapleton machine than to the breadth of the coalition that supported his candidacy. He was endorsed by both the *Denver Post* and the *Rocky Mountain News*, and his campaign was actively aided by the Railroad Brotherhoods, the C. I. O., and the important Rocky Mountain Social Action Council (now affiliated with the Progressive Citizens of America).

Quigg Newton, thirty-five years old, is the youngest mayor in Denver's political history; he is also the first native son to be elected to the office. After graduating from the Yale Law School, he served for a time as legal assistant to William O. Douglas in the Securities Exchange Commission. At the end of the war, in which he served as a commander in the navy, he opened a law office in Denver, became active in civic affairs, and in 1946 was voted "Denver's outstanding young man" by the Junior Chamber of Commerce. His wife is the daughter of former United States Senator Shafroth, long active in Democratic politics. Newton is personally attractive and has considerable wealth. His father, a pioneer Colorado lumberman, was a prominent advocate of public housing in Denver; Newton himself has studied the subject in Europe and might be rated a "professional." Everyone in Denver with whom I discussed his election expressed complete confidence in his integrity and believed that he would make an excellent administrator. While not a liberal on all issues, Newton has revealed a real interest in minorities, housing, governmental reforms, and the establishment of a pattern of civilized industrial relations.

There is a strong current of rebellion in Denver against the "let-things-alone" position of the city's aging financial oligarchs. As State Senator Arthur Brooks, a young liberal Republican, phrased it, "The voters recognize that Denver is now a modern industrial city and no longer primarily a nice place for retired Western capitalists to spend their declining years in." In no Western city is there a more wide-awake attention to regional, national, and international issues than in Denver, which recently welcomed 1,700 delegates to the UNESCO conference. On May 24 more than a hundred delegates attended the conference of the Colorado Unity Council, such outlying cities and towns as Rocky Ford, La Junta, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, and Boulder being well represented. California is the only other state which has such a state-wide civic council. I attended the conference and was deeply impressed by the energy and enthusiasm of the delegates.

The new trend in Colorado politics dates from 1944 when Charles A. Graham conducted a brilliant but unsuccessful fight to unseat the incredible Gillespie. The campaign unquestionably paved the way for the victory of Carroll last year. Graham, a young lawyer, was formerly with the NLRB and for a time acted as regional director of the War Labor Board. He is a leading spirit in the Rocky Mountain Social Action Council, which issued from a conference on atomic power called in Denver in 1945. The council is largely made up of business and professional men. I visited its headquarters during the November, 1946, election and admired the energetic way in which Phil Reno, its executive, was helping to elect John Carroll. Professors from the Uni-

versity of Denver were stuffing envelopes, carrying on a telephone campaign, and reporting on the precincts for which they were responsible. I detected none of the aggravated in-fighting, as much personal as ideological, which makes the life of a liberal in Southern California a succession of embittered caucuses and midnight plottings. The political activities of the Rocky Mountain Social Action Council appear to be rooted in issues immediately affecting the West, whereas in Southern California liberals who will rally for Greece at the drop of a hat hardly know that the Central Valley project exists or that the city of Los Angeles faces an acute water and power shortage in the next decade.

Most of the ferment in Colorado finds expression through the Democratic Party, but some promising stirrings can be discovered in Republican circles. The Republican Party in the state has long been bossed by the "Seventeenth Street Gang," which includes spokesmen of the Great Western Sugar Beet Company and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. One man, Lawrence Phipps, from the time that he acquired a seat in the United States Senate until his retirement from active political life some years ago, made most of the important decisions for the party in Colorado. To such an extent was this true that minor party officials and leaders suffered from acute frustration. No new leaders were developed; Senator Phipps always hand-picked the candidates. Like a baseball team that has permitted its farm system to disintegrate, the Republican machine in Colorado is today in a state of genteel decomposition—witness the miserable showing of its candidate in the mayoralty election.

This state of affairs offers opportunities which may well be seized by some young and able liberal Republican. Arthur Brooks, whom I mentioned above, led the fight for a state F. E. P. C. in the legislature and is credited with having defeated a measure to outlaw the closed shop. Gifford Phillips, who made a success of his first publishing venture, *Rocky Mountain Life*, now owns and operates a radio station in Pueblo and has ambitious plans for a chain of radio stations and rural newspapers. Interestingly enough, these young liberals seem to be about midway between Stassen and Wallace in their general political point of view.

Although Truman is probably assured of the Democratic nomination, many things can happen between now and convention time in 1948. If a popular revolt against Truman should be organized, it would have a better chance of success in the West than in any other region. Nowhere else perhaps are party loyalties taken so lightly; or do local political interests cut so sharply across party lines. A Western states' conference of labor and liberal forces is being frequently discussed at the moment. It might be the means of organizing a Western revolt against Truman.

Del Vayo—"Report from Spain"

MY UNCHANGING theory that the American people are much wiser in their approach to foreign affairs than is their government is confirmed by an important and timely book just published—"Report from Spain" (Holt, \$3). The author, Emmet John Hughes, now chief of the *Time-Life* bureau in Rome, can hardly be dismissed as a red. His first book, "The Church and the Liberal Society," was a Catholic Book-of-the-Month Club selection. He has told us how in Spain he attended "Mass every Sunday and Holy Day of the four years I passed there." Mr. Hughes left the diplomatic service to enlist in the army and was reassigned to Madrid as a member of Military Intelligence. From that vantage point he has written one of the most conclusive studies we have of that fascist regime which has survived the military defeat of fascism. His book combines good journalism with the inside knowledge he gained in the service.

Mr. Hughes begins with a quotation describing the Franco regime taken from the standard elementary textbook used today throughout Spain, "El Curso Completo de Primera Enseñanzas": "Spain is a totalitarian country and its Chief is His Excellency the Caudillo, Generalissimo of the land, sea, and air forces, and Chief of the Government." His portrait of the dictator is exact and sharp: "Short in stature, with that abdominal curvature that delights caricaturists, smiling rather lamely, a bit like an unwilling and inarticulate toastmaster at a big banquet." Franco is a devoted Catholic, in the opinion of Mr. Hughes, and yet "in the entire bleak history of Nazism not a single instance is known when the champion of Spanish Catholicism suggested, either publicly or through diplomatic channels, even a modest concern over the Nazi Party's persecution of the church."

A monarchist, too, but on the condition that he himself shall embody the monarchical principle. Mr. Hughes wrote his book before Franco had announced his cynical law of succession—just ratified by acclamation in the Spanish "Parliament"—which makes him at once king, regent, and dictator. But Mr. Hughes does report that some time ago two generals and an admiral called on Franco to persuade him to restore the monarchy. "Franco rose slowly from his seat, stalked around the desk to confront the men at close range, and with the most violent gesticulations delivered the shrill harangue: 'You, too! You do not understand that the monarchy is *lo parcial* and my regime is *lo total*. I am here to fulfil a divine mandate, and any contrary maneuver is an act against Spain itself.'" That was in 1943, before Franco dreamed about becoming the ally of the democracies in their primary post-war job of stopping Russia.

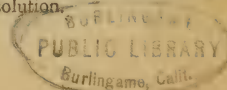
In the light of that incident and as a result of a thorough survey of Franco's entourage, the army, and the Falange, it is futile, as Mr. Hughes shows, to hope for a change in which Franco will bow and disappear from the stage and the Spanish democrats—not too democratic—will take his place peacefully and in complete array.

Mr. Hughes's analysis of Anglo-American policy toward

Spain from "the period of long-range verbal artillery beginning with the San Francisco conference" until last December, when the Assembly of the United Nations passed its resolution recommending the recall of ambassadors from that country, is the best part of the book. The report of the inevitable reactions to that policy inside Spain, which he himself witnessed, confirms all that has been published in *The Nation* in the last few years. "No intention of interfering in Spanish affairs? That sounds strangely like democratic policy toward the civil war, out of which Franco battled his way to power. And if the democracies have no such intention, why are they issuing a note [the statement of the Western powers of March 4, 1946] urging the Spanish people to change their own government?" Two years of fear, of vacillation, of bold but empty words, have led to a situation in which Franco is stronger than ever. "The post-war policy of the Western democracies, the policy of our State Department," says Mr. Hughes, "has registered utter failure in its announced purpose of speeding political evolution in Spain."

The aim of that policy, expressed in frequent statements of British and American spokesmen, was twofold: to avoid the risk of civil war in Spain, and to deprive communism of any chance to win ascendancy there. A new civil war has almost been imposed upon the Spanish people by the strategy of keeping Franco in power, and nine years after the first civil war he is enforcing one of the most cruel repressions of his entire era. Stop communism? "Every month, every week, every day," writes Mr. Hughes, "the prestige and power of Spanish communism are growing. Soviet Russia is not achieving it. We—the Western democracies—are doing it." Anglo-American policy has left the forces of Spanish democracy without support, with little reason for hope, and with no sure knowledge even of its political purpose. A detailed and extremely intelligent analysis of every major Allied "decision" on Spain leads this serious and responsible commentator to one conclusion: "If Spain does matter to the United States [he gives dozens of reasons to prove that it does], if we wish to see the Falangist state destroyed, if our national interests would not be well served by a Communist Spain, if we hope to help the Spanish people escape another civil war, for their sake and that of the world, then it is time to do something a little more impressive than issue verbal manifestoes and to speak phrases that make more sense than to instruct 'patriotic Spaniards' to seek out and 'find means' to effect a 'peaceful withdrawal' of General Franco."

"Report from Spain" should be read by every American who wants a real knowledge of one of the most crucial issues in Europe today, and it should also be read by the members of the Security Council of the United Nations, from whom we await another report on the Spanish problem—the report on what each member state has done to fulfil the recommendations of the December resolution.





EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Oil: East and West

IT IS too bad that the newspapers are giving so little attention to the hearings on the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement which, after many postponements, started this week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Superficially they may seem of interest only to the oil industry, which is acutely divided about the merits of the agreement. But actually the problems of oil politics and economics under discussion are of vital interest to everybody.

At first sight the agreement, concluded in London in September, 1945, appears an innocuous and non-controversial document. In the first place, it affirms two general principles which hardly anyone would care to challenge: (a) adequate supplies of petroleum should be accessible in international trade to all countries "on a competitive and non-discriminatory basis"; (b) the interests of producing countries should be safeguarded "with a view to their economic advancement." Secondly, it provides for the establishment of an international petroleum commission with purely fact-finding and consultative functions. In the words of Harold L. Ickes, who headed the American negotiators of the agreement, this commission "will operate as the forum to which the problems of the international petroleum trade can be brought, threshed out openly and frankly, and the way pointed to their *voluntary* solution." The commission will have no powers to compel action either by the signatory powers or by any of their nationals.

In the light of this summary it may be hard to understand why the State Department should regard the treaty as a matter of prime importance, and, equally, why the "independent" oil interests of this country should consider it a deadly menace. The only possible explanation seems to be that there is more in the agreement than meets the eye and that its innocent phraseology masks an understanding for a friendly division of the world's oil resources between the big American and British trusts, an understanding reached with the tacit blessing of both governments. At any rate, it is noteworthy that in the twenty months since the document was signed, plans for the joint exploitation of the great Middle Eastern fields, whose reserves exceed those of the United States, have advanced rapidly.

Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony have made a long-term contract with the Anglo-Italian Oil Company for bulk purchase of crude oil and have undertaken to help finance a pipe line from its fields to the Mediterranean. These same two companies, together with their British, Dutch, and French partners in the Iraq Petroleum Company, have decided to duplicate the existing line carrying oil from northern Iraq to Haifa and Tripoli. The British Shell company has made a bulk-purchase contract with Gulf Oil, which has a half-interest in the newly opened Kuwait field. Finally

the "Red Line" agreement has been abrogated, which enables Standard of New Jersey and Socony to buy into the Arabian-American Company now exploiting the vast Saudi Arabian concessions. This last move caused trouble with the French, who felt they were being squeezed out by an Anglo-American deal, but they have been pacified by promises of a larger share of an increased Iraq output.

As a result of all these arrangements hundreds of millions of dollars are to be invested in drilling new wells in the various Middle Eastern fields, in building refineries and other facilities, and in laying pipe lines. Within five years, it is believed, present daily production of the area—750,000 barrels—may be doubled, making it possible to meet all Europe's petroleum requirements. Thus even if the Anglo-American agreement is never ratified, the bogey of the American independents—a large competing supply of oil—is well on the way to realization.

In their propaganda against the agreement the independents have stressed this fear less than their claim that it would lead to increased federal interference with the industry. To support this charge they point to Article II, the only section which applies to the domestic petroleum industry. It declares "that the exploration for and development of petroleum resources, the construction and operation of refineries and other facilities, and the distribution of petroleum shall not be hampered by restrictions inconsistent with the purposes of this agreement." This clause appears to be a declaration against discriminatory treatment by the signatory powers of each other's oil concerns, and it is difficult to see how it could become an entering wedge for federal control of the industry. However, it might be regarded as barring the restriction of oil imports—for instance, by a quota arrangement for which the independents are beginning to agitate. This possibility may well be the nub of the opposition to the agreement.

The split of opinion between the major oil companies, with their world-wide interests, and the smaller independents, which produce only for the domestic market, is not hard to explain. The majors, noting a shift in the center of gravity of world oil from the Gulf of Mexico-Caribbean area to the Persian Gulf area, are in a position to adjust their operations accordingly. Hitherto they have supplied their distribution networks in Europe largely from the fields they own in Venezuela and Colombia. In the future they propose to draw instead on the cheap production of the Middle East and so free Caribbean resources for consumption in this hemisphere, including the United States.

This prospect fills the independents with alarm. They see costs rising, as oil becomes harder to find in this country, but prices held down by the competition of cheap foreign oil. Hence they are looking for more protection than the present tariff of 10½ cents a barrel affords. As rugged individualists they scorn government interference with their business, but they are eager enough for government interference with the consumer's business—the purchase of oil as cheaply as possible. Attempting to justify this attitude, they constantly challenge the widely held belief that dwindling American oil resources make increased imports both desirable and inevitable. Next week I shall endeavor to show why I think the facts are against them.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

WILLA CATHER

BY MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

TWENTY years ago, at fifty, Willa Cather stood at the height of her career, with fifteen years of her best work behind her and her most popular book, "Death Comes for the Archbishop," claiming an unstinted admiration. When she died at seventy, on April 24, she had already come to appear as the survivor of some distant generation, remote from the talents and problems of the past two anxious decades. This estrangement could have been no surprise to her. It was of her own choice and election. In 1936 she admitted that her writing could have "little interest for people under forty years of age. The world broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts," and it was to "the backward, and by one of their number," that she addressed her later books. She had, in fact, so addressed her work ever since she first found her real bearings in authorship, with "O Pioneers!" in 1913. Backwardness was with her not only a matter of material and temperament. It was the condition of her existence as an artist.

She was one of the last in the long line of commemorators and elegists of American innocence and romantic heroism that virtually dates from the beginnings of a conscious native artistry in American literature. Her books were elegies, and Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne, Twain, and Sarah Orne Jewett figure in their ancestry. When, on rare occasions, she praised her fellow-craftsmen, from Miss Jewett to Katherine Mansfield, Thornton Wilder, or even Thomas Mann (who "belongs immensely to the forward-goers. . . . But he also goes back a long way, and his backwardness is more gratifying to the backward"), it was usually because they also turned to the past and rooted their values there.

She was quite aware of the false and bogus uses to which the historical sentiment had been put in American fiction. Its products surrounded her in the early nineteen hundreds when

she was feeling her way toward her career: "machine-made historical novels," "dreary dialect stories," "very dull and heavy as clay"—books by John Fox, Jr., James Lane Allen, Mary Johnstone, and their successful competitors, the memory of which today is like "taking a stroll through a World's Fair grounds some years after the show is over." She knew Miss Jewett shone like a star in that lusterless company, that Henry James "was surely the keenest mind any American ever devoted to the art of fiction," that Stephen Crane "had done something real." She also had to learn the secret of their distinction the hard way. She came out of the West attracted by the prairie girl's mirage of the East—its cities, salons, opera houses, studios, Beacon Hill sanctities, Atlantic liners, with the shrines of Europe beyond. Her early stories, many never collected in her books, are full of this worshipful glamour, and she was past thirty-five when she tried to make something of it in her first novel, which combined a problem out of Mrs. Wharton, a setting out of Henry James, and an outsider's clumsiness with inevitable results in self-conscious stiffness and crudity of tone. Only then did she remember the advice of Miss Jewett: "The thing that teases the mind over and over for years, and at last gets itself put down on paper—whether little or great, it belongs to Literature." "Otherwise," as Miss Jewett had also said, "what might be strength in a writer is only crudeness, and what might be insight is only observation; sentiment falls to sentimentality—you can write about life, but never life itself." Miss Cather put Beacon Hill and Bohemia behind her. She returned to Nebraska, to a prairie town trying hard not to be blown away in the blast of a winter wind. She found the local habitation of her talent, and her serious career in art began.

From that point she began her journey into lost time, going back beyond

Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas to colonial New Mexico, to eighteenth-century Quebec, and finally to the pre-Civil War Virginia of her childhood, every step taking her deeper into the values and securities she set most store by. She had, to help her, her rediscovered devotion to the scenes of her early youth, the Western fields and skies she called "the grand passion of my life," her brilliant gift for rendering landscape and weather in the closest approximation to the poetic art of Turgenev and Gogol our fiction has seen, her retentive sympathy with the life of farms, small towns, prairie settlements, immigrant colonies, and Southwestern outposts and missions. In all the tales of regional America that have been produced in the past thirty years nothing has exceeded her skill in evoking the place-spirit of rural America in her finest books—"My Antonia," "A Lost Lady," "The Professor's House," and "Death Comes for the Archbishop."

The pathos of distance by which she induced her special poetry into these scenes was, of course, stimulated by her feeling that the inspiring landscape of the prairies, deserts, and mountains, no less than the gracious charms of colonial Virginia or old New York, had been obliterated by a vulgar and cheapening modernity. The garage that now stands on Charles Street in Boston on the site of the house where Mrs. James T. Fields once held court to "Learning and Talent" was symptomatic for Willa Cather of a general and humiliating degradation. So the old wagon roads of the West, "roads of Destiny" that "used to run like a wild thing across the open prairie," had been resurveyed and obliterated to make highways for tourist and motor traffic. The railways once "dreamed across the mountains" by a race of Titans, highways in the heroic conquest of the West, were streamlined for commuters between New York and Hollywood. Wooden houses and piazz-

za'd mansions, once landmarks of pioneer fortitude and hospitality, came down and suburban Tudor or sham Château went up in their place. The frontier universities that had once fostered a scholarship of vision and historical passion yielded to academic power plants thick with politics and careerism. She despised such a world, whose literature itself she saw as mere statistics and "sensory stimuli," and apparently preferred to be despised by it.

The interesting thing about Miss Cather's career is that it started in protest against and flight from the very world she ended by idealizing and mourning. It recapitulates a characteristic American pattern of rebellion and return, censure and surrender. The prairie and small town, the Western hinterland and the neighborly community, as she presented them in her best early stories—"A Wagner Matinee," "Paul's Case," "The Sculptor's Funeral," "A Death in the Desert"—were objects of a moral reproach and castigation as severe as anything she later directed against the vulgarizing influences of the modern world. She was, indeed, a pioneer in the twentieth-century "revolt from the village," and she spared no scorn in describing the provincial spirit. It had created the life of a "dunghill," of petty existences, of "little people" and a small humanity, of stingy hates and warping avarice that made generous spirits shrivel and ardent natures die. The savagery of her indictment is the strongest passion she ever summoned in any of her works. Her frontier in those days was not the West; it was the East and the world of art, with desire the goad of her heroes and heroines and the running theme of her stories, as much as it was of Dreiser's.

It was in young artists—the dreaming, headstrong, fractious, or unstable young, fated to defeat or bad ends by the materialism and ugliness of their surroundings—that she first envisaged the heroic ideal. Paul, Katharine Gaylord, Harvey Merrick, and Don Hedger are the defeated or dishonored "cases" that foreshadow the triumphant lives of Alexandra Bergson, Thea Kronborg, Antonia Shimerda, Archbishop Machebeuf, and Nancy Till, and that lend their note of frustrated desire to the middle terms of Miss Cather's argument

—the inspired spirits who do not succeed but who, by some force of character or apartness of nature, lend significance to the faceless anonymity around them. These characters—the "lost lady" Marian Forrester, Myra Henshawe, Tom Outland, Professor St. Peter, even the slighter Lucy Gayheart in a later novel—are the most persuasive of Miss Cather's creations, her nearest claims to skill in a field where she was admittedly and obviously incompetent—complex and credible psychology. But somehow she could never bring her opposites into full play in a novel. They remained irreconcilably differentiated, dramatically hostile, morally and socially incapable of true complexity.

The full-bodied and heavily documented novel was never congenial to Miss Cather; she rightly understood her art to be one of elimination and selection, which eventually meant that it was an art of simplification and didactic idealization. "The Song of the Lark" and "One of Ours" drag with detail. "My Antonia" and "A Lost Lady" are her finest successes because there her

selection defines, suggests, and evokes without falsely idealizing. When she seized a theme of genuine social and moral potentiality in "The Professor's House" or "My Mortal Enemy," she pared away its substance until she produced what must always be, to her admirers, disappointingly frugal and bodiless sketches of two of the most interesting subjects in the America of her time. And when she decided to model "Death Comes for the Archbishop" on the pallid two-dimensional murals of Puvis de Chavannes, she prepared the way for the disembodied idealization, making for dulness and passivity, that overtook her in "Shadows on the Rock," weakest of her books and portent of the thinness of her final volumes.

What overtook her characters and plots is the same thing that overtook her version of American life and history. She could not bring her early criticism into effective combination with her later nostalgic sentiment. She represents a case analogous to that of Van Wyck Brooks, who started by disproportionately castigating American literature and has ended in a sentimentalization

A Field Hospital

He stirs, beginning to awake.

A kind of ache

Of knowing troubles his blind warmth; he moans,

And the high hammering drone

Of the first crossing fighters shakes

His sleep to pieces, rakes

The darkness with its skidding bursts, is done.

All that he has known

Floods in upon him; but he dreads

The crooked thread

Of fire upon the darkness: "The great drake

Flutters to the icy lake—

The shotguns stammer in my head.

I lie in my own bed,"

He whispers, "dreaming"; and he thinks to wake.

The old mistake.

A cot creaks; and he hears the groan

He thinks his own—

And groans, and turns his stitched, blind, bandaged head

Up to the tent-flap, red

With dawn. A voice says, "Yes, this one";

His arm stings; then, alone,

He neither knows, remembers—but instead

Sleeps, comforted.

RANDALL JARRELL

equally unbalanced and simple-minded. So Miss Cather, never having mastered the problem of desire in its full social and moral conditioning, passed from her tales of ambitious artists and defeated dreamers, worsted by provincial mediocrity or competitive careerism, to versions of American idealism and its defeat that never come to satisfactory grips with the conditions of society and personal morality. As her lovers, her artists, her pioneers, and her visionary Titans became disembodied of their complex humanity, so her America itself became disembodied of its principles of growth, of conflict, and of historical maturity. There obviously worked in her nature that "poetic romanticism" to which Lionel Trilling has so ably referred her case: what Parrington called "the inferiority complex of the frontier mind before the old and established," the pioneer's fear of failure but greater fear of the success which comes "when an idea becomes an actuality," the individualism to which F. J. Turner credited the pioneer's failure to "understand the richness and complexity of life as a whole." So to Miss Cather's early veneration for the distant goals and shining trophies of desire, ambition, and art, there succeeded a veneration for lost or distant sanctities which gradually spelled her diminution as a dramatic and poetic craftsman. The village, the prairie, the West, the New Mexican missions thus became in time abstractions as unworkable, in any critical or moral sense, as her simplified understanding of Mann's Joseph cycle. Art itself, in her versions of Flaubert, Gogol, Mann, or Katherine Mansfield, took on a remote ideality and aesthetic pathos that do much to explain her distaste for Dostoevski or Chekhov. And the church, to which she finally appealed as a human and historical constant, became in her unimplicated and inexperienced view of it the most abstract of all her conceptions, a cultural symbol, not a human or historical actuality, and the least real of any of the standards she invoked in her judgments and criticisms of the modern world.

She defended her art in an essay, "The Novel Demeublé," in 1922, which belongs among the theorizings by artists which constituted for Henry James an "accident" which is "happiest, I think,

when it is soonest over." At best, it shows Miss Cather's temerity in venturing into "the dim wilderness of theory"; at its worst it must be taken as one of those ventures which justify themselves only because they tell what a restricted view of art some writers must impose on themselves in order to get their own kind of work done. In 1922 it had some value as a warning against the excesses of realism and cataloguing in fiction, as a preference for insight and feeling over "observation" and "description"; but when it went on to assert that Balzac's material—not merely Paris and its houses but "the game of pleasure, the game of business, the game of finance"—is "unworthy of an artist," that the banking system and Stock Exchange are scarcely "worth being written about at all," and that "the higher processes of art are all processes of simplification," it set Miss Cather down as an aesthetic fundamentalist whose achievement was bound, by the nature of her beliefs, to be sharply curtailed and truncated. She stood by the essay; she reprinted it unmodified in her later editions. And there it shows, *post facto*, how little a principle of simplification serves its believer if he is also an artist. Miss Cather was setting up a standard directly opposed to Zola's creed of naturalism—and similarly deluding and disabling in its literalness and crudity. For both sensibility and naturalism arrive at the same impasse when they deny art its right to richness of thought and complexity. What such principles limit and curtail is not merely craftsmanship; it is subject matter itself. Miss Cather saw as little as Zola did that to inhibit craftsmanship or content is to inhibit or starve the sensibility and insight themselves, and to arrive at the sterility of high-mindedness and the infirmity of an ideal. It is artists who have denied their art and their theory no possible risk, challenge, or complexity who have arrived at a longer lease on creative life; it is to James, Conrad, Yeats, Eliot, and Valéry that we turn to find, in theory no less than in practice, the right clues to endurance and authority in modern literature.

Yet it was by such means of simplification, discipline, curtailment that Miss Cather made her achievement possible and wrote the books of her best years—books which, if mostly minor,

are wholly her own, and if elegiac in their version of American history, revive a past that was once, in all its innocence, a reality, and that required, in its own delusions as much as in the versions of it she created, the correction and resistance of a later realism. It was her honesty and stubborn sincerity in rendering it that made possible her real contribution to contemporary literature: she defined, like Dreiser, Scott Fitzgerald, and a few other of her contemporaries between 1910 and 1930, a sense of proportion in American experience. She knew what it meant to be raised in the hinterland of privation and harsh necessities; knew what it meant to look for escape to Chicago and the world beyond; knew how much has to be fought in one's youth and origins, what privileges of the richer world mean when they are approached from the outposts of life, what has to be broken away from and what has to be returned to for later nourishment, and how little the world appears when its romantic distances and remote promise are curtailed to the dimensions of the individual destiny. Scott Fitzgerald gave superb expression to this experience in the last eight pages of "The Great Gatsby"; Katherine Anne Porter has given another and classic version in her work; perhaps Miss Cather had something to do with preserving for such artists that proportion and perspective in American experience.

The space of seventy years is too short in human history to enable anyone to claim that he saw the world break in two during it; the measure of man's fate is not to be calculated so conveniently; to do so is to impose a personal sentiment on something too large to accept it. And it was to such sentiment, with its attendant didacticism and inflexibility, that Miss Cather finally submitted. But it is also true that she lived through a cleavage and a crisis in something more than American life; that she saw "the end of an era, the sunset of the pioneer," that it "was already gone, that age; nothing could ever bring it back"; and she defined the pathos, if not the challenge and moral imperative, and writer concerned in it. She did something in a time of distraction and cultural inflation to make a new art possible, as much by the end she defined for one tradition as by the personal example

of self-correction and tenacity she set. And Miss Cather also did something the aspirant to classic quality rarely achieves: she wrote a few books—"My Antonia" and "A Lost Lady" chief among them—that are American classics and that still can tell us, in a time of sanctified journalism and demoralized sophistication, how much of a lifetime it costs to make that rare and expensive article.

Report on America

INSIDE U. S. A. By John Gunther. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

FOR sheer vitality and for courage bordering on temerity John Gunther wins my profound admiration. Three years ago the explorer of the world's insides set out to do for the United States what he had done, with far less risk, for Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Disavowing the philosophical approach, he assigned himself the task of discovering "the forces that make this incomparable Golconda of a country move." He visited all forty-eight states, thirty-eight of the forty-three American cities with more than 200,000 population, and scores of smaller communities. He talked with more than 900 people—from Harry Truman to hotel bootblacks—and was shown the door only by Senator McKellar, who naturally "turned a color between a prune and a plum" when Gunther had the bad taste to mention the TVA.

Nonplussed, like thousands of others, at the flamboyant contradictions of "the greatest, craziest, most dangerous, least stable, most spectacular, least grown-up, and most powerful and magnificent nation ever known," Gunther asked everyone he met what there was about his community that distinguished it in his own mind from other communities, and, above all, who ran it. In addition he read enormously and saw everything from Chinook salmon climbing the ladders of the Bonneville Dam to Miami's rooming houses for "Gentiles Only." He took more than a million words of notes—and in the end he discovered that few generalizations were possible; that "a whole lot of phenomena run this country," which for all its reputed standardization, is staggeringly heterogeneous. And he finds this a saving grace, "because democracy, if healthy,

can feed on its own defects, and take succor and sustenance from its own variety."

If the failure to synthesize, to pin down convincing over-all conclusions, appears to be a disappointing weakness of the volume, it should be noted, first, that it is an almost-inevitable weakness given the design of the book, which follows a geographic pattern, progressing from state to state rather than from subject to subject; second, that Mr. Gunther proposes to write a second volume on the United States, based on Washington and national in perspective; and, third, that failure to catch the elusive quarry in this case is more than compensated for by the pleasures of the chase. In his search for the mainsprings of the U. S. A. Gunther has compiled the richest and liveliest collection of facts, impressions, observations, quotations, descriptions, statistics, portraits, and anecdotes about this country ever assembled between two covers.

The information that cascades out of this 920-page thesaurus takes a wide and colorful variety of forms, all intermingled with a journalist's scorn for sustained sobriety. There are, first, the encyclopedic little essays, like those on the raising and marketing of wheat, the structure of the Mormon church—with side excursions on the advantages and disadvantages of polygamy—the extracting of iron ore from "the biggest hole ever made by man," the "bull rings" of Iowa which furnish semen for the artificial injection of thousands of cows at \$6 per cow, the life-history of the salmon, and the workings of TVA.

There are, second, the scores or more of vivid biographical sketches. In California alone Gunther pays his respects to Hiram Johnson, who once campaigned against his own shady father and whose ability was matched only by his outrageous vanity; Earl Warren; Roger Lapham; Bob Kenny ("one of the most engaging men in America"); Harry Bridges, whom he compares, oddly, to Jimmy Walker; and the fabulous immigrant banker, Giannini. Wheeler comes in for an extended, rough, but eminently fair dissection. So do Dewey ("one of the least seductive men in public life") and Bricker (a "Throttlebottom come to life"). Taft fares somewhat better and Vandenberg much better; but the real encomiums are

reserved for such as LaGuardia, Philip Murray, Wayne Morse, Glen Taylor, Saltonstall ("practically the nicest person anybody ever met"), Wilson Wyatt, Harold Stassen, and Ellis Arnall.

Then there are the fascinating and little-known bits of early history of the various states, lively, illuminating, and usually introduced with good purpose. It is impossible, for example, to understand why Oregon should be traditionally Republican and conservative while its neighbor is sometimes referred to as the Soviet State of Washington, unless one knows of the staid New Englanders who settled the one and the frontier adventurers who stopped short of Alaska to settle the other. Some of the most cogent bits of analysis in the book are given to Negro-white relations, not only

The Fall of Rome

The piers are pummeled by the waves;
In a lonely field the rain
Lashes an abandoned train;
Outlaws fill the mountain caves.

Fantastic grow the evening gowns;
Agents of the Fisc pursue
Absconding tax-defaulters through
The sewers of provincial towns.

Private rites of magic send
The temple prostitutes to sleep;
All the literati keep
An imaginary friend.

Cerebrotonic Cato may
Extol the Ancient Disciplines,
But the muscle-bound Marines
Mutiny for food and pay.

Caesar's double-bed is warm
As an unimportant clerk
Writes I DO NOT LIKE MY WORK
On a pink official form.

Unendowed with wealth or pity,
Little birds with scarlet legs,
Sitting on their speckled eggs,
Eye each flu-infected city.

Altogether elsewhere, vast
Herds of reindeer move across
Miles and miles of golden moss,
Silently and very fast.

W. H. AUDEN

(Reprinted from the English monthly Horizon)

In the "schizoid" South but in explosive Northern and Western cities like Detroit, Kansas City, and Los Angeles. In view of the striking material Gunther sets forth in this field, it is a little hard to share his characteristically buoyant conclusion that "in no other country—despite everything—have most Negroes quite so much potential opportunity as in the United States."

Strewn over every page of sober and shrewd observation are countless oddities and trivial notes that would not have occurred to a Tocqueville or a Bryce—such as the daily mileage of New York's elevators, and the fact that Charlotte, North Carolina, is statistically the murder capital of the country. In this category also are the scores of rash superlatives that sometimes give the book a superficial, even juvenile, tone that does injustice to its general quality.

The most striking revelation in Gunther's sea of information is the physical emptiness of America. I did not realize, for example, that the United States still has 455,183,251 acres of public domain, that "in the mountain states alone it owns almost one-half the total area," that some Western lands were only last year reopened to homesteading, and "almost anybody who wants to be a farmer can go out and get some." It might be a good thing to call these passages to the attention of the House Judiciary Committee, which is now considering the Stratton bill to admit to this country a wretched 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years. The same committee might also note the astonishing extent to which second-generation Americans fruitfully dominate many of the country's most vigorous and productive areas. Some of the corn counties of Nebraska, for example, are so solidly Czech that Bohemian is spoken almost as commonly as English. At the same time the state with the highest percentage (98.7) of native-born Americans with native-born parents is Arkansas, "the most untouched and unawakened of all American states"—even the South "is inclined to be ashamed of it and says that it belongs more properly to the West, which it doesn't."

What I miss most in the Gunther compilation is any proper attention to the cultural aspects of American life. Newspapers come in for a fair amount

HARPER Books Appraising Higher Education

THE LIGHT THAT FLICKERS

A View of College Education which Contrasts Promise and Performance and Suggests Improvements

By **DEXTER MERRIAM KEEZER**

Formerly President, Reed College, Portland, Oregon

This book is a sparkling distillation of one man's experiences as a college president—observations and an appraisal of college administration by a man vitally concerned that liberal education shall be improved to meet the challenge of the current scene. Far from an abstract discussion of educational theory, his book probes specific problems such as trustee, parent and community relations, curricular organization, extra-curricular activities, honorary degrees and adult education, and presents new, constructive methods of handling them. The result is an amusing but astute overview of college education, an incisive analysis of present weaknesses, and a delightful, humorous picture of the impossible task of being a college president.

"... his observations should be carefully considered and weighed by all who want to improve our colleges and universities. This book, in my judgment, should take its place among books on the higher learning with G. Stanley Hall's 'Life and Confessions of a Psychologist'."—Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago. \$2.50

ANTIOCH COLLEGE

Its Design for Liberal Education

By **ALGO D. HENDERSON**, President, Antioch College, and
DOROTHY HALL

An interesting description and progress report of this college whose educational policies and practices bring fresh vitality into the traditional college pattern. \$3.00

BENNINGTON COLLEGE

The Development of an Educational Idea

By **BARBARA JONES**

A clear, absorbing picture of the total contribution to women's education made by this pioneering institution. \$2.50

EXPLORATIONS IN GENERAL EDUCATION

The Experiences of Stephens College

Edited by **ROY IVAN JOHNSON**

A record of the significant explorations carried out during the past twenty years at Stephens College to redefine and expand the objective of education. \$3.00

TERMINAL EDUCATION IN THE JUNIOR COLLEGE

By **PHEBE WARD**, San Francisco Junior College

A detailed examination of and conclusions about all the phases of terminal education, pointing a way in which post-high school education can better integrate the needs of community and student. \$2.50

At your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS, 49 EASE 33rd ST., N. Y. 16

of consideration, though rarely as to content, but there is nothing about the impact of the movies, nothing about books or book clubs, nothing about the country's magazines, columnists, or comics, nothing about radio, and nothing about advertising—all forces that tend to bind the Boston Irish to the Volga Germans of North Dakota, the Polish Americans of Milwaukee to the Mexican Americans of California.

Much on the cultural side of American civilization may be lying dormant in Gunther's notes for "Inside U. S. A., II." Essentially this first volume is a regional guide, with the emphasis heavily political. City and state "bosses" come in for a great deal of attention, from Memphis's benevolent and surprisingly polished tyrant, Ed Crump, to Maestri of New Orleans, who, entertaining President Roosevelt at lunch, is said to have inquired, "How you like dem oysters?"

It is impossible in a review to do more than suggest the enormous energy that has gone into this book or the wealth of information that comes tumbling out. To Mr. Gunther it all adds up to the conclusions that "the long-run mood of this country is progressive," that "the era of unmitigated monopolistic control of the means of production . . . is as dead as Tutankhamen," and that while free enterprise is far from dead, "the next New Deal will make the last New Deal look mild," because with 23 per cent of the American people living outside the American system, "the free-enterprise philosophy is not working well enough." They seem like sensible conclusions, but, to Gunther's credit, the evidence for them is not stacked. One may read this same huge body of facts and come to wholly different conclusions. As Mr. Gunther says, he is not trying to be a political philosopher but a reporter. That he is—and one of the best.

ROBERT BENDINER

A Good Reminder

IN DEFENSE OF REASON. By Yvor Winters. The Swallow Press and William Morrow and Company. \$4.

MR. WINTERS has here put together the three volumes in which his critical work of the last twelve or fourteen years first appeared in small editions and from small presses. To these he has added an essay on Hart Crane's "The Bridge." Together they make a unit which Mr. Winters is right in calling a Defense of Reason. That is what his work comes to; and that, therefore, is what this review chiefly intends to estimate. For surely there can be no dodging the fact that Mr. Winters's criticism is powerful, informed, consistent, and for the most part just—with only those errors caused by too great a rigidity in the structure of his intellect. Nor, as surely, can there be any doubt as to the enlightening accuracy with which he examines the technical matters, especially the metrical matters, of verse; he belongs with Bridges and Patmore; his prosody is loving and exemplary. That is, it is clear that Mr. Winters's criticism is of great use in getting at American literature both for what it says or tries to say and for how it says or fails to say it. Why is it, then, that his criticism is not in general use? What is so formidable about this body of literary thought that it is more ignored than fought, more fought than understood? Is it that we duck blows that we cannot return?

The answer lies in the habits of our age. Mr. Winters's criticism is judicial; we have a horror of judgment because we do not know what it might destroy in our potential selves. Mr. Winters's judgments are in accordance with explicit standards; we have a necessary preference, in the world we live in, for all the implicit standards we do not measure up to. Mr. Winters's standards have a tendency to be applied through

law; we tend to feel that law either satisfies brute force or results from statistical averages and feel no kin whatever to the *ius gentium*: to the predictive and judicial force of our common nature. Mr. Winters believes in the supremacy of reason, under God, in human affairs; he is therefore orthodox and a monster in the wilderness; for we are not, with regard to Mr. Winters's point of view, either reasoning or reasonable men. He is as alien to us as only the thing we ignore in our hearts can be: the thing we forget we still are.

In the effort to forget a persistent thing we tend to make it something else. We try to make Mr. Winters seem what we mean by an absolutist rather than what he means by it; we make a substance out of a method, and confuse his judgments with the means—his convictions of possibility—by which he makes them. Mr. Winters is an absolutist, but only in the sense that he conceives—like the noble and necessary lies of Plato—that absolute truths must exist, which the mind may approach in apprehension and to which its judgments must attempt to conform; but he does not believe that he is in possession of the absolute, or even that he is possessed by it. He is a moralist and a rationalist; he believes in the serious value and understandableness of the major human enterprises, among which he puts the arts in first rank, and his absolute truths are the ideal forms of his allegiance. He is *therefore* against hedonism, relativism, determinism, romanticism, and that peculiarly modern theory of the division of the mind's labor on experience known as aestheticism. He will isolate nothing, except for analysis, but insists on seizing as much of the whole of experience as may be in an act of rational imagination or imaginative reason. It is not only that he by instinct repels confusion and insists on discerning order in chaos, but that he has a mastering conviction that there *is* relation and there *is* order in chaos and that these are definite and particular and are accessible by moral and rational means. It is thus that for him poetry becomes a precise instrument for the high contemplation—for the deed of high understanding—of a moral, rational, and purposeful life. I am not certain that he would accept it, but I would like to add that under his view

SAVE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

"Should Public Schools Do Church Work?" reveals an alarming disruption of secular education by released time religious instruction during school hours. 16 pages. Send 10c for copy.

The National Liberal League, a membership society, solicits your support and membership in a campaign to maintain complete separation of Church and State. Dues, minimum, \$1 a year. Informative literature sent on request.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, Inc., 35 Park Row, New York

poetry might be held not only to make rational statements about life and to judge it morally but also to create, or elicit, motives in life otherwise lacking or felt only as hidden promptings.

What happens when this point of view is applied to American literature? It is shown as coming everywhere short of its own intentions, as everywhere lost, or agonized, in its possibilities; short, because it could not make rational statements of what it was about; lost, because it refused the illumination and propulsive force of deliberated form. For rational statement it substituted pseudo-statement, that is, statements not correlated to the experience represented; and for deliberated form it substituted what Mr. Winters calls "the fallacy of expressive form," that is, the conception that a thing must have its own form even to that extremity where chaos is expressed by chaos. Thus the triumphs of American literature come about by tours de force, by the identification of the artist with his experience, or by accident.

Of course I exaggerate. And Mr. Winters exaggerates, but not as much as people think; he exaggerates a real thing. Surely it is enlightening to keep his point of view in mind when one thinks how much of modern American literature is either case-history or deals with the artist or outsider as the hero against the world; or again when considering the prevalence of specialized art, specialized criticism, and their consequence in the cult of initiates acting the old part of audience. Mr. Winters only exaggerates to make his point; and if we cannot accept his point as theory we cannot escape it as fact. His work is a very good reminder of the rational and formal qualities present, and highly valued, in almost every living literature except our own. Reading him, the old habits prompt and stir us.

R. P. BLACKMUR

If and When

EXPLAINING THE ATOM. By Selig Hecht. The Viking Press. \$2.75.

AND still they multiply! First we had the Smyth report on atomic energy, than which there can be nothing better. But the book by Smyth was obviously too technical for the layman,

Have you read KNOCK ON ANY DOOR

the tremendous novel by the year's
most spectacular fiction discovery

WILLARD MOTLEY

"A book to jolt and shock you, to impress you with its mightiness and power, a book that will reach out for your heart and emotions, and grip them tightly until you have finished every last one of its 240,000 smashing words.... A literary achievement that should have critics and readers digging into their gift bags for all the superlatives they can find."—*Chicago Sun*.

"MOTLEY, in creating this monumental work... [is] a super-craftsman. The wealth of material and the writer's great compassion are unequalled in anything that has been produced on the Chicago scene."—*New Republic*.

3rd large printing • \$3.00

BEST WORLD SHORT STORIES 1947

Edited by John Cournos and Sybil Norton

THE YEAR'S best short stories by the world's leading writers—Russia's Ilya Ehrenburg; Argentina's Eduardo Mallea; Peru's Ciro Alegria; China's Lau Shaw; Britain's Gerald Kersh, Rhys Davies, Elizabeth Hardwick, Denton Welch; our own Irwin Shaw, Jessamyn West, Margaret Shedd, Thyra Samter Winslow; and others. With a biographical sketch for each writer and an informative introduction by Mr. Cournos. Just published. \$3.00

I'VE SHED MY TEARS

A Candid View of Resurgent India

By D. F. KARAKA. A leading Indian journalist tells the stirring story of his countrymen's fight for freedom. \$3.00

At all bookstores

APPLETON-CENTURY

and that made it imperative for popularizers to rush into the field. The results were of varying quality. But with the publication of Professor Hecht's book we finally get a little masterpiece of popularization.

I have always felt that a successful application of the art of simplifying science for the layman requires not only that the writer be a good writer but that he be a good scientist. Usually we get either one or the other—and sometimes neither. But Hecht belongs to the Huxleyan variety: he is both a first-class scientist and a writer who expresses himself with ease and polish. The result is a book which I would like to recommend strongly to all intelligent citizens. True enough, the lay reader with no elementary equipment of physics and chemistry will hardly take in the contents as rapidly as he would a newspaper column; however, with a little effort, he should be able to digest most of the ideas presented.

Professor Hecht, who by the way is a distinguished biophysicist, uses the historical method in developing his topic. Step by step the drama unfolds, beginning in Act I with the atom of the Greeks and ending in Act II with the peculiar "splitting" of uranium (1939). From then on, "neutrons," "fission," "chain reactions" were used and applied more and more—until the mighty atomic bomb swallowed a section of the earth's crust and shattered the few atoms of complacency still imbedded in us (finale of Act III).

Toward the end of his book Dr. Hecht writes: "If man can put into the practice of world relations the same honesty, the same courage, the same intellect, and the same drive that have gone into science and the accumulation of knowledge, then the future will be a happy one." This brings us to the big "if" and to the inevitable "how." For consider that man: what an incongruous mixture of glory and folly is this fellow; how utterly incomprehensible, for example, that this creature of

nature who dives into the atom and brings to the surface divine specks of beauty and truth should be the same creature who dives into hell and brings about world wars. Ye men of wisdom, what is the answer?

BENJAMIN HARROW

Science as Myth

TRACKS IN THE SNOW: Studies in English Science and Art. By Ruthven Todd. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.75.

WE HAVE long thought T. S. Eliot correct in saying that after the seventeenth century came a fissure between feeling and the scientific intellect, a dissociation of sensibility. These four essays raise, by implication, a certain doubt of Eliot's opinion, for they suggest that between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries painters and writers like Blake, Fuseli, and John Martin appropriated the "experimental and judicious knowledge" of science and heightened it to vision.

The fifty-six illustrations themselves are lavishly demonstrative. Mr. Todd, keeping the easy, competent tone of the British amateur, fittingly chooses his title from the elegant Edward Gibbon, whose taste for the sciences, he believed, enabled the anatomist and chemist to track him "in their own snow."

Eighteenth-century science was, of course, imperfectly experimental and often injudicious in its curiosity about "phlogiston," its evidence on the Druids and the Flood, and its harebrained regard of orangutans, wild girls, and all those outlandish creatures the Scottish Lord Monboddoo pursued for a lifetime—Dr. Johnson: "I am afraid (chuckling and laughing) Monboddoo does not know he is talking nonsense." This uncertain, occultist science, in the "rational" eighteenth century, inspired in the arts visions we can only call nocturnal. Maybe Mr. Todd's largest service is forcing us again to recognize what we have too often forgotten—the nocturnal, Gothic eighteenth century rediscovered by the surrealists.

The five illustrations of "scientific" museum exhibits are, for example, really nocturnal, surreal: the skeleton within a dense and hideously trimmed forest of severed arteries, fiddling upon a necrotic femur or offering us mayflies

and coils of viscera. Here the vision is as double as Tchelitchev's; the pleasures are as ghastly as Dalí's. Studies of fowl and embryos, with other anatomical nudities, by George Stubbs are surrealist animations as well as documents of science.

Blake, intending to free Albion from the science of Bacon and Newton, proclaimed that imagination is divinity in every man. Mr. Todd, in reply, asks whether Blake's ability to see the world in a grain of sand was possible only after microscopic investigations by Leeuwenhoek; his Albion symbolism itself was adopted from Druidical "archaeologists" who reconstructed the Serpent Temple at Avebury; his myth transfigured the speculative myth of the Deluge.

More obsessive are the symbols of Fuseli, that entomologist and nightmare visionary who seemed to Benjamin Robert Haydon simply "a little white-headed, lion-faced man in an old flannel dressing-gown tied round his waist with a piece of rope and upon his head the bottom of Mrs. Fuseli's work basket." Mr. Todd mentions the relation between this contriver of "neatly coiffured obscenities" and the pre-Raphaelites. He might have insisted harder upon his relation with that other arranger of cruel, impassive masks—Aubrey Beardsley, as lapidary as Fuseli but more ceremonial and decorative.

The inventor-painter John Martin hardly belongs in the earlier strange world of Fuseli and Blake. The fissure is deep between Martin's ingenious plans for elastic iron ships and his titanic Biblical spectacles like "Belshazzar's Feast." His visions monstrously enlarge space; he once explained, "I mean that tower to be seven miles high." The tiny studies by Blake, however, prove that mere enlargement of space is not psychological landscape, and Martin's care to be "astronomically correct" indicates that he cannot master the fantastic perspective, the evocative distortion, of the nocturnal eighteenth century. His adaptations from science are literal. He is no *voyant*, but only an illustrator. For him madness is a refuge; in Fuseli and Blake what looks like madness is often an appropriation of science as myth, a special unification of sensibility.

WYLLIE SPYHER

HAVE YOU READ

about the terrorization of progressive Yugoslav-Americans in Farrell, Pennsylvania?

Send for free folder, "FARRELL, PA." AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

23 West 26th Street New York 10, N. Y.

Books in Brief

STALIN MUST HAVE PEACE. By Edgar Snow. Random House. \$2.50.

AM quite ready to believe Edgar Snow when he tells us that Stalin must have peace: so must we all if civilization is to survive. The question whether the Soviet government is following policies likely to secure peace like our own, blundering along the road to war. On this point I find Snow's convincing. However, I welcome his book—an expansion of his *Saturday Evening Post* articles—as a worth-while attempt to explain to the American public the rationale of Soviet actions which appear quite unreasonable to us, and as a useful reminder that we frequently have stones at the Kremlin from a morally exposed glass house. Snow and the *Saturday Evening Post* are to be congratulated on this series. I can only hope that sometime we shall be able to applaud Snow, and, say, *Pravda*, on a companion series explaining America to the Russians. That would be a sign that peace was not only necessary but possible.

WELCOME: AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS. By A. C. Pigou. The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

SEEKING to broaden the outlook of his students, the professor of engineering at Cambridge University asked the doyen of British economists to give them a short course of lectures. This little book, which discusses the forces affecting both the production and distribution of income, is the end-result. Written with rare lucidity and enlivened by a dry wit, it admirably achieves its author's aim of providing "an outline sketch of an important part of economics that shall be intelligible and, if possible, interesting to non-economists."

KEITH HUTCHISON

BERLIN UNDERGROUND, 1938-1945. By Ruth Andreas-Friedrich. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.

THIS BOOK supplements in an interesting way A. W. Dulles's report in "Germany Underground" reviewed in *The Nation* of May 17. While Mr.

Dulles told the story of fateful conspiracies which might have changed the course of history, Miss Andreas-Friedrich, in a diary covering the period from the days of Munich to Berlin's occupation by Russian soldiers, describes the deeds, efforts, and feelings of Germans who played no important part in politics but were merely decent people trying to remain decent during the Nazi years.

Miss Andreas-Friedrich is resentful because the little things that Germans like herself and her friends were able

to do in the fight against Hitlerism were hardly ever appreciated outside of Germany. As a matter of fact, those little things brought many thousands of Germans into concentration camps or to the gallows. The author and her friends, through the years of Hitler rule, helped the persecuted, hid and fed Jews, while they hoped and waited for the day when the Third Reich would be destroyed by one of the two forces powerful enough for this work—the German army or the Allied armies. With the true conspirators the author had only casual con-

The History of Japan

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

This brief but comprehensive history of Japan covers the subject from mythological beginnings to the present American occupation. "For those who want to learn as much about Japan's past as can be learned from one volume, in order to understand her present and make a sensible guess as to her possible future, this is the book," says *The Christian Century*.

The History of Japan is based upon Professor Latourette's *The Development of Japan*, which was originally published in 1918 and went through many editions. For the new book, the author has completely rewritten the material, taking into account the results of recent research and bringing the story up to date. Particularly enlightening is his treatment of the transformation of Japan in the nineteenth century, her rise to the status of world power, and her attempts to dominate Eastern Asia and the Western Pacific.

\$4.00 at all bookstores MACMILLAN

nections. She gives, however, an impressive description of their trials and execution, which in itself makes "Berlin Underground" worth reading.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

Fiction in Review

VLADIMIR NABOKOV'S new novel, "Bend Sinister" (Holt, \$2.75), is about a professor of philosophy in an unnamed country who is destroyed by the tyrannical government that has come to power. By my count the book has four successful moments. Three are moments of amusement.

On page 50 Professor Krug, pressed by his university colleagues to present a petition to the Dictator, with whom he had had a boyhood acquaintance, explains why the attempt would be ill-advised. When Krug and the Toad (the name by which the tyrant is privately called) were at school together, Krug had sat on the Toad's face—and not merely once or twice but regularly, as a habit. "I sat upon his face," said Krug stolidly, "every blessed day for about five school years—which makes, I suppose, about a thousand sittings."

On page 124 two organ-grinders arrive simultaneously in a backyard. The pair of musicians look very uncomfortable. Krug, watching them from a window, comments, "'It is a very singular picture. An organ grinder is the very emblem of oneness. But here we have an absurd duality.'"

On page 142 Krug, on his way to an interview with the Toad, passes through a room equipped with a large radio-like machine attended by three doctors and two members of the secret police, from which there comes a steady beat like an African drum. It turns out that the machine amplifies the Dictator's heartbeats so that the strains on his health can be constantly controlled.

There is also in Mr. Nabokov's novel an instance of effective literary imagination. At the start of the story Krug's wife has died, leaving him with a small son to care for. There is a scarcity of servants, and Krug is forced to hire a very young girl as nursemaid for the boy. This teen-aged domestic, at first only slatternly and incompetent, de-

velops into a horror of lewdness, and Mr. Nabokov very tellingly suggests the root-connection between the nursemaid's degeneracy and the social-political degradation that surrounds her.

Such few moments of wit or enlightenment in a book of 242 pages would not ordinarily be worth this isolation and extended report. The reason I note them here is to indicate how little relief from tedium I was able to find in a novel whose way was prepared by the acclaim which its predecessor, Mr. Nabokov's "The Real Life of Sebastian Knight," received in certain critical quarters and which is itself presented by its publishers as an item of great literary prestige.

I suppose it is Mr. Nabokov's elaborate prose method that persuades his publishers that "Bend Sinister" is so distinguished a work of fiction; and I daresay there will be a considerable public to agree with them. This will be the public that has become so tired of the arid prose and method of contemporary naturalism that it welcomes any change as a change for the better. But in point of fact, what looks like a highly charged sensibility in Mr. Nabokov's style is really only fanciness, forced imagery, and deafness to the music of the English language, just as what looks like an innovation in method is already its own kind of sterile convention.

Here is a sample, a single sentence, of Mr. Nabokov's prose; the scene is on a staircase where Krug has to pass a young couple just come from a fancy-dress party, the boy dressed as a football player, the girl dressed as Carmen:

They separated and he caught a glimpse of her pale, dark-eyed, not very pretty face with its glistening lips as she slipped under his door-holding arm and after one backward glance from the first landing ran upstairs trailing her wrap with all its constellations—Cepheus and Cassiopeia in their eternal bliss, and the dazzling tear of Capella, and Polaris the snowflake on the grizzly fur of the Cub, and the swooning galaxies—those mirrors of infinite space *qui m'effrayent*, Blaise, as they did you, and where Olga is not, but where mythology stretches strong circus nets, lest thought, in its ill-fitting tights, should break its old neck instead of rebounding with a hep and a

hop—hopping down again into this urine-soaked dust to take that short run with the half pirouette in the middle and display the extreme simplicity of heaven in the acrobat's amphiphorical gesture, the candidly open hands that start a brief shower of applause while he walks backwards and then, reverting to virile manners, catches the little blue handkerchief, which his muscular flying mate, after her own exertions, takes from her heaving hot bosom—heaving more than her smile suggests—and tosses to him, so that he may wipe the palms of his aching weakening hands.

Surely writing like this is elaborate chicanery. It is not daring; it is merely wilful. It is not original; it is anarchy in an established pattern. It bears the same relation to the prose of the contemporary masters of innovation as the prose of, say, "Gentleman's Agreement" bears to nineteenth-century prose.

On the other hand, to dismiss it simply as bad taste is to pass over a possible larger significance. Mr. Nabokov's novel is written in a claustrophobic style in which the reader's mind is allowed to do no work of its own, in which we are led by meaningless associations into blind alleys and trapped in boredom. But after all, Mr. Nabokov's story of the dehumanization of man under tyranny is a claustrophobic story. Whether or not it was the author's intention to model his prose system on the social system he is attacking, this is exactly what he has accomplished. If, then, Mr. Nabokov's book is praised as a new kind of literary strength asserting itself against the weakness of the old naturalism, must we not be reminded of the way in which a people who have lost faith in liberal democracy welcome tyranny because it initially presents itself to them as a new organizing strength?

The point is obviously not to be pressed too far, and of course I am not suggesting that Mr. Nabokov is a literary precursor of dictatorship. But I do suggest that the passivity of mind and spirit demanded by "Bend Sinister" is not as far removed as may appear from the passivity of mind and spirit demanded by dictatorial governments, and that when we submit ourselves to it we are perhaps betraying a disenchantment with more than old literary methods.

DIANA TRILLING

Films

JAMES
AGEE

"Monsieur Verdoux"—II

CHAPLIN'S performance as Verdoux is the best piece of playing I have ever seen: here, I cannot even specify the dozen or so close-ups each so great and so finely related and timed that withdrawn and linked in series they are like the notes of a slow, magnificent, and terrifying song, which the rest of the film serves as an accompaniment. I could write many pages, too, about the richness and quality of the film as a work of art, in fact, of genius; and as many more trying, hopelessly, to determine how Chaplin's intellect, instinct, intuition, creative intelligence, and pure experience as a master artist and as a showman, serve and at times deserve one another: for intellectually and in every other kind of self-exhaustion this seems incomparably his most ambitious film. And since the film is provocative of so much that cannot be examined as fun, I wish I might also use the many thousands of words I would require to do it adequate honor, purely as fun. And all the more because I love and revere the film as deeply as any I have seen, and believe that it is high among the great works of this century. I wish I might discuss at proper length its weaknesses as a work of art and of moral understanding. I have reluctantly chosen, instead, to suggest a single aspect of its meaning, which seems to me particularly important. And this itself, I fear, I may have reduced beyond usefulness.

Chaplin's theme, the greatest and the most appropriate to its time that he has yet undertaken, is the bare problem of surviving at all in such a world as this. With his usual infallibility of instinct he has set his story in Europe; Europeans are aware of survival as a problem, as we are not. As rightly, he has set aside the tramp, whose charming lessons in survival are too wishful for his purposes, for his first image of the Responsible Man, and of modern civilization. (For Verdoux embodies much of the best that can be said of modern civilization, whether democratic-capitalist, fascist, or communist: whatever he may lack in the way of conscience, he does have brains; and whatever crimes he commits, they are committed, or so he believes, out of compassionate love and in uncompromising discharge of

responsibility.) The tramp is the free soul intact in its gallantry, innocence, eagerness for love, ridiculousness, and sorrow; we recognize in him much that is dear to us in ourselves. Verdoux is so much nearer and darker that we can hardly bear to recognize ourselves in him. He is the committed, dedicated soul, and this soul is not intact: we watch its death agonies. And this tragic process is only the more dreadful because it is depicted not gravely but briskly, with a cold savage gaiety; the self-destroying soul is rarely aware of its own predicament.

The problem of survival: the Responsible Man. Chaplin develops his terrible theme chiefly as a metaphor for business. But the film is also powerful as a metaphor for war: the Verdoux home as an embattled nation, the wife and child as the home front, Verdoux as expeditionary force, hero in the holiest of causes, and war criminal. But it is even more remarkable and fascinating as a study of the relationship between ends and means, a metaphor for the modern personality—that is, a typical "responsible" personality reacting to contemporary pressures according to the logic of contemporary ethics.

In the terms of this metaphor the basic cast is small. Verdoux, his wife, and their son are differing aspects of a single personality. Verdoux is the master, the intelligence and the deep unconscious; he has estranged his soul and

his future. He has made the assumption that most people make, today—one of the chief assumptions on which modern civilization rests. That is, that in order to preserve intact in such a world as this those aspects of the personality which are best and dearest to one, it is necessary to exercise all that is worst in one; and that it is impossible to do this effectively if one communicates honestly with one's best. Accordingly the personality which, until the world struck that living down, lived in poverty and docility, but happily, is broken and segregated.

The wife and child are shut away in a home which is at once a shrine and a jail; and there, immobilized, and cut off from the truth, they virtually cease to exist as living objects of love; they become an ever more rigid dream. For when the worst and the best in the personality are thus segregated, and the worst is thus utilized in the nominal service of the best, it is inevitably the good, which is exploited; the evil, which thinks of itself as faithful slave, is treacherous master; and evil, being active and knowledgeable, grows; and good, rendered motionless and denied knowledge, withers. Like most men obsessed with the world's ruthlessness, Verdoux carries his veneration of innocence to the extreme; he is determined that it shall never be touched, shall never change (the song of how many million homesick soldiers: "We want to

THE BEST IN LITTLE BOOKS

LITTLE BOOKS

212 Broadway

New York 7, N. Y.

NO INFLATION here! Solid rock-bottom values, only 25¢ each. No sales pressure, just the cream of the crop of handy, famous best-selling Pocket Books, Bantams, Penguins, etc. We'll mail to your order anywhere in U. S. A. Wonderful gifts for vacationists, travelers, convalescents. Take your pick of any 4 (minimum order \$1.00) + add 10¢ for handling and 5¢ for each additional 2 books.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Merriam Webster Pocket Dictionary | 26. T. Smith: The Bishop's Jaegers |
| 2. Whitman: First Aid Ailing House | 27. Bernard Parex: Russia |
| 3. Lawrence: Lady Chatterley's Lover | 28. Fox: Personality of Animals |
| 4. Kogel's Pocket Thesaurus | 29. O'Hara: Appointment in Samarra |
| 5. Maugham: The Running Up | 30. H. Fast: Unvanquished |
| 6. Peter Arno's Pocket Book | 31. Virginia Woolf: Orlando |
| 7. Padover: Jefferson on Democracy | 32. P. B. Robert Frost's Poems |
| 8. Benedict: Patterns of Culture | 33. T. Smith: The Glorious Fool |
| 9. Child: What Happened in History | 34. Puzzles, Quizzes & Games (Bantam) |
| 10. Herodotus: Race & Society (Pelican) | 35. Bunyan & la Carte |
| 11. Caldwell: God's Little Acre | 36. T. Smith: The Fascist's Witch |
| 12. The Weather (Pelican) | 37. Lawrence: The Virgin & the Gypsy |
| 13. Homer: The Odyssey | 38. Lockridge: Murder Out of Turn |
| 14. Anderson: Winesburg, Ohio | 39. Cunningham: Spiderweb Trail |
| 15. Shaw: Major Barbara | 40. J. Cain: Serenade |
| 16. Shaw: Saint Joan | 41. J. Cabell: Jurene |
| 17. Shaw: Pygmalion | 42. Steinbeck: Tortilla Flat |
| 18. James: Daisy Miller | 43. Guttmacher: Story of Human Birth |
| 19. Word: Heavenly Discourse | 44. W. Faulkner: Sanctuary |
| 20. Fowler: Good Night Sweet Prince | 45. Caldwell: Tobacco Road |
| 21. Thurber: My Life & Hard Times | 46. J. Farrell: Short Stories |
| 22. Pocket Book Humorous Verse | 47. Craig Rice: Home Sweet Home |
| 23. Hough: The Covered Wagon | 48. Forster: Passage to India |
| 24. Rosamond Marshall: Kitty | 49. Agatha Christie: East & Kill |
| 25. Spock: Baby & Child Care | 50. Hanski: Good Soldier Schweik |

LITTLE BOOKS

212 Broadway

New York 7, N. Y.

FREE OFFER:

With each order for
10 books choose one
free of charge, i. e.,
11 for the price of 10.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33
34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50

Enclosed please find \$..... for books (minimum order 4 for \$1)
plus cent's (handling charge 2½¢ per copy).

Send to.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

☐ (No charge for gift wrapping and card if desired.)

☐ Send me lists of Little Books.

find everything at home just as we left it"). But change is inevitable, and uncontrollable. Ruthlessness and the murderous adoration of static innocence enlarge each other; and the ruthless man becomes the more ruthless because he has broken all communication with innocence. And innocence itself is altered. At the moment Verdoux tells his wife that they own their home at last; she dares to remember sadly that they were happier when they were poor. Her face shows the terrible drugged passiveness of the oversustained, the still more terrible intuitive guilt that comes of all that is uneasily apprehended, untold, and unasked. Small wonder that she has become a cripple; the wonder is that she continues to breathe. Passiveness was forced on her, truth was destroyed, love was undermined, her own love became

pity, as surely as her husband's, and in pity and in fear she failed to question what was being done. As is so often true, it was not she who wanted to be so well provided for; that was her husband's desire, the one desire he might hope to satisfy; so she let him satisfy it.

As for Verdoux, he is irreparably committed. All the heart he has left prevents his confessing to his wife, and prevents his changing trades. He could only have chosen his course through defect of love—vengefulness and self-pity masked as pity, pity masked as love; the love-destroying, monstrous arrogance it requires to make the innocent answerable for your guilt—and the constant necessity of deceiving love has damaged love still more profoundly. Like many business men who feel unloved, or incapable of full enough love,

he can only propitiate, and express, his love by providing for his family as handsomely as possible. (He can desire this of course, rather than the bare subsistence his wife prefers, only because he respects the standards of the world he thinks he despises. During his docile years, remember, he served at the high altar of modern civilization, breathing year in and year out The Bank's soul-dissolving odor of sanctity, all day every day, touching the sacred wealth he must never dare touch with his conscious desire. When he was thrown out of his job, this ruthlessness released the tremendously impounded ruthlessness in him.) But that is never well enough to satisfy him—and only his satisfaction really counts, in this household—for his wife and child scarcely exist for him except as a self-vindicating dream.

MOTION PICTURE

WILLIAM HOLDEN • JOAN CAULFIELD

IN
"Dear Ruth"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE
—IN PERSON—
PERRY COMO
Star of the Chesterfield Supper Club
PLUS
HELEN CARROLL LLOYD SHAFFER
and THE SATISFIERS and his orchestra

55¢
101 P.M.
(Tax Incl.)
Mon. to Fri.
Inclusive

NOW
TIMES
SQUARE

PARAMOUNT

Midnight
Feature
Nightly

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."
—Garland,
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way, CH 4-4258
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
"DEFINITELY A HIT."—*Morhouse, Sun*
JOHN LOVES MARY
A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA
Directed by MR. LOGAN
MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"A DELIGHT!"—Walter Winchell
HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY
A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"MERMAN'S A WOW."—Chapman, News
ETHEL MERMAN
In the Musical Smash
ANNIE GET YOUR GUN
Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN
Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St., West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 sharp

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

**GIVE
TO
HELP
FIGHT
CANCER**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
88th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENCY
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCHESTER
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

QUEENS
KLEIN, Jamaica
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keltch's
FLUSHING
Keltch's
RICH HILL
STRAW
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
111 W. 42 St.

RKO NOW
DICK HAYMES
Cesar ROMERO VERA-ELLEN Celeste HOLM
'CARNIVAL IN COSTA RICA'
In TECHNICOLOR
—and—
'Tarzan and the Huntress'
Johnny WEISSMULLER • Brenda JOYCE

'ORIGINAL AND DARING.'—N. Y. Post
TERESA ROBERT
WRIGHT • MITCHUM
'PURSUED'
—and—
Sydney GREENSTREET
Directed by RAUL WALSH
'That Way with Women'
Dane CLARK • Martha VICKERS

MAUREEN O'HARA **JOHN PAYNE**

"MIRACLE ON 34th STREET"

A Twentieth Century-Fox Film

In Person
JERRY LESTER
ART LUND
JAN AUGUST

Now
Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at
50th Street

SAY YOU SAW IT ADVERTISED IN THE NATION!
• TO PLACE AN AD CALL BARCLAY 7-1066 •

hich he must ceaselessly labor to sustain, improve, perfect, be worthy of. A vicious cycle is established. Only through the best good-providing possible can Verdoux at once express his love, quiet his dying intuition that his love is defective and that he is wrong even in the little that he believes to be right, sustain the dream that is all that remains of love, require of himself ever more obsessive industriousness in crime, and silence his wife.

As good, by his will, is ever more tonally immobilized, evil becomes ever more protean in disguise and self-disguise, ever more mercurial in its journeyings. (The personality is also a constant metaphor for modern civilization—in which, for one instance, creative power is paralyzed except in the interests of gain and destruction; in those interests it is vigorous as never before.) Verdoux cannot bear to sit still, to stop work, long enough to realize his predicament. He cannot feel "at home," at home. He has to act his roles as perfect husband and father, dearly as he wants merely to *be* both, just as he acts all his other roles. All that he loves is saturated in deceit; and he in self-deceit as well. He gets home seldom, apparently never longer than overnight; the divided spirit can only assert its unity, even its illusion of unity or its desire, in twilight contemplation or in dreams; and the pressure of business is always on him. The pressure of business indeed! Verdoux's family is almost lifeless; such piteously cherished life as it retains, he is hopelessly estranged from. All that requires his intelligence, skill, and vitality, all that gives him life, is in his business. He is the loneliest character I know of: he can never be so desperately lonely as during these hours among those dearest to him, when he must deceive not mere victims, or the world at large, but those he loves. The only moments during which this appalling loneliness is broken, during which he ever honestly communicates, however briefly, with other human beings, are those few moments during which he can know that his victims realize they are being murdered. No doubt he loves his wife and child—there are two of the most heart-stopping, beautiful close-ups ever made, to prove that—but in the fearful depths into which he cannot risk a glance he loves only their helplessness; and deeper, only the idea of love; and that only because it consecrates his true marriage, which is to murder.

(To be continued)

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

VICTOR has issued Bartok's Violin Concerto (Set 1120); \$5.85; Columbia his Piano Concerto No. 3 (Set 674; \$4). The violin concerto is an expansive piece of writing with all the outward appearances of connected musical discourse—but in an idiom that makes no sense to me. It seems well performed by Menuhin with the Dallas Symphony under Dorati, and is well recorded. The piano concerto, on the other hand, is a work whose musical thought I can understand; and the first movement, with its arresting opening proclamation by the piano, its fierce, harsh concentration throughout, is the only music of Bartok I have been interested and impressed by; but the rest of what I understand—like the sour chorale and the bird-twitterings in the second movement, the sour fugue in the finale—I find uninteresting. The performance by Gyorgy Sandor and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy seems good; and it is recorded with clarity and good balance of piano and orchestra; but the sound of the piano is cold and that of the high violins in loud passages stridently sharp.

As for other Columbia releases, they include a new recording of Schubert's great Symphony No. 9 made by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic (Set 679; \$7). The first movement, as Walter conducts it, is spacious and grand; the second is poignant and lovely, its dramatic climax effectively achieved; but the remaining two come out less well. The continuity in pace of Toscanini's performances is a manifestation of their unfailing continuity of impetus, which one would feel even if he played the scherzo movement of Schubert's symphony in the same relaxed manner as Walter, and with the same occasional slowing down of pace. But in Walter's relaxations of style and tempo one feels the slackness that is his chief weakness as a musician. The performance is recorded with insufficient bass; and its sound is dry and drab, with the violins lusterless and sharp.

Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 2, not a work of much consequence, is well-performed by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set 673; \$6); and the performance is reproduced with great distinctness, but again with dryness and lack of luster in the violins (there is also some wavering pitch in

my copy). Tchaikovsky's Serenade Opus 48 for string orchestra, a moderately engaging minor work, gets a burly performance by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra, which is reproduced by a wide-range machine with coarseness that disappears on one of limited range (Set 677; \$4).

Rachmaninov's Piano Concerto No. 3 is the best of the group in substance and structure, but even so it is something to hear only when it is played as he played it—which I haven't yet heard anyone do, and which Cyril Smith doesn't do in his performance with the City of Birmingham (England) Orchestra under George Weldon (Set 671; \$6). The performance is reproduced with richness of sonority, but with insufficient clarity of detail and poor balance of piano and orchestra.

E. M. Forster's address at the recent Harvard Symposium of Music Criticism—of which I have seen the text—was full of sharp insights, formulated with subtlety and wit, which seem to have been as completely out of the aesthetic and intellectual worlds of some of the other participants as one might have expected them to be. I judge from what I was told of the reactions ("They were annoyed because they thought his arguments were wrong but he wowed the audience with an English charm act") and what I read in a Sunday article of Mr. Downes. Considering what the Downeses and Langs at the symposium are usually concerned with in their discussion of a work of art, I can't imagine them even knowing what Forster was talking about—to say nothing of appreciating its deadly force—when, describing the two aims of criticism, he said: "The first and the more important is aesthetic. It considers the object in itself, as an entity, and tells us what it can about its life. The second aim is subsidiary; the relation of the object to the rest of the world." This means consideration of "the conditions under which the work of art was composed,

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE

announces its Summer Session
JUNE 30 to AUGUST 23

GUEST FACULTY: Etich Kahler, Princeton; Beaumont Newhall, Museum of Modern Art; Ilya Bolotowsky, New York; Erwin Bodley, Cambridge; Frank Rice, Charleston; Carol Brice, New York; Charles Bell, Princeton; Harold Sproul, Columbia University; Carl Clement, University of California.

In addition regular faculty in music, the arts, science, and the humanities will be in residence.

Write Registrar,

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE
Black Mountain, North Carolina

the influences which formed it (criticism adores influences), the influence it has exercised on subsequent works, prenatal possibilities"—much of which he conceded to be valuable, "but what meanwhile has become of Monteverdi's Vespers, or the Great Mosque at Delhi, or 'The Frogs' of Aristophanes, or any other work which you happen to have in mind?" If we wheel up to the work of art even the best aesthetic theory "and apply it with its measuring rods and pliers and forceps . . . it doesn't work, the two universes have not even collided"; on the other hand, "if criticism strays from her central aesthetic quest to influences and psychological and historical considerations . . . contact is established. But no longer with a work of art."

Again, those who believe it the critic's function to nurture and guide the artist can hardly have been receptive to Forster's view that criticism was irrelevant to the creative process. It could point out to Forster the large number of sudden deaths in one of his novels, and get him, the next time, to space them out and provide plausible causes, but could not inspire him with anything vital to put in their place. "A piece of contemporary music, to my ear, has a good many sudden deaths in it; the phrases expire as rapidly as the characters in my novel, the chords cut each others' throats"; but these defects "are doubtless vital to the general conception" and "are not to be remedied by substituting sweetness." Criticism could make Forster aware of his immoderate use of the word "but" (the result of a university education); it could caution a legally-minded writer on his "ifs." This was "the sort of trifling help which criticism can give the artist. She cannot help him in great matters."

HELP WANTED

SOCIAL AGENCY concerned with discrimination in higher education seeks services of person qualified to study the problem and devise and pursue remedies. Exceptional opportunity for right man of ability and vision who has genuine interest in subject. Applicants should supply full statement of education, experience and other relevant factors, including minimum salary acceptable. Box 1718, c/o The Nation.

SITUATION WANTED (MALE)

WANTED; A TOUGH JOB. Able labor relations administrator, 31, with 9 years' management, union, government, and university teaching experience, desires position as assistant to top executive. Excellent references. Box 1719, c/o The Nation.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 10th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-4917

BOOKS TOO EXPENSIVE?

Choose your own and save 25%. Order any book you want. Pay for it after you get it. Receive 25% credit on its price. Do this four times. Then use your credit for further books. Let us send you our detailed brochure or simply place your first order now.

BONUS BOOK CLUB, Dept. M-2
558 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 17 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, New York 8, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS

PEACE CELL by Richardson Savell. Three-act timed drama, shatters hydra of militarism. \$65. **SONNETS**—64 passionate narratives. \$35. **GRANDPRINT**, Box 542, Brookline Village, Mass.

TRANSLATOR

EXPERT TRANSLATION: Russian-English, English-Russian. Literary and technical. Call GRamercy 3-1806 from 9-5.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill off Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.

IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

PHYSIOTHERAPY

PHYSIOTHERAPIST (registered) MASSEUSE (licensed), medical and reducing massages at home or in office. Also short-wave and infra-red treatments. Doctors' orders strictly followed, reliable. Call REgent 7-0763 for an appointment.

To place an ad—call BARCLAY 7-1066

VACATION with PAY-OFF

JULY 19-27

An opportunity to combine relaxation with learning at ASILOMAR, CALIFORNIA, on the Pacific, between famous resorts of CARMEL and MONTEREY.

Classes in Economics, Political Action, Civil Rights; swimming; games, beach parties, singing, music, drama, movies and prominent speakers. Trade unionists especially welcome.

\$40 and \$48 for entire session includes everything. Reservations until July 10th. Limited space. \$10 required for each reservation. Summer School followed by 4 weeks concentrated classes in San Francisco school for those interested.

California Labor School
216 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO

MORE THAN A VACATION

World Fellowship, INC.
CORNWALL, N. H.

Forest-Farm-Lake-And-Mountain Paradise

274 acres, 8 buildings. Swimming, Rowing, Fishing, Hiking, Mountain Climbing, Excursions, Games. Also Conferences (between June 30th and Sept. 30th), and the intellectual stimulation of association with our guests from all parts of the world. \$24 or \$31 weekly; \$4.50 or \$5.50 daily. Circulars free.



TRY A CO-OP CAMP

— June 28-August 3 —

Bring family to Homestead, Carmel, N. Y. 50 miles N. Y. C.; 6 miles Brewster, Eastern Hill.

Gam., crafts, folk dances, theatre, singing, campfires, swimming, hikes. Limited 60; non-sectarian, interracial. Adults \$20 weeks; under \$20. Good food. Counselors.

TWIN PINES CAMP CO-OP, Inc.

Tel. Day: Market 2-1749; Eve.: Ford 3-5228

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

WALTELL HOUSE ON FRANKEL FARM

MT. BETHEL, PA.

VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm.

Rates: — Adults \$80 Week — Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

CAMP ELLIOTT NEWTON New Jersey

1,600 feet elevation — 60 miles from N. Y.

BOYS - GIRLS 1-12

Partial Scholarships are available and will be considered

MRS. HELEN G. ELLIOTT

76-30 113th St., Forest Hills, N. Y.

BO 8-2263 or GR 7-0397

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

For Sale—CENTRAL TEXAS FARMS—RANCHES, in size from 400 to 2000 acres, in price \$30 to \$50 per acre. One 1740 acres, well improved and watered. On paved highway. Price \$30 per acre. J. R. Eanes, P. O. Box 28, Comanche, Texas.

SUMMER RENTAL

CANDLEWOOD LAKE, CONN. Beautifully furnished 3-room cottage, new, 63 miles from N. Y. Swimming, tennis. July and August. \$600. TR 4-5592.

COUNTRY BOARD

A FEW PAYING GUESTS in exceptionally beautiful spacious Vermont home on top of lovely hill overlooking all ridges of Green Mountains, RI 9-1774, mornings or evenings, or Box 1720, c/o The Nation.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 21, 1947

NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

MR. GROMYKO'S NEW PROPOSAL ON ATOMIC-energy control brings the subject into what the *New York Herald Tribune* describes as the "middle zone" of discussion. For the first time we have a Soviet plan of international inspection blocked out in some detail. Beginning with his usual insistence on the prime importance of a convention outlawing atomic weapons, the Soviet delegate conceded that an international inspection system could be established simultaneously with such a convention. His plan calls for an International Control Commission responsible to the Security Council. The commission would have wide powers of inspection, with access to uranium mines and atomic installations in all parts of the world. It would not have authority to operate such atomic-energy facilities, a basic feature of the American scheme. Nor would it have the power to impose punishment for violations. This would rest with the Security Council and would presumably be subject to veto. Moreover, the Russian proposal gives wide latitude to national research and development in the field of atomic energy. Some critics already see it as merely a device to prolong the period of indecision and prevent the formation of an international atomic control set-up in a Western bloc of nations. These critics view Mr. Gromyko's whole performance as simply an intermittent filibuster to keep matters open until Russia has its own atomic plants in operation. We prefer to consider the new proposals more seriously. From the standpoint of international security, they appear far from adequate and are open to certain objections that have already been raised in the Atomic Energy Commission. But they have provided a meeting ground for argument that has been singularly lacking in the year since the commission first got to work. They should not, and we are sure they will not, be lightly dismissed.

★

SOMEBODY IS WOOLGATHERING THESE DAYS, but in this particular case he is not in the State Department. Secretary Marshall, strongly backed by former Secretary Hull, has made it quite clear to Congress that the little game they have been playing with wool will wreck any chances of success that Will Clayton's multilateral trade policies might have in Geneva. The sorry spectacle in Washington illustrates all too tragically the

cross-purposes in economic policy that paralyze any attempts we may be initiating to assist in world recovery. An interest-ridden Congress seems incapable of understanding the elementary principles of world trade. And now it turns out that the Department of Agriculture, with a concern for the nation's sheepmen and with an eye to the nation's gigantic wool pile, also played a dubious role in the drafting of the import-fee proposal. The proposed amendments, which would establish import quotas exempt from the new impost, will scarcely win many friends in Australia, 90 per cent of whose imports to this country consists of wool. Nor will it check the growing disillusionment with American multilateral trade talk that has seized the majority of delegates at the Geneva meeting. It looks as if the bill would pass. The President should veto it and give Congress a chance to show some uncommon sense in reenacting the wool subsidy without any new import fee or quota tagged on. This would give the grower what he needs. It would be less expensive in the long run, particularly to the American consumer, who with a new tariff would be compelled to pay a whole series of mark-ups far in excess of the initial fee. Most of all, it would be one way for Congress to prove that an American President is not talking platitudinous nonsense when he says that "we intend to expend our energies and devote our substance in promoting world recovery."

★

IS CONGRESS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH ITS supremacy over the judicial branch of the government in defiance of the Constitution? Recently the Portal-to-Portal Act outlawed hundreds of suits already filed and forbade the courts to take jurisdiction in certain types of cases. The Taft-Hartley labor bill provides for a "general counsel" to the National Labor Relations Board who is to decide, without any possibility of appeal, what cases should or should not be heard by the board. And now the Senate has before it the Reed-Bulwinkle bill, the avowed purpose of which is to exempt the railroads from the anti-trust laws and sidetrack the Department of Justice suit against the Western railroads. Proponents of the bill claim that the railroads cannot indulge in monopolistic practices since all their actions are regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission. But as

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	727
The Marshall Plan	729
Behind the Hungarian "Coup"	731
by Freda Kirchwey	

ARTICLES

Ernest Bevin: A Dramatic Criticism	732
by Benn W. Levy	
Upheaval in East Europe:	
I. The People and the Communists	734
by Constantine Poulos	
Summer Styles for Uncle Sam (1947)	735
by Ezekiel Schloss	
The Dionne Centuplets	736
by Jane Armstrong	
Naval Misrule in the Pacific	738
by John Collier	
Dixie in Black and White:	
VI. King Cotton Strikes Again	740
by A. G. Mezerik	
Letter from Rome	742
by Mario Rossi	
In the Wind	742
France Is Not Finished	743
by Del Vayo	
Everybody's Business	744
by Keith Hutchison	

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Josephus Daniels: A Good Neighbor	745
by Andres Iduarte	
I. G. Farben	746
by C. A. Welsh	
The Eternal Enigma	747
by Albert Guérard	
Limited Warfare in the Atomic Era	748
by Leonard Engel	
Films by James Agee	749
Records by B. H. Haggin	751

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 215	751
by Jack Barrett	753

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor

J. King Gordon

Literary Editor

Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 25 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1979, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is Indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho noted in a strong attack on this legislation, "the language of the bill is such that the ICC, at least in the field of rates, needs only to approve a basic agreement between carriers setting up the rules and procedures for establishing rates. Thereupon any action taken pursuant to that master agreement by the carriers need not be submitted to the ICC and is likewise exempt from anti-trust legislation." Since the ICC in recent years has been notoriously lax in protecting shippers and policing the collusive activities of the railroads, it is reasonable to expect that passage of this bill will solidify monopoly in transport. More than that as Senator Charles W. Tobey has pointed out, "this legislation sets a pattern for supplanting the American system of competitive enterprise." The insurance industry is already seeking exemption from the anti-trust laws and other industry lobbies are not likely to be bashful in pushing their claims.

✱

THE CHOICE OF NORMAN ARMOUR TO FILL the post left vacant by Spruille Braden is another sign that the much-needed reorganization of the State Department means primarily the creation of a staff closely geared to the Truman-Marshall foreign policy. The fact that Mr. Armour is a civilian and a retired career diplomat gave some newspapers the idea that his appointment would offset the growing weight of Wall Street and the army. This is a most superficial bit of optimism. Armour is an efficient, conventional foreign-service man. He is neither an innovator nor a liberal. As Assistant Secretary in charge of American republics' affairs, his assignment is much broader than Mr. Braden's was, including political affairs in all four of the department's geographical divisions—European, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern, as well as Latin American. In this critical post, Mr. Armour will exhibit none of the sharp corners that made his pro-democratic predecessor a problem child in the department. What he will bring to his job is long experience, knowledge and a readiness to help apply the new concepts of American security to Latin America and the rest of the world. We do not quarrel with Secretary Marshall's effort to convert the State Department into a coordinated working organism; what we object to is an interpretation of the Armour appointment as a liberal deviation from recent practice.

✱

LORD TEMPLEWOOD'S WARNING IN THE House of Lords that the crisis in Spain "will lead sooner or later to a situation which is going to create a great international upheaval" comes at a timely moment. The publicity given to the Dictator's tour through the country, when he was acclaimed by enthusiastic crowds shouting "Franco si, Rusia no," coupled with the announcement of a national plebiscite on the Succession Law on July 6, had filled the appeasers in London and Washington with

Even some who sympathize with the Republican case (but still more with the Truman Doctrine) have begun to accept Spain as a link in the "cordon sanitaire" and to justify this attitude by saying, "Well, if Franco is so strong and the people want him, what can we do about it?" The former British Ambassador, whose book on Spain showed him to be a far keener observer than his American colleagues, is less complacent. He fears an outburst in Spain that will gravely complicate the already difficult and sensitive European situation. Lord Templewood has enough imagination to realize the consequences of an open revolt, and he foresees Europe and the world again divided on Spain, with the left in all countries ready to fight on the side of Franco's enemies and every world capital seething with agitation as in the days of the civil war. To avoid such a development he advocates that Britain and the United States apply "an economic embargo to bring an end to the government of Generalissimo Franco." Lord Templewood's attitude has been fully endorsed by the World Federation of Trade Unions, meeting at Prague, which voted to raise a fund to help the resistance movement in Spain. The C. I. O. joined European and Latin American labor in reaching this decision.

✱

THE SPECIAL ELECTION IN WASHINGTON'S Third Congressional District, in which Charles R. Savage, a Wallace man, was beaten by a bare 1,500 out of 5,000 votes, had ramifications and implications, not all of which were accounted for in the press. The press generally acknowledged that the Republicans were somewhat shaken by the apparent loss of 5,500 votes in the district—which had gone Republican by a margin of 7,000 in 1946—but it added with some satisfaction (in the words of the New York *Herald Tribune*), "the fact remains that Mr. Wallace's man was beaten." Many newspapers saw in Mr. Savage's defeat an affirmation, by Washingtonians, of the Truman Doctrine. But even if the explanation of the result were as simple as that, the "affirmation" must be considered pretty slim. The truth is that Savage was on the receiving end of a bitter, if undercover, Republican attack which successfully tagged him as a "red." Reports from the West Coast inform us that "the Republicans succeeded in hanging the De Lacy label on Savage" and that this maneuver, "emphasizing the Communist issue, evidently sank him." Mr. De Lacy, readers will recall, was the left-wing Democratic Congressman who was overwhelmingly defeated last fall. Savage had preserved a cautious silence on foreign policy in the pre-election week, but perhaps he was too silent: it was the week of news from Hungary and Eastern Europe. The Republicans, apparently, were clever enough to tie it all together and persuade the timid that Savage was "dangerous." But they were not clever enough to save the votes of 5,500 people who, after seven short months, were fed up with Throttle-

bottomism and "senseless economies" which would cut the heart out of Western reclamation and power projects.

✱

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING 60,000,000 Americans of diverse creeds and social groups are making a concerted effort next Wednesday to persuade Congress that "The people want housing!" It seems particularly tactless of the House Appropriations Committee, then, to take this moment to announce its proposed \$5,000,000 cut in the Federal Housing Subsidy Fund which would virtually wipe out public housing in America. We shall carefully examine the committee's proposal in an early issue, and meanwhile we urge all who feel housing is our nation's most serious deficiency to make their voices heard on "Fight for Housing Day."

The Marshall Plan

AT HIS press conference on June 12, Secretary of State Marshall added a vital footnote to his speech at Harvard a week earlier. When talking about a program of European aid, he told the correspondents, he included in Europe not only Britain but the Soviet Union. The implication surely is that the Administration is not yet ready to listen to those who advise it to make a separate peace with Germany and concentrate on the salvage of Western Europe. It is going to make at least one more effort to prevent the development of two irreconcilable worlds. Switching the emphasis of the Truman Doctrine from anti-communism to recovery, it is inviting Russia and the countries that it dominates to cooperate in drafting an economic program which will provide practical justification for further American assistance.

This is a wise move. Difficult as it may prove to bring Russia into such a program, it would be still more difficult to leave Russia out. This may be why Ernest Bevin, who has now hailed the Marshall plan with great enthusiasm, was decidedly cautious in his first reactions to the Harvard speech. Even so stout an anti-Communist as the British Foreign Secretary is not prepared to endorse proposals that involve splitting Europe in two. He knows that any attempt to organize Western Europe as an American buttress against the Soviet Union would cause the bitterest dissensions in France and Italy, and in Britain itself.

Moreover, the political rending of Europe would multiply its economic problems. Mr. Marshall in his Harvard speech spoke of the breakdown of exchange between town and country in many lands. The farmer, unable to buy manufactured goods, is unwilling to sell his produce; he prefers to feed his family well and add to his capital by raising stock instead of cultivating crops. There is a somewhat similar breakdown of exchange between the industrial countries of Western Europe and the agricultural states in the East. Division of the Con-

continent would perpetuate this situation, compelling the nations of the West to make up their food deficiencies entirely from overseas and to find new markets for their manufactures in order to provide the means of payment. Consequently, financing the recovery of Western Europe alone might well prove a heavier financial burden to the United States than a program based on the reintegration of the whole Continent.

The Marshall plan recognizes that doling out loans and grants to one country at a time provides, at best, palliatives for Europe's ills. A cure will not be effected until the production of the Continent as a whole is sufficient to provide for a reasonable standard of consumption. Without outside aid, the process of restoring this balance will involve a degree of austerity which only governments with dictatorial powers can readily enforce. This point is well illustrated by the present struggle of the French Cabinet to ward off inflation. The fact is, as Mr. Marshall pointed out, "that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character. The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European peoples in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole."

Many of the economic problems common to the European nations—coal, food, and transport, for example—cannot be dealt with satisfactorily except on a Continental scale. But a solution for such problems ought not to be imposed unilaterally by the United States, and Mr. Marshall, therefore, has invited the nations of Europe to attempt to agree on an economic program which America can underwrite with some confidence that it will serve to set Europe firmly on its feet. Fortunately, there is already in existence a body which might undertake the drafting of such a program—the Economic Commission for Europe of the U. N., which is meeting in Geneva early next month. Russia is a member of this body.

While Mr. Marshall's plan offers a new hope, we need hardly warn readers that the obstacles to its achievement are formidable. One difficulty is the time element, for a major crisis in Europe is likely by early winter at the latest unless action is forthcoming. As the London *Economist* puts it: "If Mr. Marshall's initiative is to be accepted by the American people, it will have to be embodied in an ambitious and inspiring program within a matter of months. But if the European nations are to do anything more than simply add up their national deficits and present the total of one figure instead of half a dozen, they will need much more than three months for the purpose."

Time is required not merely to perfect plans, but to lessen the suspicions that haunt the Kremlin and Capitol Hill alike. We fear the Russians and they fear us. Can we persuade them that our program is not a new form of dollar imperialism? Can they convince us that if we aid their recovery they will not use their renewed strength to spread the world revolution?

Aggressive Soviet tactics and bad manners are not to be taken as proof that Stalin is bent on a career of conquest. They are probably signs of weakness rather than strength, for there is every reason to suppose that Russia is in no position to contemplate war. It will be years before the enormous losses inflicted by the Nazis are recouped and its people can hope for an expansion of consumption. That is one reason why the Soviet government has been so insistent on securing reparations from Germany and other ex-enemy states. We condemn such actions as delaying recovery in Europe, but we have done little to speed Russia's own recovery problem.

If we now want to obtain Russian cooperation in a Continental economic program, we shall have to persuade Stalin that he has more to gain by coming in than by staying out. That involves settlement of some outstanding political differences between Russia and the West. Above all, an understanding on Germany is essential, for as long as Germany remains split in two, Europe will remain divided. Nor can we hope to construct an effective recovery program for Europe that does not include plans for restoring German productivity.

An understandable reason for skepticism in Europe about the Marshall plan is the expectation of bitter Congressional opposition. Capitol Hill has been oversold on "the red peril," and a big scheme of financial assistance that included Russia would certainly provoke many Congressmen to blind but not silent rage. Even a program for Western Europe alone would have tough sledding. The *Alsops* in their June 15 column quote a Senator as saying, "There's going to be one hell of a fight before the Senate will approve another cent for spending abroad."

Fortunately there are men in Congress who are better informed about the international facts of life and fully aware that total collapse in Europe would have shattering repercussions on the political and economic welfare of this country. Senator Vandenberg has announced his general approval of Mr. Marshall's proposals and as a contribution to their realization has called for "a total balance sheet" of American resources. He thinks we should have a clear idea of what would be the effect on our economy of the shipment to Europe of the food, steel, machinery, and other goods that it needs.

Such an investigation is very much in order, provided that it includes a study of the domestic results of a denial of assistance. What would be the effect of the slump in our present tremendous volume of exports which is in-

evitable in the next twelve months unless foreign supplies of dollars are augmented? Could the impact of such a slump turn mild recession into deep depression, leaving idle the workers and machines that might have been supplying Europe's needs? If so, how would this affect both sides of the national budget? An honest answer to such questions will, we believe, show that we can no more escape the consequences of world economic interdependence than we can those of world political interdependence. If we do not aid Europe to become our partner in prosperity we shall surely find ourselves her partner in misery.

Behind the Hungarian "Coup"

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IT IS natural that politicians and headline writers and similar artisans should interpret public happenings to suit their needs and the views of their bosses. One cannot expect them to analyze—or even to mention—the complexities of such events as the Hungarian government upset; to call it a "Soviet coup" or a "Communist putsch" and let it go at that is easier and fits better into the broad anti-Russian policy proclaimed thrice daily in Washington. Since the identical technique is employed by corresponding operators in other countries, with Russia leading the field in both virtuosity and self-deception, the result, however unavoidable, is a worldwide sowing of politically explosive misinformation.

The Hungarian crisis was a made-to-order opportunity for the application of this technique. But others are coming along: in Bulgaria, in Austria, in Rumania. Poland, too, at no great distance. Each will be attributed by one side—the Russian—exclusively to the machinations of the Western powers to restore the old reactionaries to power; and by our side to a Russian coup intended to tighten the Kremlin's strangle-hold on a helpless people. Both stories will be fractionally true, but neither will take account of the other or of the convulsive dislocations and readjustments that make such crises inevitable in Eastern Europe even without the eager intervention of foreign interests.

That Moscow used the crisis in Budapest as a means of shifting the weight inside the government to groups and individuals favorable to its interests may be taken for granted. That it also fabricated the conspiracy for which members of the Smallholders Party have already been convicted is wholly unlikely. Whether the confession of Mr. Kovacs implicating ex-Premier Nagy, who has just arrived to tell his story to the American people

and the State Department, was extorted or ghost-written I do not know. Although the Russian chairman of the Allied Control Commission refused to hand it and other evidence over to the Americans, several Hungarian papers in this country have printed what purports to be a full text; if it is authentic, the authorities in Washington can examine it without Soviet permission, and form their own conclusions. But nothing they now discover can alter the fact, established through court trials normally conducted, that a conspiracy against the government was hatched in the ranks of the Smallholders and as a result a government and party crisis developed which finally involved the ousting of Mr. Nagy and his replacement by Mr. Dinnyes.

Since the Soviet Union controls the Hungarian government in all essentials and will continue to do so as long as the Red Army remains in the country, the change can benefit Russia chiefly by eliminating possible trouble-makers and creating conditions which may keep friendly elements on top after the occupation ends. At the same time, the Western powers have been politically checkmated, and without undue cynicism one must assume that this fact accounts for the shocked solicitude expressed in Washington—and, more circumspectly, in London—about the fate of certain democratic virtues whose absence in Greece has at most been officially noted only in passing.

The United States believes Russia is trying to extend its control throughout Europe and the Middle East, if not beyond. Russia believes the United States, with Britain as a half-hearted ally, intends to challenge Soviet influence even in the countries immediately bordering it. The Truman Doctrine undoubtedly stimulated Russia to counter-moves, as was certain from the start. Russian moves have produced the latest American crop of accusations and demands. These in turn will surely lead to new demonstrations by Moscow that its interests are not to be jeopardized by Western pressure. And beneath the surface of this mounting political warfare is the all-but-disregarded struggle of a group of backward countries to throw off the remnants of an oppressive oligarchy and an economic system both corrupt and antiquated.

In Hungary full-fledged fascism came to power three years before Mussolini took over in Rome. The white terror wiped out the liberals and radicals and thousands of Jews—together with the reforms initiated by the weak but democratic government of Count Karolyi and the short-lived dictatorship of Bela Kun. Horthy and his Awakening Magyars enthroned Hungarian chauvinism in all its primitive unreason. The "squirearchy" regained power; the peasant suffered and had less to eat than before the war. But when Hitler drew Hungary into the Axis camp, the chauvinists easily accepted their country's satellite role in the ingenuous belief that eventually it

would lead to the restoration of Hungary's lost frontiers, and their own lands. The Horthy-Bethlen régime was among Hitler's most contented slaves. And it was not until the Red Army fought its way into Hungary and set up a provisional government at Debrecen that the chance came to overthrow the ruling clique and make another try at establishing a decent order.

It is not true that this has been accomplished ruthlessly. It has not even been accomplished effectively. When the Russians went in, many of the best Hungarian democrats were in exile. The country was badly smashed by the war. People were hungry, and still are. The Red Army looted huge amounts of movable property and fed itself off the country, as it still does. The financial system was in ruins; money became worthless. And Russia, far from forcing revolution on Hungary, seemed to care little what sort of system was established as long as the government proved amenable.

From the beginning, the necessary revolution in Hungary has been compromised and weakened by divided counsels, corruption, political intrigue, Russian indifference coupled with Russian exactions, and the lively sabotage of collaborationists and dispossessed landowners and officials. The marvel is that the land reform was actually put through: the great estates were divided, the squirearchy stripped of its power.

But in a country like Hungary, with no middle class and no tradition of democratic procedure, even a halting revolution could hardly be expected to take place without coercion on one side and conspiracy on the other. An entrenched and arrogant ruling class does not give up without a struggle, and since fascist parties had been outlawed, the Smallholders Party became an asylum in which rightist leaders found refuge. Though the party won a large popular vote, it is essentially weak as the result of profound conflicts among its disparate elements. In a revolution, no politician can merely remain neutral; if this was Mr. Nagy's attempted role, it was doomed at the start. But if he took sides, he must have done so knowing he was also choosing between Russia and the West.

Meanwhile the United States, ignoring every factor except the one that relates to the spread of Russian power, has taken the counter-offensive. The politicians shout Soviet coup, the press repeats it in letters three inches high. And in the midst of the clamor, few people remember that twenty-eight years ago the Allied nations betrayed their promise of help to a Social Democratic regime in Budapest and deliberately permitted the dictator Horthy to seize power. Russia was relatively weak then, but still the West didn't want to take any chances with left-wing democracy. Instead it chose fascism.

Ernest Bevin: a Dramatic Criticism

BY BENN W. LEVY

London, June 6

It was in Margate last July, I walked upon the Pier
And met a little vulgar boy and said: "What make you here?"

THIS week the couplet has been running in my head. The rest of Barham's poem I have forgotten, though once as a small boy I earned a pair of boxing gloves from my father by committing it to memory. (I have them still and look at them sometimes, a little wistful that they are now too small.) But I think the legend goes on to narrate how the Little Vulgar Boy, parading his righteousness and his unequal struggle against cruelty and injustice, exploited the narrator's innocence and duly "did him down." From which a gently cynical Victorian moral is drawn by way of epilogue.

It would be facile to identify the visiting politician with the astute urchin of the Ingoldsby Legend, but in

so far as it is true that politicians are an especial kind of animal, their peculiar characteristics offered themselves for an examination of particularly concentrated clarity in the bright Kentish sunlight of the conference week.

The simpler folk of theaterland have in one respect a greater acumen, which would have made them a less susceptible audience at Margate than the politicians provided for each other. The actor who seeks his effects with clichés and calculation or whose mechanics are easily penetrable, they describe as "ham": and they smell him from a distance without error or effort. Poor Ernie Bevin would have had them giggling politely in their handkerchiefs. The "star" entrance, solo, delayed until the third day; the preliminary build-up while he is still "off"; the on-flood of arc lights withheld during the foregoing sessions (this particular effect has discreetly obsolesced since Benson's day); the grave unsmiling majesty of countenance; and then the role itself!

It is a fine variegated role. Sometimes, perhaps most often, he is the wounded bull, wounded but bravely fighting on, struck down by villainous foreign hands

BENN W. LEVY is a well-known dramatist and a Labor member of Parliament. "Art and Mrs. Bottle," "Topaze," and "Springtime for Henry" are among his most successful plays.

when success was just within grasp (foreigners are people who have never been trade-union officials). Sometimes he is the quiet confidential chum. "Well, really you know . . ." is the familiar opening of these passages. Sometimes he is the patient Atlas, reluctantly but dutifully carrying the world of foreign affairs upon his back. When, if the truth were known, he would have much preferred, after the General Election, to have retired into the tranquillity of private life as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

But whatever the role, it is always rich with "character." An important point this, as any experienced actor will confirm. The "straight" part starts at a heavy disadvantage. Squire Hawkins can never compete with long John Silver. No actor who knows his world would accept a two-legged in preference to a one-legged part. Irving's defective palate was an asset. So have been Churchill's lisp and comical hats. Baldwin strove to illustrate himself with pigs and pipes and Mary Webb. Bottomley rose in an aura of patriotism, champagne, and militant affection for clergymen, widows, and race horses. Joe Chamberlain marked himself with orchids and monocle. Dizzy and Palmerston paraded a whole battery of extravagant "properties." Jim Thomas is alleged to have been sedulous in the dropping of his niches. Since him, few trade-union politicians have realized that a proletarian diction may sometimes be accepted as the assurance of, if not, even, a substitute for, socialism; Bevin is one of those few. This and a silhouette as globular as Bottomley's are not the least of his tremendous capital equipment.

Let there, however, be no mistake: these valuable things are adjuncts, not essence. Bevin is a "star" in his own right. Merely to know the tricks of the trade is not enough. Talent is not enough. The quality of a star still awaits definition, but it is the quality that makes an audience attentive while Mistinguette walks down the long inevitable stairway of the Paris music-hall stage and inattentive while her prettier understudy does the same thing. Bevin could deputize for Mistinguette any night of the week, and no one would demand his money back.

Like other writers of fiction I have sometimes sought to depict a politician. We nearly always fail. With mothers-in-law and civil servants, he is a traditional music-hall, club, and public-house target, but the shafts fly with a simple jeer and without the need for elaboration imposed upon the writer. The music hall notes briefly the vanity, the histrionics, the platitudes, the evasions, the compromises, the self-righteousness, the exhibitionism, the *faux-bonhomie*, the bogus indignation. (For satire deals with the debit side only.) But the novelist or dramatist must not merely assert but illustrate these qualities—and a few others as well.

Sitting and listening at Margate to Ernest Bevin, a most capable politician in his most characteristic form, I wondered why that kind of thing was so hard to capture and distil into fiction. It is partly perhaps because the context is indispensable and rather too large and too complex to convey. Take for instance his *scène à faire*, the climactic "stab-in-the-back" passage. A casual observer would have seen merely a rotund little orator, shaking every ounce of his flesh in an abandoned passion of righteous indignation expressed in the clichés of routine melodrama. The true and magnificent virtuosity of this performance would have been missed. Anyone can be as angry as that upon due provocation, but how many of us could preserve the full flower of spontaneous fury in the ice-box for nine long months and trot it out at the right moment, with not a petal blemished, faded, or impaired? How many of us would have known so unerringly the right moment from the wrong? There were many earlier opportunities, but a sure political instinct passed them by. The skilled politician must know when to be angry, when to be confident, when to be hurt. He must know, moreover, which questions to answer and which questions to pretend to answer. The latter is a delicate operation. If he is able not merely to accomplish it but actually to score points with it, he is at the top of his tree. If I had been asked why our troops in Palestine and Germany could not be reduced and I had replied in effect, as Bevin did, that we had successfully moved thousands of troops in Egypt from one barracks to another without the loss of a single British soldier, I should have met with precisely the derision I should have expected. He, on the other hand, evoked precisely the outbreak of applause that he expected. Not more than a dozen of his audience smiled. Even his critics relaxed in warm admiration of such virtuosity. Here was a master of his trade.

Now it is over-simple to be morally censorious of all this. When you have noted that the thunder of his rage is only the tin thunder of a stage effect, that the bull moves with the wary premeditated watchfulness of a cat and the quickness of an eel, that the air of bluntness is a brilliant bluff, it is as well to remember that not only absolutism corrupts; so do the exigencies of democratic politics. If you are protected by a prophylactic simplicity like Rhys Davies or old George Lansbury or by a religious probity like Stafford Cripps, your course will be subject to the same limitations as theirs. You can be savaged and demolished as Lansbury was savaged by Bevin ten years ago. You can lose your popular acclaim, as Cripps has, through a Jeremiaical truthfulness. It is therefore fairer to ask whether the disingenuousness of the accomplished politician is redeemed by an ultimate fidelity to basic principle. The answer, one way or another, to this question will provide the final judgment on Ernest Bevin.

Revolution in Eastern Europe

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

I. The People and the Communists

Vienna, June 1

IN A few months it will be three years since the Red Army, driving the Wehrmacht before it, started its triumphant march into Eastern Europe and the heart of the Continent. Three years is not a very long time in the history of the region, but the tempo of change has been greatly accelerated, and out of the events and developments of this period a new Eastern Europe is evolving, and making a desperate effort to catch up with the world.

It is possible to generalize about Eastern Europe only if honesty and fairness are sacrificed. Austria and Czechoslovakia are exceptions to any generalization about the political scene. The non-Slav states, Hungary and Rumania, with their peculiar economic backgrounds, are exceptions to the prevailing economic situation. Poland and Yugoslavia may appear to be under very similar regimes, but basic differences exist.

Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia are all within the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. All have had revolutions. In both respects Austria will eventually have to be classed with them.

The revolution is not, of course, over, and it varies in form and fabric from country to country. Only Poland and Yugoslavia had a revolution in the classic sense, and this explains much of what has happened in those countries since the end of the war—just as post-war developments in the other countries are explained by the fact that their revolutions were brought about by the entrance of the Red Army.

Russia cannot be held wholly responsible for the revolution in Eastern Europe, which has nowhere gone exactly as Moscow would have liked. Whether it came from "above" or "below," the revolution was inevitable: the rotten political, economic, and social conditions could not survive the ferment of war and resistance. But one must give credit to the Soviet Union for guaran-

teeing the first phase of the revolution and saving it from being smothered in its cradle by Western-supported counter-revolutionary forces, as happened after the last war.

Obviously, neither the direction nor the method of the revolution has pleased the West. The still-born revolt of 1917-25 might have taken a "democratic" form which the West could have approved. But not this revolution. The difference between Western and Eastern democracy, on which we insist, is reflected in the difference between a Western and an Eastern revolution.

The present revolution was born of the collapse of German imperialism, native feudalism, and fascist oppression, amid physical devastation, economic ruin, and human misery. The fatuous, selfish, do-nothing nationalist regimes of the past have been replaced by governments whose leaders not only understand the social problems of their countries but have the ability and will to do something about them.

This revolution will not stop or recede. The youth of Eastern Europe is behind it. By their prodigious efforts in the past two years the workers have proved their devotion to it. The former landless peasants have a stake in it.

Admittedly not all the people are in favor of the new regimes. The old ruling classes, the old army castes, the professional politicians of the past don't count. But there are many others for whom the turn-about was too sudden. The gap between feudalism and socialism is a very wide one. Many people still do not understand the causes of their present difficulties. Nazi oppression in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania was so carefully executed that large sections of the population never learned what it meant. Class distinctions were so savagely beaten into the submerged masses for so many centuries that some of them are still afraid to walk with their heads up.

In time these attitudes will change. Peasants here and there, in Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary, assail the regime but at the same time admit that its policies may improve agriculture. Old men object to new ways but with childlike enthusiasm crowd into the little schoolhouses and churches to benefit from the anti-illiteracy campaigns. Peasants in remote parts of Hungary who never dreamed of going to school watch with pleasure as the school comes to their children. Balkan women voting for the first time show they are acutely conscious of beginning a new life. People who never before in their lives could benefit from clinics and nurseries or

CONSTANTINE POULOS, Balkan correspondent of the Overseas News Agency, has spent the last eighteen months traveling through Eastern Europe by jeep. He is probably the only American correspondent who has visited every country east of the Trieste-Szettin line. This is the first of several articles on the general political picture.

enjoy sports clubs and canteens are increasingly willing to stand by the new governments.

Contrary to the widespread belief in the West, the people of Eastern Europe are not as concerned about political freedom as they are about economic security. That civil liberties are meaningless without economic security is a simple truism whose force is appreciated by the most backward worker or peasant. It would have been nice if, after the war, political and economic democracy could have been established simultaneously in Eastern Europe. But given the historical and sociological background of these countries, how could that have been done?

Parliamentary democracy is based on compromises between social classes and political parties. But the peoples of Eastern Europe at the end of the war were in no mood for compromise, and they had no long tradition of political cooperation to fall back on. The governments today are following patterns of political behavior which go back many decades.

The present tremendous economic and political upheaval in Eastern Europe is either ignored in the West or vilified as a Russo-Communist creation—which, strangely enough, the Russians and the Communists claim it to be. But it cannot be judged by Western standards or interpreted according to Dun and Bradstreet or Time, Inc.

Men who are working with the Russians and the Communists today because to do otherwise would be to lay out the carpet for the old order—the Socialists, radical peasants, independent leftists, and intellectuals who helped make the revolution—feel that the Communists have proved themselves able leaders, fully aware of the needs of the people. They give the Communists most of the credit for the phenomenal revival of industry and agriculture, despite three successive years of drought, in all these countries except Austria. On the other hand, it is they and not the men sitting outside, complaining, plotting, and running to the American and British embassies, who best know the mistakes and the weaknesses of the Communists. They have no illusions about the Communists or the Russians. They recognize and accept the Communists for what they are.

Except in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia the Communists have been in a tough spot. They have had to be the official apologists of the Soviet Union and all its policies. The exigencies of power politics have forced them into strange contortions—which they never seem to find painful: they have been obliged to embrace collaborators, to appease, to vacillate, to find scapegoats when things go badly. Like devout, dogmatic, cunning Jesuits, they believe in the righteousness of their cause and that all means to attain their goal are blessed and justified. In



SUMMER STYLES FOR UNCLE SAM (1947)

some countries they have been reluctant to assume power alone; yet by their very training and mentality they are "ill-fitted" to work in coalition governments. They become frightened and hysterical when unbelievers present programs or solutions which are better than theirs. This partly accounts for their dishonest efforts to make "fascism" and "reaction" synonymous, and for their unsuccessful attempts to monopolize the progressive socialist spirit of the workers. Try as they may, they cannot control the revolution. While many conditions are similar, Eastern Europe today is not Russia in 1917.

Not the least of the reasons why the revolution in Eastern Europe cannot follow a "Russian" pattern is the Soviet Union itself. It was to the interest of the Soviet Union that the power of the old ruling classes and the social order on which that power was based should be destroyed. But after the revolution passed through that first phase, the Soviet Union did little to help it—indeed, it has hampered it. Russia's relations with the countries of Eastern Europe since that time have been guided by the same cynical selfishness which is apparent in its relations with the big powers and which reveals its continuous sense of insecurity.

Not only has the revolution been hindered, but two years of wasteful requisitioning by the Red Army, undisciplined behavior by Russian soldiers, and ruthless economic exploitation have aroused a popular revulsion

which has enabled the professional Russophobes and the old ruling classes to steady themselves. By protecting and preserving the first phase of the revolution, the Soviet Union automatically assured the execution of far-reaching reforms. But then its economic pressure and its removal of food, livestock, poultry, finished goods, and machinery prevented the new governments from extending their economic reforms and delayed the realization of their social aims.

The new regimes—including the Communist members, although the latter seldom speak about it—know that Russia's ruthless tactics have set them back many years. And thus another vicious circle is formed. The more the governments, which feel they have not been given a real chance to show what they can do, sense a wave of feeling against them the more reluctant are they to allow political freedom to the opposition. The Russians, aware of the same revulsion, hesitate to loosen their grip for fear that violently hostile governments will again be lined up on their borders.

The existing governments are really Russia's best friends. But Russian policies consistently serve to weaken them. It is the old story of the defenses, by their very nature, destroying what they were designed to preserve.

To protect and extend the revolution, the governments of Eastern Europe are looking more and more to one another, and in this lies the hope for the future.

The Dionne Centuplets

BY JANE ARMSTRONG

Toronto, June 10

THE adventures of Mr. Ludger Dionne with his hundred Slav girls have given Canadians one of the liveliest issues into which the press and Parliament have sunk their teeth for some time. Although the country has diddled along for two years without adopting a positive post-war immigration policy, the news that Mr. Dionne was roaming the D. P. camps of Germany recruiting girls for his rayon spinning mill at St. Georges de Beauce, Quebec, brought prompt reaction. Canadians might not be decided on what to do about Europe's refugees, but their minds were clear on what *not* to do. In newspaper reports with screaming headlines and in a fierce debate in the House of Commons severe censure was expressed for Mr. Dionne's method of rescuing Europe's homeless—and for the Liberal government that had secretly aided his scheme.

JANE ARMSTRONG is a Canadian journalist.

The details squeezed from reluctant Liberals by Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Progressive Conservative members of the opposition combined into a curious story. Ludger Dionne, who is also a Liberal member of Parliament for Beauce, determined last fall to relieve the chronic labor shortage in his spinning mill, where he employed some 400 French Canadians in a non-union shop and the turnover last year added up to 550. He suggested first to the Department of Labor and then to the Department of Welfare that he be given special permission to import indentured women from displaced persons' camps. Both departments turned down his request. But the mill was running at only one-third capacity, and Mr. Dionne tried again. This time he interviewed the Honorable James A. Glen, who as Minister of Mines and Resources also handled immigration matters, and the government, on Mr. Glen's recommendation, passed an order-in-council on April 1 permitting importation of 100 girls from Europe. Mr. Dionne at once took a plane for Germany,

Parliament was then in session, and immigration was in the order paper. By some curious coincidence this particular order-in-council was not tabled, and when in April a press leak started C. C. F. members sniffing suspiciously, Mr. Glen replied evasively that any new policy "on immigration would be announced in due course."

By the first week in May enough details had trickled out to send the public's blood pressure soaring. When trade unions heard of the contract terms Mr. Dionne was planning to impose on his new hands, they promptly denounced him as an exploiter of slave labor. The C. C. F. and Progressive Conservative members—unaccustomed bedfellows—joined forces to lambast the government. Mr. Dionne's plan, as outlined in a letter to Mr. Glen, was simple. The girls were to sign a contract to work in St. Georges for two years. They were to be billeted in the nearby convent under the chaperonage of forty nuns of the Good Shepherd. Twenty-five per cent of their weekly wages was to be deducted to repay their transportation to Canada. (In his haste Mr. Dionne spared no expense, chartering three transatlantic planes specially for them.) They were to start work at 26 cents an hour for a forty-six-hour week, with a boost to 30 cents after the first month. Later they were to go on piece work along with the other girls in the mill. Six dollars would be deducted from their pay envelopes for board at the convent. Since Quebec's wage standards are notoriously low, it was the clauses covering indentured labor and deductions for transportation that drew the most fire—Canada has an Alien Immigration Act supposed to outlaw both these abuses.

As public feeling mounted, Mr. Dionne's jaunt to Germany was discussed from one end of the country to the other. Interest was fanned by bulletins from his headquarters in Frankfurt. The girls—Polish, Ukrainian, and Yugoslav—were selected by Polish priests supervised by representatives of the United States Roman Catholic welfare agency and the Vatican Mission. These agencies, said Mr. Dionne, were anxious to have the girls emigrate rather than "be forced back under Joseph Stalin's philosophies." They were all Roman Catholics, and though this would appear sensible considering their destination, the religious issue is a dangerous one in Canada, where French Canadians block immigration of Anglo-Saxon Protestants, English Canadians try to keep out European Catholics, and both are opposed to Jews.

Last week Mr. Dionne's fleet of airplanes brought the final group of girls to their new homeland. Canadians studying their photographs in the newspapers could not help noticing that the shrewd little mill owner, who claimed to be snatching humanity from the misery of a concentration camp, had assembled a surprisingly healthy-looking team. They were young—from sixteen

to twenty-seven years old—and their powerful physiques would obviously stand up under work in a spinning mill.

The matter was not to rest there. Coinciding with the labor influx at St. Georges came an announcement by Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labor, that officials of three big pulp-and-paper companies were already in Europe recruiting 1,400 men between the ages of twenty and forty for work in the northern Ontario lumber camps. The companies guaranteed ten months' employment at prevailing wages. Although the arrangement was similar to the Dionne case, the government, perhaps forewarned, altered conditions slightly by assuming the role of overseer and having Canadian immigration officials help in the selection. On the heels of this came still another announcement that an agreement had been completed among the government, the needle-trades unions, and the garment manufacturers to bring in at least 1,000 skilled needle workers.

It appeared then that a broad, government-sponsored immigration plan was breaking up into piecemeal negotiations. M. J. Coldwell, leader of the C. C. F., rose from his seat in the House of Commons one afternoon last week and asked for an explanation. He demanded a full discussion of government policy in allowing Canadian industrialists to bring specially selected displaced persons to work in Canada under contract.

There had been fair warning of Mr. Coldwell's intentions, but the Liberals put up a weak defense. In no time the debate skidded on the issue of whether Mr. Dionne was a humanitarian or a heel. Mr. Mitchell, the Labor Minister, thought the member for Beauce—too busy mothering his new brood to be present—should be "given his day in court" to explain things; Mr. Mitchell himself, he confessed, did not know the exact terms of the contract. The Labor Minister was followed by Clarence Decatur Howe, who was acting as Immigration Minister for Mr. Glen, also absent from the House that afternoon. Mr. Howe had not seen the contract either, but he maintained that there was nothing extraordinary in the much-talked-of clause which required the mill girls to repay their transatlantic fares out of their wages.

C. C. F. and Progressive Conservative members then unloosed a barrage, for it had been established that the only information the Liberals had about the terms of Mr. Dionne's private immigration scheme was contained in the letter from the mill owner to Mr. Glen. In that letter Mr. Dionne definitely set down his intention of getting a full return on his investment. The opposition pressed this advantage, and only the recess for dinner saved the Liberals from being shoved to the wall. In the evening the fracas was continued, but help arrived in the nick of time. Before an amazed House Mr. Howe waved a piece of white paper and announced he had Mr. Dionne's contract right in his hand. Where it came from no one knew, but it contained a clause stipulating that

no deductions for transatlantic fares should be made from the wages of the workers.

The bizarre situation, however, was not ended. The so-called contract turned out to be an agreement made in London, England, between Mr. Dionne and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Whether it took precedence over the terms accepted by the government in Ottawa was questioned sharply by John G. Diefenbaker, a Progressive Conservative. Scathingly he said that the overseas contract was a very weak straw for the government to lean on, since it reversed the terms of the scheme as originally approved.

The next day Canadians savored the reverberations of the debate but wondered what it had accomplished. Mr. Dionne's Slav battalion is certainly here to stay. Some thought the government might be prodded into launching a broad immigration policy; others were afraid the C. C. F. attack might be used by the Liberals as an excuse for doing nothing about Europe's stateless persons.

A week later the country had a partial answer. Mr. Howe unexpectedly tabled a new order-in-council authorizing the entry of a first batch of 5,000 immigrants on the quota system. The government has assumed responsibility for their selection and transportation, although the cost is being paid by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Employers still may go to Europe to help pick their workers, but the Immigration Department has the final say. Any D. P. suitable for employment in an industry where labor is short can be admitted. All contracts between employers and workers must be approved by the Labor Department.

It is not a daring or sweeping immigration plan, but it gives reassurance on one point. No more secret or special permits will be handed out to private employers; the movement of immigrants to Canada will be in the open. That was the purpose of last week's debate in the Commons, and Canadians can congratulate themselves that the point was established.

Naval Misrule in the Pacific

BY JOHN COLLIER

SHALL the peoples of Guam, American Samoa, and a hundred islands of Micronesia be granted civil rights? Or shall the United States navy continue to rule them by lawless absolutism, as it has ruled Samoa and Guam for forty-eight years, since 1899? The question and the necessary facts for a decision are squarely before Congress now, in spite of the somewhat oblique resistance of the White House, the Cabinet, and the admirals. Hearings by the House subcommittee on territories and islands of the Public Lands Committee have lifted the lid.

A witness before the committee remarked, "If my testimony sounds extreme, it will be because the facts are extreme." Indeed, the facts are so extreme that the American mind has refused to take them in; this circumstance, together with the extreme persistence of the navy's lobby, has for nearly fifty years defeated the Islanders in their struggle for elementary rights. It may yet defeat them through the next fifty years.

The 13,000 inhabitants of American Samoa and the 23,000 inhabitants of Guam are ruled by a naval officer who is changed on the average every eighteen months. He makes the laws, executes them, and sits as the court

of last resort in all cases, civil or criminal. The result is not merely a theoretical denial of all civil rights; it is a complete practical denial of them. It is also inefficiency of fantastic dimensions with accompanying financial extravagance, as is only now fully known.

For brevity, I limit my examples of naval misrule to Guam. And I draw mainly upon a report by a civilian committee sent by the navy itself to Guam and the other islands—a committee whose chairman was Dr. Ernest M. Hopkins, president emeritus of Dartmouth College. Most of my facts were supplied by that committee; the others have been given repeated public statement, are fully documented, and have never been disproved or even denied.

The Chamorros of Guam, now called Guamanians, are a rather extraordinary people. In the seventeenth century they resisted Spain in a thirty-year religious war, which cut down their number from perhaps 50,000 to 3,000. The surviving remnant embraced Catholicism and became full citizens of Spain. Across long periods Filipinos who resisted land feudalism and debt peonage were exiled to Guam; their blood and their modes of thought entered the Guamanian stream. Today the bilingual or tri-lingual Guamanians—Chamorro and Spanish, Chamorro and English—are known to many Americans, especially ex-service men, as people of high sophistication, versatility, beauty, and charm.

Autocratic rule over the Guamanians, said the navy in the decades before Pearl Harbor, was necessary for

JOHN COLLIER, formerly director of the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior, is now president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs.

security reasons. The security was fantasy, and the navy knew it: Guam fell to Japan in twenty-four hours.

The Guamanians resisted the conquerors. Some hundreds—the exact number is not yet known—were shot, beheaded, or tortured to death for loyalty to the United States. Congress authorized compensation to the Guamanians for war damage but was persuaded to make the navy the court of claims. The Hopkins committee's report shows that at the present rate of settlement by the navy the claims will not be disposed of in less than twenty years; and it describes the awards which the leisurely navy does make as "in many cases mere piti-ances." To give an example, Claim No. 21, as adjudicated by the navy, is quoted verbatim: "Maria Rosa Crisostimore, Sinajana Village, Guam. On September 12, 1944, during the United States reoccupation, the claimant's husband died as a result of a beating inflicted by the Japanese. Amount claimed \$5,000; amount allowed, \$665.10."

When the United States attacked Guam, the capital city, Agana, home of half the island's people, was blasted to rubble, and other towns were similarly wrecked. The reoccupation forces took for their own use two-thirds of the island's land area, including most of the farmland. Congress appropriated \$6,000,000 for rehabilitation. The Hopkins committee found that after two and a half years none of the destroyed towns were ready for occupancy and that there was no clear indication of when they would be. Meanwhile the navy forbids the Guamanians to reenter their towns or to use any of the seized land, even for gardening purposes; it has paid them neither rental for the properties taken over nor their capital value.

The navy operates the only bank on Guam, and this bank refuses to accept any claim or fraction of a claim as loan collateral. But under the existing conditions most Guamanians have nothing to offer as collateral except their claims.

Large construction work is proceeding on Guam, through contract with mainland and Hawaiian contractors. These contractors pay good wages. But by published and enforced order of the naval governor they may not hire local labor for the work. Thus the Guamanians, shut out from their farmlands and towns, with their savings destroyed, their claims unpaid, and credit denied them, can work only for the navy and in the domestic and other servicing of the naval and other white personnel. Moreover, the navy fixes their wages—at less than one-fourth the amount paid to whites for identical skills on identical jobs. At the same time the Guamanians pay a flat 10 per cent sales tax, levied by the governor, and living costs exceed mainland costs. It is impossible, the Hopkins committee states, for Guamanians to subsist on the navy-decreed wage. They are doing forced labor at a starvation wage. In effect, the navy is maintaining the

repartimiento system of forced labor at depressed wages which was the disgrace of Spain in the New World and which depopulated Mexico and the Andean highlands. On Guam Spain never introduced the *repartimiento*.

In the Hopkins committee's report a curious schizophrenia may be noticed—not a conscious irony, for the committee displays no sense of humor. The facts of the report and its over-all recommendations are in head-on collision. Take, for example, the matter of war-damage claims. The committee found, and describes with much detail, extreme inefficiency and stupidity and outright institutional dishonesty, but it recommends that the navy shall continue to rule the Guamanians for an indefinite period and cites the handling of war-damage claims—and of rehabilitation, which, though six million dollars is in hand for the purpose, simply does not move at all—as a controlling reason for the recommendation. Unable to deny or explain the facts, the navy, at the current House hearings, has nevertheless used the same argument.

One more example: the Hopkins committee recommends continued naval rule because, it says, any other rule would cost much more money. Then it gives the cost of Guam naval government, exclusive of rehabilitation costs, compensation for properties taken, and payment of war-damage claims. A breakdown of the figures shows the cost of government to be \$88 per capita per year. The committee sets up no comparisons, but they are available. For Alaska the per capita cost is \$55; for Puerto Rico, including its land program and its large research program, \$25; for Western Samoa, whose health record shines beside that of Guam, \$14; for New York State, \$54.95; for the all-embracing United States Indian Service, including its costly boarding schools and its large reclamation, forestry, and soil-conservation operations, \$75.

Until the present the navy has resisted the demand for citizenship and for statutory underwriting of civil liberties, and its views have always prevailed in one or the other house of Congress. Now it has capitulated on these two issues, at least so far as the public record goes. The remaining issue, and for Guam the decisive one, is that of administrative jurisdiction.

Naval administration, as a matter of policy, is totalitarian. Its control of the economic life of the Islanders is a boundless control. Anti-democratic administration and economic totalitarianism are not an environment in which self-rule can grow. Nor will citizenship and organic acts guaranteeing civil liberties for the Islanders change the navy from what it institutionally is—rank-dominated, authoritarian, and thing-minded, not man-minded. Jurisdiction over the Islanders should go to the Interior Department at once; later, perhaps, to some new independent civilian agency charged with the affairs of all territories and dependencies.

The present House hearings center in the Poulson bill (H. R. 2753) and the Grant bill (H. R. 3044). Both are good bills, the Poulson bill being the simpler of the two and limited to Guam; if it passes, equivalent enactments for American Samoa and Micronesia will follow more or less automatically. But the writing of organic acts for the Polynesians of American Samoa and the many native groups of Micronesia calls for much knowledge and caution; these peoples should in fact

draft their own organic acts, with advice and help as needed, as was contemplated in the Biemiller bill (H. R. 6585), which died in the last Congress and was not reintroduced in the present one.

Now is a time of hope for the Islanders; in tortured Guam it is a time of desperate hope. Action on the bills should be pressed, for one or two years hence, when public attention has been dulled, inertia and the navy's lobby might blot out the Islanders' chance.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

VI. King Cotton Strikes Again

Memphis, Tennessee

THIS is the historic capital of the Delta country, the center for the cotton planters of the Deep South. Here cotton is king. Cotton has been ruler of the South's destiny for a long time. It has become the legend and the symbol of the South. But its sway has been ruthless, and it is about to strike again.

Every year thousands of persons make a pilgrimage to Natchez, Mississippi, south of Memphis, to see the beautiful homes once occupied by the owners of the great cotton plantations. People who have never lived in the South like to step back into that old setting. Standing in the gardens where camelias, azaleas, magnolias, and roses bloom, and looking through the waving fingers of Spanish moss at the gracious verandas of the colonial mansions, they are reminded of a serene and gay world, full of ease and elegance, where colonels sipped mint juleps on the porch while Negroes sang in the fields.

The big houses that stand in Natchez were built on the riches created long ago by cotton. Cluttered around them, therefore, are little one-room, unpainted, windowless shacks where the slaves lived who made the big houses possible. These shacks are still lived in by the people who have worked so hard and been paid so little ever since that day in 1793 when the cotton gin was invented.

Before the invention of the gin the preparation of cotton for spinning was such a long and arduous process that cotton was not a profitable crop. The coming of

the gin brought fabulous wealth to the owners of plantations and slaves. Every square inch of land where cotton would grow was given over to the white blossoms. The luxury of the plantation owners became legendary, while the rest of the South's people sank deeper into poverty. The books call this exclusive growing of cotton "the one-crop system"—a colorless name for a custom which has kept a whole section of the country in a state of semi-starvation for a century and a half.

Cotton is a crop which exhausts the soil very quickly. A hundred and fifty years of cotton growing have ruined 61 per cent of the land in the South. Cotton culture also demands a great number of workers, and the need for this cheap labor fixed slavery on the South. After the Civil War a substitute for slave labor was found in the South's unique class of serfs—the share-croppers and tenant farmers.

The big cotton grower no longer owns slaves but he still owns the land. He divides it into small tracts and places on each a family which will devote its whole time to cotton. The tenant is often not even allowed to grow vegetables. Big families are wanted, for the more hands the better when it comes to chopping or picking cotton. Tools, food, and clothing are advanced by the plantation owner at interest rates which range from 10 to 29 per cent, according to a report on nine Southern counties by Professor Forester of North Carolina State College. The share-cropper or tenant may pay half the proceeds of the crop for the use of the land. From the remainder he repays the sums advanced for necessities and the exorbitant interest charges. He is never out of debt; he ruins his health and the land trying to make ends meet; and he sees his family grow up handicapped by undernourishment and ignorance.

A few figures will show what the rule of cotton has meant. During the years 1940-44 Mississippi was fortunate; its income went up 157 per cent—to \$519 a person. But this must be compared with New York's

A. G. MEZERIK is the author of "The Revolt of the South and West." The next article in his series on the Southern states will discuss the current progressive trend in Kentucky.

average income of \$1,600, or with the \$1,200 necessary for a good living standard. In the boom year of 1942 the average resident of Mississippi spent \$2.10 for furniture; the figure for the whole South was only \$4.30. Bathrooms, the barometer of comfort in America, are found in only fifteen of every hundred homes. As far as the share-cropper is concerned, the state's present mild prosperity is largely statistical, for the wages of factory workers account for the major part of the per capita income increase—a fact not unrelated to the present C. I. O. organizing campaign. In Natchez the C. I. O. has recruited 2,000 workers, a sizable proportion of the 16,000 residents, but it has not been very successful with the share-croppers, tenants, and field workers of the cotton plantations. These form a huge group. More than 50 per cent of all the land in the South is farmed by tenants and share-croppers. In the Delta country below Memphis the percentage rises to a startling 80. Nearly 2,000,000 Southern families are caught in the web of tenant-farming and share-cropping, and more than two-thirds of them are white. Cotton is behind the dirt and degeneracy of "Tobacco Road" just as it was behind the gracious living portrayed in "Gone with the Wind."

The South's shiftlessness is not due to the hot Southern sun but to pellagra and malaria—2,000,000 Southerners suffer from malaria each year. If more than half of the farm homes are unpainted, it is because paint costs money. If the people are unwashed, it is because only one house in twenty has running water. And if the spoken language sometimes sounds like a comic strip, it may be because the South has only sixteen cents of every dollar spent in the United States for schools, while it has one-third of all the children. New York spends ten times as much as Mississippi does on each classroom.

It is only too true that the cotton states have not had the desire to do much for their citizens, but it must be recognized that they cannot afford to do what is required. Mississippi, at the bottom of the national ladder in education and so much else, spends 3.41 per cent of its income on education. New York spends only 2.6 per cent—but what a difference in income, and what an argument for federal aid on a basis of need! One of every four Southerners has never gone beyond the fifth grade, and in Mississippi forty-five of every hundred children are not enrolled in any school.

The crippled cotton lands inevitably breed ignorance and racial antagonism, chain gangs, lunatic politicians, and lynchings. The need for action is urgent, for King Cotton is about to strike again, and this time not against the South alone but against the whole country. The new mechanical cotton picker, the experts say, will push from five to eight million people off the land. This year one company, the International Harvester, will put out 1,500 cotton pickers. Anderson, Clayton and Company,

the world's most important cotton firm, reports that the cost of picking a bale of cotton by machine is only \$5.26, as against \$39.41 by hand. A one-row machine picker can do the work of fifty people, and a double-row picker can do the work of a hundred. As these machines come into general use in the next few years millions of Southerners will become "displaced persons."

See what will happen as they take to the highways and crowd into Northern and Western towns seeking homes and jobs. Illiterate or semi-literate, warped by poverty and ignorance, they will drag down the level of citizenship wherever they go. The Bilbos and the Rankins of the whole country will find new opportunities among them. The K. K. K. and the Columbians will be brought into the North and West.

Mechanization will ultimately benefit the plantations of the South. The cost of production will be lowered, and the comparative few who work the land may get more income. Certainly the big planters, the 10 per cent who now own 90 per cent of all cotton production, will vastly increase their profits. But a great number of field workers will lose their livelihood, and as human beings they are the first consideration.

For them the most realistic solution would be industrialization, but not many monopolists will build factories in the South to remedy social conditions. A few of the South's rich men, are seeking this way out, notably a group in Alabama who have taken over a war plant and will manufacture paper pulp. Resettlement offers another solution for the problem of the American D. P.'s, and there has been some national thinking along this line. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture has a program for converting much of the South's eroded and exhausted cotton land into dairy farms, truck gardens, and pasture for livestock. This would be a carefully planned shift, financed by the federal government. But Congress shows no more interest in the bureau's program than in various other proposals, one of which calls for the creation of ten-family cooperatives to farm five-hundred-acre units with modern machinery.

Southern landlords evidence even less anxiety about the plight of their fellow-citizens than does Congress and are proceeding with their mechanization plans regardless of the human consequences. Ed Crump, undisputed political boss of the cotton-growing Delta, is more concerned with maintaining his alliances with the region's Northern and Southern economic chiefs than with bettering the lot of his lowly subjects.

It is obvious that the old order will not act in time. New forces, North, South, East, and West, must take up the task. Educators, the awakened people of the neighboring Tennessee Valley, younger business men, the revitalized church—all these groups, and with them the growing C. I. O., have this tremendous job to do. But they cannot do it alone; the whole nation must help.

Letter from Rome

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, May 25

THE political situation in Italy is becoming tremendously important. What is now happening here is bound to have great influence on the whole balance of power in the Mediterranean. According to persistent rumors, the Allies are building up their military strength in Italy and not giving a thought to leaving the country. Wanting to see for myself how much truth there was in these rumors, I made a week-long trip through central Italy. In Florence I discovered that the whole Caschione section is being requisitioned to accommodate 150,000 American soldiers. In Leghorn the Americans seem to be unloading war material day and night. On the Adriatic coast, near Rimini, British troops supported by Polish units and German prisoners of war are ruling the countryside. I was astonished to see how splendidly British, rightist Poles, and Germans were getting along together. The Germans go about town quite freely, driving their own cars, and are as arrogant as if they had won the war.

The continued presence of Allied troops two years after V-E Day is causing strong resentment. At first it was directed only against the British and Poles, but feeling is growing against the Americans. If Truman intends to apply in Italy the same policy as in Greece and Turkey, he is taking the wrong approach. The majority of the people feel that they have been betrayed by everyone, and care nothing about either Truman or Russia. They want only to get rid of the occupation troops and try to rebuild their country.

I visited Abruzzi, Tuscany, Marche, Latium, and Emilia and found the countryside green and tilled as of old. Villages that were razed to the ground by the German scorched-earth policy or Allied bombings have risen again. Hundreds of workers are keeping the roads in repair; many dynamited bridges have been replaced by temporary ones.

I spoke with farmers and artisans and inquired about their plans for the future. Most of them replied that they gave little thought to the future because a war would come in a few weeks or months, and so why bother?

Italians don't feel free. They know that powerful foreign forces are trying to shape their future. The Pope cannot reconcile himself to the thought of having his seat in a leftist country. And it is quite evident that the Americans are trying to help him in his plans to avert a leftist victory. It is significant that the government crisis began so shortly after Tarchiani's visit to Rome; there are speculations that he brought word that Amer-

ican help is conditional on the formation of a more rightist Cabinet.

De Gasperi was only too glad to resign in order to facilitate this task. Every time he is confronted with a major problem demanding immediate solution—as at the present moment the financial situation—he diverts the attention of the people from it by provoking a government crisis. Christian Democrats more directly under the influence of Catholic Action have for a long time clamored for a break with the Communists. The same insistent request has come from the right, which has pointed to Ramadier's example in France. But the most interesting figure in Italian politics today is still Togliatti. He is a magnificent speaker and astute political strategist, as the Sicilian elections have demonstrated. He overrules principles, but he knows what his party wants and how to get it.

Everything indicates that Italy will inevitably in the near future become the battleground of the controversial ideas of East and West if not of actual armed forces.

In the Wind

HEREWITH THE WIND'S early summer breeze on the state of the arts and education in America. Most of this information is from California, where recently Katy Hepburn went to bat against "abridgments of freedom" at a Wallace mass-meeting. In a free-swinging and crowd-pleasing speech she hit out at the Un-American Activities Committee, the people who ousted commentators Shirer and Kingdon, book-banners, bigots, and assorted witch-hunters.

MEANWHILE, AN OUTFIT known as the Native Sons of the Golden West has asked California and federal officials to outlaw the use of labor schools by G. I. students.

AND THE CALIFORNIA ART CLUB has criticized a recent Los Angeles art show in the following words: "Too many of the paintings emphasize the poverty and misery of people in America, and there is too much exploitation of ugliness. . . . We are used to having things of known beauty held up to the people. . . . [We cannot condone] expenditure of tax funds for the display of subversive propaganda inimical to our form of government."

"THE MERCHANT OF VENICE" has been taken off the list of required reading for high-school students in Haverhill, Massachusetts, at the request of a rabbi who says that "the character of Shylock is an exaggerated distortion of Jewish attitudes and conduct," and that the play causes Jewish students "much discomfort and self-consciousness."

JAMES T. KIRKLAND, a teacher at the Dwight Morrow High School in Englewood, New Jersey, is also proprietor of the Moss Lake Camp, "an exclusive camp for girls." In the school paper, the *Oracle*, Kirkland advertises that his camp is for "Christians only." The course he teaches at Dwight Morrow, by the way, is "Problems of Democracy."

MARIO ROSSI is The Nation's correspondent in Italy.

Del Vayo—France Is Not Finished

THE French railway strike is over, but the ominous problem that underlay this last demonstration of labor's restlessness continues to block the painful road to recovery. First of all, the strike further embittered those persons who are always more concerned with their personal routine than with anything else. To stand for hours and hours on a hot summer day in front of padlocked gates of railroad stations waiting to get home from one's daily work or to flee to the country over the week-end is not calculated to make the average Frenchman more friendly to organized labor. The railroad strike followed a millers' strike that had already left fourteen departments almost without bread and reduced the ration from 250 to 200 grams a day. It came after the threat of a gas and electric strike that precipitated a bitter controversy over the right of employees of a nationalized industry to force a shutdown in defiance of the state. It came when dozens of other minor strikes had either just been announced or miraculously averted. It came, in short, at a moment when to impatient Frenchmen the mere word *grève* (strike) seemed a personal affront.

But beyond all these subjective reactions the railroad strike had extremely damaging consequences for the nation as a whole. During the last two years France has made an impressive and moving effort of reconstruction. I went to France last year in February; when I left in August the situation had visibly improved. I witnessed the same progress this year, from January to April.

It is pathetic that after the great "battle of coal" and the strenuous production drive carried through by the workers of France those same workers should risk destroying the results of their own labors. But that is what a prolonged rail strike would have meant. It would have kept away from the pitheads in the departments of the North and the Pas-de-Calais thousands of miners from neighboring areas. The electrical strike would have paralyzed many branches of industrial production. Therefore it is understandable that from a national as well as a personal point of view many Frenchmen are becoming strongly anti-labor. It is, in fact, on this growing impatience that many extreme De Gaullists pin their hopes, believing that by early winter the mounting crisis will throw the people into the arms of the R. P. F. (*Rassemblement du Peuple Français*) and its leader. But to get angry is not to settle the crisis or to explain the cause of France's difficulties.

The simplest explanation would be of course to blame everything on the Communists. Thus Premier Ramadier has repeatedly insisted that behind the nation-wide wave of strikes are his former left-wing colleagues in the Cabinet. It is also true that up to the beginning of the year, as long as the Communists were in the government, the party line was opposed to walk-outs and in favor of a steady increase in production. But on the other hand we have the testimony of Jules Moch, also a Socialist and the Minister who heads

the department directly involved in the action of the railway workers. Moch spoke of the "mysterious" manner in which the strike broke out without authorization of the union, and other comments in the Paris press underlined the almost casual start of the walk-out. Apart from possible political motives and maneuvers, there was undoubtedly truth in the comment of the union, after the strike began, that "the movement was due to the misery in the railway-men's homes."

One must remember that even during the period when the Communists were "against work stoppages and for an increase in production" they added, "but with price controls exercised in the interest of the workers." They could not say anything else. I participated as fraternal delegate of the Spanish General Workers' Union in the big convention of the C. G. T. in Paris last year, and I heard people argue from the floor: "All right, but we are not going to remain with our arms folded while prices go to the sky." There were men there from the old syndicalist wing of the C. G. T. who told me: "These Communists go too far in asking us to starve for the glory of the state." Since then the cost of living in France has continued to rise.

It is tragic for a good Socialist like Ramadier to have to fight the workers to save the franc. He said very bluntly that should he grant all the railway workers were asking it would mean an increase of twenty to thirty billion francs and the danger of a runaway inflation. Perhaps the root of the evil lies in the halfway planning that characterizes the present economic policy of France.

For weeks past the French press has been engaged in a most serious and interesting discussion of the problem of *dirigisme* (planning). The right points out that the demonstrations in the big cities where the crowds shouted "Down with economic control!" "Enough of government interference!" prove that the country is fed up with planned economy. The left says people forget that *dirigisme* is in itself only a method and that it cannot work if it is not propelled by daring and constructive revolutionary initiative. Between them, Ramadier and Blum maintain faith in the possibility of harmonizing planning with freedom. It is a fascinating debate which I hope to discuss further on this page.

But the crisis of *dirigisme* or of *pseudo-dirigisme* and the tragic struggle of France to keep up production, halt inflation, and permit its people to live do not justify gloomy predictions about the future of France. In 1940 France was already pronounced dead—and it revived: in great part thanks to the wonderful French proletariat, which in that decisive hour was the heart of the Resistance, and which even now, in the midst of such distress and passion, has shown a great sense of responsibility. The railway workers kept their promise to maintain the distribution of food and in the end accepted Ramadier's proposal of a wage scale below their claims and still farther below their needs.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Have We Enough Oil?

LAST week, writing about the opposition of the "independent" oil interests to the Anglo-American petroleum agreement, I mentioned their fear of foreign competition and their constant and vehement denials of any danger of an oil shortage in this country. Some of the Texas independent operators, for instance, have accused the government of a "malicious attitude" toward the domestic industry and have alleged that its "propaganda" about diminishing oil resources is designed to encourage foreign developments.

In considering this problem it is necessary to discuss separately its short-term and long-term aspects. In regard to the first, there is undeniably an immediate shortage of certain kinds of petroleum products, a shortage which is being met in part by a net import of oil into this country for the first time in history. In the last few days it has become known that both the army and the navy are concerned about their inability to procure oil for their needs. So seriously does the government regard the situation that Secretary of Interior Krug has summoned a special conference of Cabinet members and agency chiefs for June 17 to formulate plans to alleviate petroleum scarcities.

The current trouble has not arisen because of any falling off in crude production; that is being maintained at a peak figure of over five million barrels daily. The difficulty is that demand ever since V-J Day has been outstripping all estimates. When the end of the fighting cut back the services' tremendous need for oil, industry experts anticipated a sharp fall in total demand followed by a gradual climb back to the war-time peak, which they thought would be reached again in 1951. Well, we have passed that peak already and are still climbing. A spokesman for Standard Oil of New Jersey said recently that he expected demand to increase by 4.5 per cent over the next twelve months if there was a recession; if industrial activity held at its present level, the increase would be over 7 per cent.

There are a number of reasons for this tremendous demand. The public, released from gas rationing, has returned zestfully to the road, and old cars run fewer miles per gallon than new. There are more trucks in service than ever. The railroads are turning to oil-burning diesel-electric locomotives, and the use of this type of prime mover in other industries is expanding rapidly. In the ten years from 1935 to 1945 installed diesel horse-power jumped from 5,500,000 to 45,000,000.

Probably the most spectacular growth in demand has been in that for fuel oils. John L. Lewis encouraged both householders and industrialists to install oil-burning furnaces, and he is now probably getting some grim satisfaction from the fact that it is going to be difficult to keep part of this equipment functioning next winter. The shortage seems to be

especially acute in the case of the heavy residual oil used by industry. More efficient refining methods have increased recovery of gasoline and other light products and reduced the proportion of residuals. The shortage is to some extent being made up by imports, but since the scarcity of fuel oils is world wide, it is doubtful whether the current volume of shipments can be sustained.

However, the Independent Petroleum Association of America in a report issued June 10 claims that "there is no indication of an over-all shortage of oil." It admits "spot dislocations of supply and demand," which, it says, "are interpreted incorrectly as evidence of a real oil shortage. The need for new facilities—new wells, new pipe lines, and new refineries—continues to be the critical issue in the petroleum supply-and-demand outlook." The implication is that there is plenty of oil in the ground but that the means of processing it are inadequate. In part this is true, and the oil industry has a huge construction program which should eventually enable it to catch up with its refining, transport, and storage needs.

How far the sinking of new wells will lead to an increase in total production it is not easy to say at this time. Although drilling costs are high, present crude prices encourage active development. The industry's program for 1947 comprises 30,000 wells with a combined depth of 100,000,000 feet—nearly 19,000 miles. But will a sufficient proportion of these wells prove productive enough to maintain reserves unimpaired? Of course it is always possible that some vast new pool will be discovered, but with the continental United States pretty thoroughly surveyed, the chances get less each year. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, of the ninety-seven "wildcat" (exploratory) wells drilled in California in the first five months of this year, only four yielded oil. In the corresponding months of 1946 eleven out of eighty-one "wild cats" proved productive.

Last year, the American Petroleum Institute reports, proved reserves of crude oil increased by 2,658,062,000 barrels. Subtracting production during the year of 1,726,348,000 barrels, this made a net addition to reserves of 931,714,000 barrels. That would seem fairly satisfactory; yet the annual report of the Texas Corporation appraised the results of oil prospecting in 1946 as "very disappointing." Most of the increase in reported reserves, it pointed out, was due to revisions of previous estimates and extensions to known fields. Less than one-tenth of the total—the smallest amount in ten years—was added by the discovery of new pools. Moreover, reserves at the end of 1946 represented thirteen years' production as compared with fourteen years at the end of 1936.

These figures do not indicate that the United States is within measurable distance of exhausting its oil resources. But it may mean that it will not be possible to expand production much beyond its present limits. Yet it is clear that the trend of consumption is strongly upward and, barring a major depression, will remain so. A Standard Oil of New Jersey official recently estimated that domestic demand would rise by 1,100,000 barrels daily by 1951 while crude production increased less than 500,000 barrels. Unless his forecast is wildly inaccurate, a steady increase in imports will be essential to fill the gap.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Josephus Daniels: A Good Neighbor

SHIRT-SLEEVE DIPLOMAT. By Josephus Daniels. The University of North Carolina Press. \$5.

MR. DANIELS'S book has unusual interest both for the United States and for Latin America. Written with good faith from the first to the last page, it will be read with pleasure by every American of good-will and with equal satisfaction by liberals of whatever nationality or language.

The case of Mr. Daniels is truly exemplary: to represent a militarily powerful country to a weak neighbor and in the performance to enhance the moral and intellectual prestige of the United States, and at the same time make every effort to understand Mexican life and Mexican attitudes, was not an easy task. Mr. Daniels not only accomplished this; he has now crowned his accomplishment by writing a clear and frank book about his experience, a book which expresses both his love for his own country and his keen interest in the people of Mexico. Mr. Daniels considers himself—as he repeatedly says—a shirt-sleeve diplomat. That is the sort of diplomat that the United States, and the world, urgently needs.

Mr. Daniels's assignment to Mexico had a special significance by reason of a historical incident in which he had been one of the principal actors. As we all know, it was Mr. Daniels who as Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson Administration ordered the American fleet to take over the Customs House at Vera Cruz on April 21, 1914, an engagement in which 126 Americans and 19 Mexicans died, and 195 Mexicans and 71 Americans were wounded. This measure was designed, so Mr. Daniels tells us, "to help 'liberty-loving Mexicans to free themselves from the Huerta reign of absolutism.'" But to Mexicans, both Huertistas and anti-Huertistas, it was an intolerable intervention. Those of us who were youngsters at the time and saw American marines in the ports of Campeche, well remember the pain we suffered in knowing that they were

also in Vera Cruz, not as visitors but as masters. Mr. Daniels's appointment as ambassador was received in Mexico at first with surprise, indignation, and threats; his arrival gave rise to hostile acts which, as he tells us, the Mexican government did not make public and was finally able to stamp out.

One of the charms of Mr. Daniels's book lies in the simplicity with which he states that he had forgotten the Vera Cruz incident. His wife had not. "But you can't go to Mexico," she said. "You and Franklin may be sure the Mexicans have not forgotten. . . ." Nevertheless, certain of his good faith and eager to demonstrate it, Daniels accepted the difficult assignment with enthusiasm. When he left Mexico nine years later he carried with him the affection and good-will of many Mexicans. And Mrs. Daniels had had a large share in winning it. Daniels convinced Mexicans that times had changed and that there were many Americans like himself who were determined that the new course of Mexican-American relations should continue. His keen desire that this should be so fills the pages in which he describes his visit to President Madero's widow as well as those in which he condemns the policy of Henry Lane Wilson—and the passages in which he refers to his friendship with the family of Martínez Zorrilla, one of whose sons died defending the Customs House at Vera Cruz.

The book covers nine important years in the history of Mexico—from 1933 to 1942. Mr. Daniels has written his memoirs with facility and skill and charm. He supports his impressions with official documents—which give the book historical importance—and reprints the vivid letters he sent to his friends in North Carolina. The three Presidents of the republic with whom he had official dealings also appear in the book—Abelardo Rodríguez, Lázaro Cárdenas, and Manuel Avila Camacho—as well as many other important figures, such as Plutarco Elías Calles, the former President, and Miguel Alemán, the one-time governor of Vera Cruz and Minister of the Interior who became President in

1946. Mr. Daniels's judgment is always generous and careful. He mentions, and passes judgment on, many high Mexican functionaries, on his own predecessors at the United States embassy, on Americans who visited Mexico during his mission—bankers, intellectuals, newspapermen, artists. Always he expresses a firm and clear opinion, yet never falls into negative or damaging criticism. For example, in referring to Mr. Morrow he says that the former ambassador had "tact and charm," and he uses the phrase, "all the world loves a lover"; yet he concludes by saying that "a Morgan partner could not resist the temptation to direct financial policies." Likewise, in discussing the past and present of Mexico and in describing the places he visited he indulges neither in false praise nor in interpretations which might be offensive to Mexicans.

His book is interesting in other ways—for example, his discussion of the American Confederates who went to Mexico and their relations with the Maximilian empire, a historical episode of the first importance which has never been accorded sufficient study.

Especially important of course are the chapters which deal with the great problems of Mexico—the religious issue and the question of oil. He answers the unjust accusation that he supported religious persecution by presenting documents which completely exonerate him. He writes, "I took every occasion to express my conviction that democracy, freedom of religion, and public education were a trinity that alone would bring light and leading to a free people." At the same time he presents the reasoning of the Calles government: "Catholic church leaders today deny they are in politics, and even when admitting that this is true, the government officials say that they are ready to return to their old activities if they were not restrained by the government measures." With the same impartiality and sense of responsibility, both human and patriotic, he follows the course of the expropriation of the petroleum industry, of which he does not approve and which he regrets, but which he tries to



BARROWS DUNHAM is receiving rare praise for his remarkable new book **MAN Against MYTH**

Albert EINSTEIN

"It is an instructive, amusing and courageous book whose success is most desirable in the public interest."

Dorothy PARKER

"It is a great book, and I do not throw around the word 'great'."

J. B. S. HALDANE

"Professor Dunham has cleared a swathe in the forest of myths."

Donald Ogden STEWART

"A gay book, a deep book, a wise book. A philosopher's stone to throw at all liars."

Albert GUERARD

N.Y. Herald Tribune Book Review

"At the present time, when myths are leading us straight to war and to curtailment of all our freedoms, this clear and vigorous call should help rally the dismayed forces of sanity and good will."

A keen, witty, engaging analysis of some of the social illusions which rob mankind of abundance, equality and peace.

\$2.50 at all bookstores

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY

handle in accordance with President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy—that was always his goal.

In other valuable pages he follows Mexico's progress up to the time when the good neighbors become comrades-in-arms. Mr. Daniels's modesty veils the importance of his effort to achieve this end. The contents of this book, however, explain how and why Mexico took such a stand so readily and decidedly. A true enemy of Nazi-fascism, Daniels gained the confidence of the anti-fascists of Mexico, and with it the best alliance. As an ardent anti-fascist he also refers to the case of Spain: "One of the most distressing things in the world is these Spanish patriots who sought to have a democratic government and were overthrown, not in a civil conflict as many think, but by Hitler and Mussolini."

In short, this book may be taken as evidence of what an American of the old liberal tradition can achieve to benefit his people and the peoples of other countries.

ANDRES IDUARTE

I. G. Farben

TREASON'S PEACE. By Howard Watson Ambruster. Beechhurst Press. \$3.75.

I. G. FARBEN. By Richard Sasuly. Boni and Gaer. \$3.

TWICE within a generation the United States has found itself at war with German militarism. Both times the American people learned that they were also at war with an entity known as I. G. Farben, officially the Interessen Gemeinschaft Farbenindustrie, Aktien-gesellschaft, more notoriously known as I.G., a chemical combine which at its peak was one of the largest industrial organizations in the world.

The recovery of I. G. Farben after World War I was a prelude to the rearmament of Germany and the rise of Hitler. In the Second World War as in the first I.G. was a mainspring of German aggression. Both of these books weigh the risks involved if once again the passage of a few years should witness the resurgence of I.G., whether or not Germany as a nation ever regains its military might.

During the war-time investigations of international cartels the initials I.G. were

encountered as subscripts to one cartel agreement after another. As instance after instance accumulated, it became clear that the role and activities of I.G. were not simply those of an ordinary industrial enterprise but represented rather the behavior of a state within a state. It is enlightening to recall, in view of subsequent events, the ironically disingenuous statement made in 1928 by Dr. Carl Bosch, then chairman of the board of I.G., that "Farben's policy abroad is sadly misunderstood. We are pictured as a formidable trust out to conquer the world."

So striking and so effective were the cartel operations of I.G. before and during World War II that the late President Roosevelt in a letter to Secretary of State Hull compared them to a detective story and warned that the defeat of the Nazi armies would have to be followed by the reduction of this weapon of economic warfare if victory were to be genuine. In the same vein President Wilson stated in a message to Congress at the end of World War I that the German chemical industry, which in effect meant I.G., "was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind."

It is the purpose of these two books to assess the role of I. G. Farben in World War II and to evaluate the measures which have been taken to subdue permanently the chemical colossus which a German writer some years ago called the invisible government of the Reich. Because of the differences in their focus the two books supplement each other. "Treasure's Peace" is subtitled "German Dyes and American Dupes." It is largely concerned with the history and scope of I.G.'s influence in American industry and with the infiltration tactics which I.G. has practiced. The study of I.G. by Richard Sasuly is an excellent description of this organism which grew from test tubes and a very clear report of the participation by I.G. in Hitler's plans and deeds.

Everyone who is familiar with the higher economics of the chemical industry is aware that Mr. Ambruster has for many years carried on a one-man crusade against I.G. as well as against developments which appear to him to abet I.G.'s designs. This product

of his researches, or perhaps more accurately his campaigns, bears the stamp of direct and intimate acquaintance with nearly every phase of the subject.

It is, however, precisely this quality which accounts for some rather obvious defects in the book itself. His perspective is foreshortened, with the consequence that he imputes more than is necessary or probable to the influence of I.G. and upon occasion appears to see I.G.'s sinister profile lurking in the background of every event or policy which he does not like. No one who is familiar with the magnitude and skill of I.G.'s manipulations will gainsay their diabolical cleverness or their repeated success in circumventing and defeating both public and private measures aimed against them. It is quite another matter, however, to see, as Mr. Ambruster does, an I.G. formula in so many disjunctive circumstances, or to perceive I.G.'s hand guiding the action of quite so many "dupes." Nevertheless, despite all the defects in style and the gaps in his reasoning, Mr. Ambruster tells a very important story in a bold and vigorous way.

Much of the information in Richard Sasuly's analysis as in Ambruster's is a matter of public record in the Kilgore hearings and in the reports which the War Department has issued. Sasuly does a good job of condensation and at the same time provides us with an up-to-date picture of I.G.'s present status. Like Ambruster, Sasuly is concerned to point out that Germany and I.G. are always a potentially explosive combination. For the general reader Sasuly's book is especially good because while telling of one of the most fascinating industrial histories of this era it emphasizes the way in which science and industry can become the weapons of philosophies of power.

Both authors, as well as the public, should derive some comfort from the recent indictments of a number of top I. G. Farben officials for criminal complicity in Nazi aggression. Yet it would be dangerous to conclude that the conviction of individuals can resolve the cartel problem in Germany or eliminate I.G. as a potential menace in the future. As long as there is an I.G. in existence, equipped with its vast intangible asset of scientific know-how, its immense research organization, and affiliations

reaching into the most vital spots of world industry, vigilance will be necessary to prevent I.G. from employing its alchemy to emulate the Hydra and recoup its power.

C. A. WELSH

The Eternal Enigma

AURELIEN. By Louis Aragon. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. Two Volumes. \$6.

I WAS formidably prepared not to like "Aurélien": a Maginot Line of prejudices. Racine's "Bérénice," from which Aurélien borrowed the name of his heroine—unless it be from Barrès—was described as a sigh—"Alas!"—in 1,500 lines. "Aurélien" is "I love you" in 680 pages. In a Du Maurier cartoon two young people are seated in a park. "Darling!" says Edwin. "What, darling?" says Angelina. "Nothing, darling; only darling, darling." The old curmudgeon at the other end of the bench looks bilious. I sympathize with that grumpy listener. Too much is too much, as Madame de Sévigné wisely remarked.

Then I don't like novels in which

people sleep around, hucksters' fashion. It is too trite. I object to being dragged day after day to the same shoddy night clubs, meeting the same tarts, ordering the same drinks, as in "The Arch of Triumph" or "Le Sursis" (although Aragon's curaçao appeals to me more than Remarque's calvados). And I am tired of having the five million Parisians who are hard at work serve as a neutral backdrop for a handful of wasters.

Well, I had the same Balaam experience as with Vansittart's book. I like "Aurélien." Two thirds of it describe the slow flowering of a great love, in a world where love is but a flippant jest. Aragon proceeds with the unhurried, unerring, minute pertinacity of a Ph.D. He is in the grand tradition of the psychological novel, from Chrétien de Troyes to Marcel Proust, with Madame de Lafayette, Marivaux, Abbé Prévost, Laclos, Benjamin Constant, Balzac, Stendhal, and (yes, he has his modest legitimate place) Paul Bourget. The book is curiously sincere. It disarms irony.

A great love is a rare masterpiece of

A damning indictment of the Franco regime by a Catholic liberal

● This startling report is the first really complete story of Franco's Falange . . . the skill with which he plays Army against Church, Church against Party . . . the skill with which he turns Russian propaganda and the blunders of our State Department to his own advantage. **REPORT FROM SPAIN** is a vivid picture of one of the hotbeds of Fascism in the postwar world . . . and what we can do about it. \$3.00

**REPORT FROM
SPAIN**
By EMMET JOHN HUGHES
TIME Correspondent

At all bookstores, HENRY HOLT & COMPANY

fate. The scalpel which traces every delicate fiber is more civilized than the great but crude symbol of "Tristan," the love philter. Our most vexing social problems, to which *The Nation* devotes all its front pages, are the artificial products of man's stupidity: love is the eternal enigma. We might have a sensible political and economic regime tomorrow if only people would stop promulgating "doctrines" from Washington and Moscow. But shall we ever harmonize liberalism, communism, and totalitarianism in love?

Just as Aurélien and Bérénice have brought their love to a point of spiritual perfection, it mysteriously collapses. Bérénice disappears. Then the novel, which had been moving slowly in the background of the romance, comes to the front. It is a good novel too. Ed-

mond Barbentane is an adventurer, a Bel-Ami banking heavily on his good looks. He rigs up an elaborate plot to get rid of his wife while keeping her fortune. His knavish tricks are frustrated, but he wrests victory out of defeat and marries a still richer wife. Aurélien, abandoned and ruined, takes up a modest job with his poky brother-in-law, at Lille.

All the while we have had excellent sketches of Parisian society—the Faubourg St. Honoré set, big business, politics, art, and pleasure; delicate etchings of Paris in all its moods and seasons, particularly of the Seine from the Ile St. Louis; a priceless New Year's Eve dinner of veterans (after all, the war was the only good time most of them ever had); and above all candid-camera pictures of vanguard groups in poetry and painting, the Dada world that Aragon knows so well. All this could be stuffed into "Men of Good Will": only it is much better.

The Epilogue, daringly, melodramatically, gives the key to the abortive story. Eighteen years later, at the time of France's collapse, Aurélien is again in the army. His unit drifts into R—, where Bérénice lives. They meet. They have become a legend to each other. Although Aurélien loves his wife,orgette, "Bérénice was his secret, the undertone of poetry in his life, the thing that had never been quite attained and had never come to an end." The story had been told from the point of view of Aurélien; the two lovers had been presented on the same plane. At the last we realize that Bérénice is a true heroine, that Aurélien is commonplace.

Practical, conventional, stodgy, he is ripe for Pétainism and she for resistance. She judges him at last, and he feels himself judged. It is Madame Bovary's revenge. The little provincial bourgeoisie, wife of a pathetic and ludicrous village druggist, has a pure and ardent soul.

"Aurélien" was not enthusiastically received in France. It may fail here: not the bulk, but the price, is a handicap. It seems to me vastly superior to books with the same setting which have been sensationally successful. The translation by Ethne Wilkins is excellent.

ALBERT GUERARD

Limited Warfare in the Atomic Era

THE REVOLUTION IN WARFARE.

By B. H. Liddell Hart. Yale University Press. \$2.

LIDDELL HART, the British military writer, had been for twenty-five years the outstanding spokesman of the small-army, limited-warfare school of military thought. In "The Revolution in Warfare" he restates the school's position for the atomic era.

The nub of Hart's argument is that the means of warfare have changed radically since the time of Napoleon whereas the concept of war has not. War remains an act of entire nations in arms. In other words, the awful destructiveness of World Wars I and II was not due simply to the development of new weapons but equally to their employment by huge military forces, by the totality of one society against the totality of another. Hart lays the blame for this on the military philosophers, particularly Clausewitz. The military mind, he says, has been bewitched by Clausewitz's description of war as an act of unlimited violence. So war has been made an act of unlimited violence.

I have never been impressed by Hart's arguments and I am not now. For philosophers have less influence on history than history on philosophers. One must turn toward social forces for an explanation of the extraordinary fury of modern war as contrasted, for example, with war in the eighteenth century. The Napoleonic wars and the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 were extremely violent because sharply conflicting ways of life were at stake.

Thus Hart is on the wrong track in his discussion of total war. How wrong he emerges clearly in the last chapter, in which he considers the question of future war. He suggests steps to make it a "limited war." However, if there is another war, it will be a war between American capitalism and Russian communism. And that war will unleash passions, violence, and destruction such as no war in history has done. Nevertheless, "The Revolution in Warfare" deserves a reading. As usual Hart does a competent job of summarizing recent developments in the military art.

LEONARD ENGEL

The Chinese

THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE

By Kenneth Scott Latourette

A third edition, revised and enlarged, of the standard history of China. It has been brought up to date in the light of historical events and new knowledge of China which research has revealed during the eleven years since the second edition was issued.

Scholars and critics alike recognized *The Chinese* as an authoritative work. M. S. Bates said in the *American Historical Review*, "In fullness, quality and modernity of treatment...the work stands alone. Nor is it likely to be surpassed for longish years." The *New York Herald Tribune Book Review* said, "Mr. Latourette writes with clarity and simplicity, without sacrificing dignity. The scholarship is in content rather than manner. It is an easy book to read, and worth reading."

\$7.00 at all bookstores

MACMILLAN

Films

JAMES
AGEE

"Monsieur Verdoux"—III

("Monsieur Verdoux" has been withdrawn and will be re-released only after a United Artists' buildup which will, I hear, try to persuade people that they will kill themselves laughing. I will take care to notify readers of this column of its return, and of changes, if any are made. I am grieved to be so late—or early—with this review, but not very; this film has too long a life ahead of it. It is permanent if any work done during the past twenty years is permanent.)

THE most mysterious line in the film, Verdoux's reference to having "lost" his family, becomes clear if the three are seen as members of a single personality. The wife whom segregation and deceit so inevitably paralyzed was dying a slow death from the moment she became uneasy and failed, with her own kind of misguided tenderness, to beseech her husband's confidence; and the child could not long have survived his mother.

With their death Verdoux all but dies himself. He becomes old, bent, sore, stiff, not only through heartbreak or because all that he most cherished in his nature is destroyed, but because their death has deprived him of the one motive he would recognize for his criminality. The third meeting with Miss Nash, for all its handsome prospects, revives him only to an old man's charming glimmer; but as soon as danger once more requires work of him and, after showing how effortlessly he might escape, he casually surrenders himself to society's vengeance, he limps up and shines like a snake which has just cast its winter skin. All that remains now is memory and the pure tripped ego, the naked will to survive which discovers, with ineffable relief, that there is no longer any point in surviving.

With his soul dead at last, it is no wonder that Verdoux asserts himself so proudly, in the courtroom and death cell, in terms of his dream of himself. He would have explained himself less proudly and with greater moral understanding to his wife, but he had successfully avoided that possibility, at the cost of their marriage and her life. His dream of himself is urgently challenged only once, by the girl whose life he

spares; and he successfully resists that challenge in the strangest and, I think, most frightening scene ever filmed.

I had expected this film to be the last word in misogyny; but although there is a good deal of it about, Verdoux's handling of his victims is in general remarkably genial and kindly. The one really hair-raising moment of that sort is the chance second meeting with the girl, the scene in which he brushes her off. After all, Verdoux risks nothing against the poor frumps he kills or tries to kill, except his life. But the girl is infinitely more dangerous. She is the one human being with whom he holds in common everything he regards as most important. Both have known love as passionate pity for the helpless, both

could kill for love; both would be capable of maturer love, if at all, only with their own kind. The girl is much closer to Verdoux than his own wife, or his murdered wives; in sparing her he has betrayed both his marriage and his vocation. Since he is above all else a family man and an artist, she threatens the very structure of his soul. But the deranged and deadlocked will which has made and sustained Verdoux is never so strong or so ruthless as when it faces the threat of cure; and I know of no moment more dreadful or more beautifully achieved than that in which Verdoux veers from the girl, the sun on his suddenly shriveled cheek, and mutters in the shriveled, almost effeminate little voice of more than mortal hatred and

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PUBLIC

A HOME IN THE COUNTRY

Are you one of those individuals whose wife and child are eager for a vacation this summer? Are you disappointed that you cannot rent a bungalow and wondering when you will ever solve this problem of summer residence?

Well, there is a solution. A group of cooperative-minded persons bought a tract of 400 acres in Peekskill, New York, developed the land, built beautiful homes and enabled hundreds of families to live in comfort and economy. This original venture, started in 1923, has now developed into a thriving prosperous community. It is called Mohegan Colony.

In 1939 another group of progressive-minded individuals bought a tract of 200 beautiful acres, near the Bronx River Parkway, a single hour's ride from New York, with adequate facilities for bathing, shopping, etc. With the pre-war, war and post-war difficulties in building, we were not able to start construction. However, at this time we are beginning to build bungalows and are assured of the completion of many of them for use this season.

In our organization all the members are fully protected. A parcel of land can be bought for as little as \$200. Improvements on the land are made on a low-cost, cooperative basis. Bungalows are built under the supervision of experts and are similarly designed for satisfying the modest-income group of professionals and white-collar workers.

We are convinced we can enable you—of refined tastes but low income—to own your parcel of land, build your bungalow at little cost and protect you against fraud and exploitation. Ours is not a real estate promotion scheme; it is a legitimate, reliable cooperative enterprise. We are incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. You will have the fullest opportunity to examine our financial standing, to visit our property and to participate in our meetings. We especially invite members of labor unions and progressive organizations generally.

A postal card will bring you additional detailed information.

HENRY FRUCHTER, President

PEEKSKILL HEIGHTS, Inc.

AC 4-3869

260 Riverside Drive

terror: "You go on about your business."

But why does Verdoux become a murderer? One good answer is: why not? Verdoux is a business realist; in terms of that realism the only difference between free enterprise in murder and free enterprise in the sale of elastic stockings is the difference in legal liability and in net income. And if the film is regarded as a metaphor for war, we may blush to ask Verdoux why; or if it is regarded as a metaphor for the destruction of the soul, murder is almost too mild a vocation. Yet we may still ask why, and wonder why Chaplin's only direct statements, most of which are made through Verdoux, are so remarkably inadequate. Verdoux, to be sure, is grandly in character in holding "society" accountable and in absolving the individual; but is this all that Chaplin knows? If so, he is as surely a victim and dupe of evil as Verdoux or the civilization he excoriates, and all that goes deeper in the film is achieved in-

tuitively, as if in a kind of waking dream. If he knows better, then he is gravely at fault, as artist and moralist, in making clear no more than he does, still worse in tossing the mass-audience so cynical and misleading a sop; and one of the purest and most courageous works I know of is, at its climax, pure and courageous only against the enemy, not in the face of the truth. For the answers to why and how criminality can be avoided, we can look inward more profitably than at the film; for all that is suggested in the film is operant in each of us. If Chaplin had illuminated these bottom causes more brightly than we can see them in ourselves, "Verdoux" would be a still greater work of art than it is. But in proposing so richly suggestive an image of process and effect in the world and in the personality, and in proposing it so beautifully, the film, with all its faults, is one of the few indispensable works of our time.

It even contains and implies the beginning of the answer. Good and evil

are inextricable, Verdoux insists. But his fatal mistake was in trying to keep them apart. If the film is regarded as a metaphor for the personality, and through that metaphor, as a metaphor for the personality as the family as business as war as civilization as murder, then this is certain: if the man and wife had honored their marriage with more than their child, the murders would never have been committed, the paralysis would never have imposed itself or would have been dissolved, and the wife and child would never have been shut into that exquisite tabernacle of a closed garden, but all three would have lived as one in that poverty for which the wife was forlorn, in the intactness of soul and the irresponsibility of that anarchic and immortal lily of the field, the tramp, the most humane and most nearly complete among the religious figures our time has evolved; whom for once in his life Chaplin set aside, to give his century its truest portrait of the upright citizen.

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland, Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way, CH 4-4254
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present

"CALL ME MISTER"

THE NATION'S TOP MUSICAL REVUE

Songs by Harold Rome • Ketchicks by Arnold Auerbach • Staged by Robert Gordon

New York: NATIONAL THEA.—with Jane KEAN
Chicago: BLACKSTONE THEATRE

"BROADWAY'S BIGGEST REVUE HIT!"—Life Magazine

MOTION PICTURE

MANHATTAN

ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
61st ST.
86th ST.
88th ST.
Bel. Len. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
RECENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

BROOKLYN

BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYU
Coney Island

RKO NOW

"ARRESTING SCREEN FARE."—N. Y. Post
Laraine DAY • Robert MITCHUM
'The LOCKET'

—and—
'TRAIL STREET' RANDOLPH SCOTT
ANNE JEFFREYS
Based on WILLIAM CORCORAN Novel

DICK HAYMES
Cesar ROMERO VERA-ELLEN Celeste HOLM
'CARNIVAL IN COSTA RICA'

In TECHNICOLOR
—and—
'Tarzan and the Huntress'
Johnny WEISSMULLER • Brenda JOYCE

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kath's
FLUSHING
Kath's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN

"DEFINITELY A HIT."—Marquette, Sun

JOHN LOVES MARY

A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA

Directed by MR. LOGAN

MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way

Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A DELIGHT."—Walter Winchell

HELEN HAYES

HAPPY BIRTHDAY

A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way

Air-Conditioned Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"ALL TRIUMPHANT."—Barnes, Herald Tribune

ETHEL MERMAN

In the Musical Smash

ANNIE GET YOUR GUN

Musical and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan

IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St., West of B'way

Air-Conditioned Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Show

Buy Your Books Through THE NATION



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering please give name of author and publisher, if possible. Make checks payable to *The Nation*.

Please address your orders to

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
The NATION

TWENTY VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

VOX has issued Bach's Sonata in A minor for unaccompanied violin played by Ruggiero Ricci (Set 187). The work is one that I have always found extremely dull, but that I have heard Szigeti play with exciting style. Ricci is too young to have that kind of style; but his performance exhibits a young artist's mastery of his instrument and feeling for music that are impressive and moving. It is recorded with brilliance and pressed on plastic records with noiseless surfaces that are a relief after the surfaces of Vox's shellac records.

Vox also has issued the Polydor recording of Bach's Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C major for organ, as made into a work for piano by Busoni, and performed by Borovsky (Set 193). The work is one of Bach's greatest; but Busoni's treatment of it, which expands Bach's textures and progression of thought with material of Busoni's own devising, is something to avoid; and Borovsky's performance of the Adagio and Fugue is not good. It is recorded with clarity and good balance, but at a low volume-level; and the shellac surfaces are poor.

Another Vox set (163) offers some French piano music played by Gaby Casadesus. The collection includes several charming pieces by Rameau and Couperin and the original and fascinating "Idylle" of Chabrier—as well as pieces by Fauré, Satie, and Ravel that I don't care for. Again I find Mme Casadesus playing with more incisiveness of rhythm and phrasing, more variety of coloring, more musical life than her husband; and her performances are excellently recorded; but surfaces are poor and there is some wavering pitch in my copy.

Still another Vox set (186) offers the Polydor recording of Ravel's "Chansons madécasses" and his arrangements of three Hebrew melodies—music I don't care for, but beautifully sung by Madeleine Grey, soprano, and well recorded. Surfaces again are poor.

Three volumes of Bach's clavier music played on the piano by Erno Balogh have been issued by Disc: the Three-Part Inventions (Set 770; \$4.83), the Twelve Little Preludes (Set 771; \$3.53), and the Six Little Preludes (Set 772; \$3.53). The Twelve Little Preludes are, to my ears, engaging small-scale pieces; but the others are dull keyboard exercises,

in spite of being written by Bach. Balogh's playing is not sensitive either in touch or phrasing; and it is well-recorded except for peaks on certain notes. Surfaces again are poor.

On a single vinylite record with not wholly quiet surfaces (4020; \$2.31) Disc offers Prokofiev's engaging Sextet on Hebrew themes Opus 34, well-performed by Vivian Rivkin, pianist, David Weber, clarinetist, William Nowinski and George Ockner, violinists, Bernard Milofsky, violist, and William Forst, cellist, and well-recorded.

Disc also offers a couple of volumes of jazz. Of the Mary Lou Williams piano solos (Set 612; \$3.15) only "Lonely Moment" and the fast portion of "Blue Skies" are in the style that I have enjoyed; the rest are a mess of newly acquired harmonic luxuriance and stylistic complication. They are superbly recorded; and the surfaces are quiet. As for the Omer Simeon Trio (Set 708; \$2.80), Simeon's clarinet-playing is uninteresting, but James P. Johnson's piano-playing, which I have never enjoyed before, is excellent this time. One of his best sides, "Bandanna Days," wavers badly in pitch; and surfaces are poor.

For those who like John Jacob Niles's mannered singing there is Disc's set (732; \$3.93) of early American carols. And for those who like Creole songs, a set of them (629; \$3.15) agreeably sung by Adelaide Van Wey.

From Circle comes a set (S-3) called "South Side Shake," with a recreation of the music that was produced at Negro rent parties in Chicago in the 1920's. The musicians are Dan Burley, pianist, and "Pops" Foster, bass-player, who used to perform at those parties, and the McGhee brothers, guitarists. Their method is to keep a single phrase going with exciting momentum for the entire side; and for me the vitality of the performance is not enough compensation for the lack of melodic development.

This Circle volume is part of the back-to-origins movement in jazz that recently brought me this by no means unexpected announcement: "Jazz, which in its infancy bounced forth from the decks of Mississippi River side-wheelers, will shortly be a Hudson River feature. Starring foremost New Orleans musicians, who began their careers on the famous riverboats just thirty years ago . . . the first cruise . . . will cast off from Pier 83 . . . at 9 P. M. on June 6." Describing the efforts of Rudolph Blesh and Art Hodes to recover the

authentic music that had been lost, the announcement concluded: "The most radical departure of all in the world of hot music is the return of jazz to the river on June 6." But there is still another step to be taken; and I am waiting for the announcement that will begin: "Jazz, which in its infancy bounced forth from the brothels of New Orleans, will shortly return. . . ."

Decca also has done a little reviving of the past by issuing a Brunswick Collectors' Series volume of performances (1926-1928) by King Oliver and his Dixie Syncopators (Set B-1022; \$3.50). The only ones I thought outstanding were "Sugar Foot Stomp" and "Snag It" (on 80081).

I got more pleasure from Decca's volumes of the songs from "Annie, Get Your Gun" (Set 468; \$5.25) and "Call Me Mister" (Set 466; \$4.50), and Columbia's volume of the music of "Finian's Rainbow" (Set 686; \$5.50), with Ethel Merman, Betty Garrett, and Ella Logan respectively, and others of the original casts.

Letters to the Editors

Callou, Callay for Harry!

Dear Sirs: "President Truman," said the Red Queen, "is a dear."

"You are speaking of his offer to Greece," said Alice.

"Of course I am," said the Red Queen. "He is unexceptional."

"But," said Alice, "it's a long way away. Don't we have a Monroe Doctrine to keep outside nations from coming into the Americas?"

"This," said the Red Queen, "is a slight extension of the Monroe Doctrine."

JOHN BUCHAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, June 11

The Same Fight

Dear Sirs: At the beginning of 1897, Candia, seeking its freedom, took up arms against Turkey. Macedonia, in a magnificent act of solidarity, followed suit. The war between Greece and the Turks was on.

The Italian youth made ready to assist in the Hellenic resurrection. The University Committee of Rome appealed to the students of all Italian universities and asked advice of the greatest Roman minds. In reply Giovanni Bovio, the great educator and philosopher of

true democracy, wired us on February 17: "I advise you to second the Hellenic movement in Candia." Cesare Lombroso wrote, "I would like to be younger and do more than utter words."

Meanwhile the University Committee, in conjunction with many committees scattered all over Italy, began to organize a University Legion and offered its command to General Stefano Canzio, son-in-law of Garibaldi.

However, the Italian government, part and parcel of the Triple Alliance, did not share our vision and sought in many ways to hamper the expedition. I managed, as special correspondent of *Avanti*, to embark from Brindisi for Corfu, and in Athens I received a last letter from General Stefano Canzio saying he hoped to join us soon.

But just as his ship was about to leave Genoa it was seized by the police. The expedition was stopped, but the many students and volunteers who had reached Hellenic shores joined the Garibaldi Legion organized by Ricciotti Garibaldi. I joined the First Garibaldi Battalion, which moved toward Epirus. On the flank of the Greek troops commanded by Colonel Botzaris, we passed into the territory occupied by the Turks, who were marching toward Jannina.

This campaign had its sad epilogue on May 17 at Domokos in Thessaly, where, among the seven hundred dead and wounded on the Greek side, a hundred were Italians.

There is no doubt that the Hellenic adventure was part of the long-fought struggle for freedom which had found Italy and Greece standing side by side in 1860 and 1866. Today, once again, the liberty-loving sons of the two countries are united in the new struggle for freedom.

GASPARE NICOTRI

New York, June 17

Lamb or Falcon?

Dear Sirs: May I be permitted to correct several inaccuracies and to defend myself against certain unjust charges in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s review of my book "Allies Betrayed" (*The Nation*, February 22). Let us examine a few of Mr. Schlesinger's specific complaints:

1. "Mr. Martin," he says, "is able to turn calmly to so notorious and violent a pan-Serb as Lieutenant Colonel Zhiwan Knezevich as a reliable source." Nowhere do I quote Colonel Knezevich directly or call upon him as a final authority; the several "quotes" I do

employ are reproductions of official documents that appear in the Colonel's writings. The authenticity of these documents has been confirmed by ex-Premier Slobodan Jovanovich, as well as by members of the British mission.

2. "The calculation as between Tito and Mihailovich . . . was a simple one," says Schlesinger. "No responsible statesman in 1943 could base his policy on the premise that Britain and America were fighting Russia." The implication here is that the alternative to supporting Tito was supporting Mihailovich in a war against Tito, and that this, in effect, was my position. This is an unpardonable misstatement of my thesis. My argument was that Britain and America could have—and should have—forced a compromise on the two warring factions. Such a compromise, based on a territorial delimitation, was recommended by both the British and the American mission attached to Mihailovich as well as by Lieutenant Colonel Lynn M. Farish, senior American member of the Anglo-American mission at Tito's headquarters. All of them were convinced of its feasibility.

3. Mr. Schlesinger questions my statement that Tito's movement at its height "was a minority movement which had won for itself the active hostility of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene people." I think he would agree in general, however, that in this day and age it is quite feasible for totalitarian minority movements to seize power and maintain themselves in power against a disunited (because democratic) majority. He might also be prepared to accept the word of a number of liberals who went to Yugoslavia fully prepared to be sympathetic, that approximately 80 per cent of the people are hostile to the regime. (I name only Bogdan Raditsa and Hal Lehrman, *Nation* correspondents, and Ann Dacey of the *New Statesman* and *Nation*.) My argument is that Tito's movement, from the very beginning of the civil war, governed by the methods it employs today on a national scale (Schlesinger calls it "an intolerable dictatorship") and was approximately as popular with the Yugoslav people as it is today.

4. "Tito has turned out a despot," says Mr. Schlesinger. It would be interesting to find out when he made this discovery. The fact is that Tito has always been a Soviet despot—and the miniature Soviet regimes which Schlesinger and other liberals mistakenly described as "popular democracy" during the incredible heyday of the Tito vogue

were as tyrannical as is the national regime today. Here, indeed, is the crux of the entire problem. If the Partisan movement really was a popular democratic movement, then there could be no excusing any "accommodations"—no matter how limited—directed against it. But if it was not a "popular democratic" movement but a movement of "intolerable dictatorship," the obvious purpose of which was the establishment of a Soviet regime (the peasants of Yugoslavia, many of whom experienced the Partisan regime on their own backs, understood this much better than did Churchill, Deakin, and Schlesinger), then perhaps the Chetniks were right in playing off one enemy against the other.

5. The business of Partisans killing Germans has been fantastically exaggerated. Mr. Schlesinger, unfortunately, now adduces these fantasies as facts. On their own admission, the bulk of the Partisan effort was directed against the Chetniks. "In actual practice," said Cholakovich, one of Tito's commanders, "more men fell on both sides in that fratricidal struggle . . . than in the struggle against the invader and the Ustashi" ("The Epic of Yugoslavia," page 46). The Partisans killed somewhat more Germans than did the Chetniks, but from the standpoint of the conclusion of the war it was all peanuts. The important consideration, strategically, was not killing Germans but tying down Germans—and with their more passive and infinitely less costly policy of limited activity the Chetniks, by their mere presence and occasional action, tied down as many Germans per square mile in their territory as the Partisans did in theirs.

DAVID MARTIN

New York, June 10

Friends from Britain

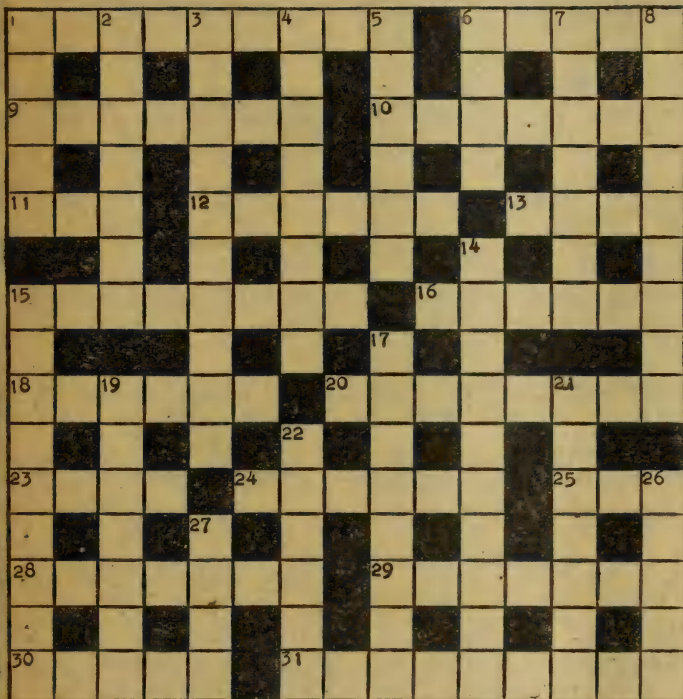
Dear Sirs: I would like to draw your attention to the World Youth Friendship League which has been formed to further understanding between young people of all nations through correspondence and travel. Requests are reaching us for pen friends in America, and in order that we may be able to provide our members with suitable correspondents I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to publish our address in your journal. It is 39 Forest Drive West, London, E, 11.

ARTHUR H. BIRD,

Editor, *International Youth Review*
London, June 8

Crossword Puzzle No. 216

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Not a sign of great irritation in card-players making it (5 & 4)
- 6 O call it a pub
- 9 Granted that none were solvent
- 10 Also known as the pewit, because of its cry
- 11 15 Across's awe-inspiring god
- 12 A trap for the unwary
- 13 One had a delicate air
- 15 "And every ---- tells his tale Under the hawthorn in the dale"
- 16 Came in for the movie show
- 18 Many Americans would vote it their favorite opera
- 20 Means of tube travel to facilitate further travel (4-4)
- 23 "God sends meat and the Devil sends ----s"
- 24 Virtue and these seldom settle on one man, said Machiavel
- 25 --- alliteration's artful aid
- 28 What you would expect on a farm in the Rockies
- 29 Call to a clan to surround a South American port
- 30 Owner of two pairs of shoes
- 31 The press in deed is not cheerful
- 3 Shabby—or where the obedient dog should be when called (4-2-4)
- 4 Hen, orange with black spots
- 5 Beastly obstinate
- 6 Cuts fifty works that are already cut
- 7 They don't have this in England, only weather
- 8 Lay down the law whose limb is tardy
- 14 The difficulty is to keep cool in the course of this getaway (4-6)
- 15 Just the stuff for "bags"
- 17 Wear it or drink it at bedtime
- 19 The farm's earliest riser
- 21 It is Call (anag.)
- 22 I'd follow lamely, it is clear
- 26 Harmonized (the duet in it perhaps)
- 27 A poet's inn is

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 215

ACROSS:—1 OKLAHOMA; 8 CRUISER; 9 STANDING; 10 ANCHORS; 12 ALIVE; 13 HUDDLE; 14 INLAW; 15 LEGREE; 17 TIDES; 22 MICAH; 23 STANZA; 24 CADET; 20 LOLLED; 26 ETHIC; 29 BENARES; 30 HUNTSMAN; 31 RIGGING; 32 ATLANTIS.

DOWN:—1 OBSTACLE; 2 LEAVINGS; 3 HODGE; 4 MANCHE; 5 BRAND; 6 HICHENS; 7 HEARSAY; 10 AD LIB; 11 CLIENT; 16 EDITOR; 18 TAILS; 19 ON THE MAT; 20 MAECENAS; 21 VALERIE; 22 MELANGE; 25 ADJUST; 27 LEANS; 28 EXTRA.

DOWN

- 1 "Tender-handed stroke a nettle, And it stings you for your pains; ---- it like a man of nettle, And it soft as silk remains"
- 2 Galleon (anag.)

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
Longacre 5-4917

BOOKS TOO EXPENSIVE?

Choose your own and save 25%. Order any book you want. Pay for it after you get it. Receive 25% credit on its price. Do this four times. Then use your credit for further books. Let us send you our detailed brochure or simply place your first order now.

BONUS BOOK CLUB, Dept. M-2
598 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

SUMMER RENTAL

NEWLY BUILT SUMMER COTTAGE furnished, consisting of two units (2 & 3 rooms). All modern improvements on private farm estate. Will be rented to two qualified small families. Beautiful surroundings in all their natural ruggedness. Use of private swimming pool. Fishing in natural ponds and brooks. 45 miles from New York City near Monroe, N. Y. Will be especially appreciated by artists and writers. \$450 and \$750 from July-Sept. inclusive. Adirondack bus stops at premises. Call SLocum 6-8787 on weekdays or Washingtonville 2541 all week.

Westport, House on river, 2 bedrooms, sleeping porch, swimming, terrace. For July and August, rental \$1200. Phone MU 5-4321.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, EAST CHATHAM, New York. Farms in the Mass.-New York Berkshires. Also consulting broker for organizations.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

AUTO TOUR WANTED

Male New Yorker, pining for the open spaces, would make liberal arrangement with congenial car owner for 3 or 4 weeks' tour. Box 1721, c/o The Nation.

LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

RUSSIAN—Conversational, Commercial, Diplomatic. Beginners, advanced. Private or groups. Also translations. Instructor speaks French, German, Russian and English. PL 9-5946.

IMPROVE YOUR ENGLISH

Experienced Teacher, now working with the U. N. delegates, will take limited number of students for conversation, grammar, accent correction. CHelsea 3-4495, 9-11 AM; 7:30-8:30 PM.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order, ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

74¢ a line (six words)

Minimum Three Lines

Attractive Discounts for Multiple Insertions

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

RESORTS



completely new
July 17-July 31
Mass. (Cape Cod) 55-1000

RESTRICTED
to vacationists who do not dream of Rio
to the Riviera because they know about
WHITE ROE at Livingston Manor 10,
N.Y.—New York Office Wisconsin 7-0774.
Write for booklet

ACCOMMODATIONS
If you would like a comfortable and
delicious summer, with excellent accommo-
dations, write for booklet.

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

Ridgely, Conn. • Phone 820
A MODERN RESORT
OF DISTINCTION
Magnificent lake. All water sports
and outdoor activities. Interesting
indoor program. Excellent cuisine.
New Low Rates

MORE THAN A VACATION

World Fellowship, INC.
CONWAY, N. H.

Forest-Farm-Lake-And-Mountain Paradise

274 acres, 8 buildings. Swimming, Rowing, Fishing,
Hiking, Mountain Climbing, Excursions, Games, Also
Conferences between June 30th and Sept. 5th), and
the intellectual stimulation of association with our
guests from all parts of the world. \$24 or \$31 weekly;
\$4.60 or \$5.50 daily. Circulars free.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

WALLELL HOUSE ON FRANKEL FARM
MT. BETHEL, PA.
VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive
children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All
rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy
products and vegetables from the farm.
Rates: — Adults \$63 Week — Children \$33 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

TRAVEL

SEE EUROPE
IN RECONSTRUCTION

Planning • Housing
Architecture

6-week airborne tour of England, Switzer-
land, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden.

August 2-September 13

ALL EXPENSES: \$1,595

WORLD STUDYTOURS
417 West 121st Street, New York 27

SAY YOU SAW IT ADVERTISED
IN THE NATION!

MAPLE GROVE MT. HOUSE

- Ideal Vacation Spot
- All Adult Sports
- Excellent Cuisine
- Modern Accommodations
- Informal Atmosphere
- Dietary Laws

June Rate \$35 weekly
Kerhonska 3641
Accord, New York

SACKS FARM

SAUGERTIES, NEW YORK
Tel. 590 J.

Real country, no other resort
within miles. Pine woods. Inter-
esting hiking. Attractive ac-
commodations. Best of food,
Tennis, swimming, bicycling,
and other sports. Recordings.
Dancing. Fair rates.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY

"A Country Estate in the Scenic
Hills of Westchester County"

The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive loca-
tion. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sport
activities. Excellent cuisine.
Phone Armonk Village 854

From
WESTERN VIEW FARM

high in the Connecticut Hills, you can return tanned,
glowing and invigorated, and with happy memories of
the warm hospitality of an inn which is in its Twenty-
eighth season under the same ownership-management.

Rates per person, \$12.00 a day, \$70.00 a week
Week-ends, Friday evening to Sunday evening, \$24.

TED OHMER
New Milford, Connecticut Tel.: New Milford 448

Pine Rest

R. Lisa Laub Pine Hill, N. Y.
Telephone: Pine Hill 3876

Exceptionally located on hill amidst pines.
Delicious home cooking. European style
Large rooms with hot and cold water.

COUNTRY BOARD

A FINE PAYING GUESTS in exception-
ally beautiful spacious Vermont home on
top of lovely hill overlooking all ridges
of Green Mountains. RI 9-1574, mornings
or evenings, or Box 1720, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 692-acre Macy estate in the
beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many
with open fireplaces. Tennis courts, handball, badminton,
Swimming pool, sun pavilion, Horseback riding.
Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation.
American-Jewish cooking. Attractive Rates.

For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE Holmes Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 171



This Adult Camp...

Sheltered cove near picture-
esque Gloucester. Salt water
swimming, sailing, boating
and fishing on premises.
Dancing, tennis, trips and all
sports.

Gloucester, Mass.
Abrom Resnick
Director

Write for booklet & rates **NOW OPEN**

HUNNS LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK

90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central
Charming lake and countryside, rustic surroundings.
Bathing, boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful
walks. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for vacations
and weekends

Pre-season rate \$45.00
RESERVE EARLY
GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2931

LODGE

A Picturesque Estate
Diversified Book and Music Library
Swimming Pool • Golf
An Adult Resort 45 miles from N.Y.C.
TEL. HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

Deuel Hollow House

WINDDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691

In Berbertha foothills, 75 miles from N. Y. City on
N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path. Delightful hiking
country. Delicious food served on terrace over-
looking our private lake. Tennis, volleyball, bad-
minton, boating, swimming and fishing. Complete
informality. Adults.

SPECIAL JUNE RATES
RAIZEL COHEN DAVID SACKS

The Fieldstone

On Round Island Lake

A place of unexcelled beauty and
rest and relaxation. One hour from
New York

ALL SPORTS IN SEASON
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7085

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Delightful... swimming and boating on
...our private lake

Different... charming colonial atmosphere
Delicious... our unexcelled cuisine

Diversing... recordings for listening
...and dancing

53 miles from NYC—Adults only

SOUTH WIND

P. O. Box 101 Woodbourne, N. Y.

A country estate on top of a mountain
with its private lake, all facilities
for sport and relaxation
Largest Collection of Recorded Music
Phone: Woodbourne 1025

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT

Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good
fishing and free use of boats and canoe; interesting
hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and
handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery,
rifery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.

From June 14 to 10th rate \$45 weekly
OLIVE H. G. BARN, Director

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 164

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 28, 1947

NUMBER 26

The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S VETO OF THE LABOR BILL has drawn a sharp issue at a point where it should be drawn. Had political considerations and the knowledge that he would almost certainly be overridden induced him to let the bill pass into law unchallenged, then the direst prophesies of an inevitable reactionary trend would have been fulfilled. He has given American liberalism the fighting chance that it seemed to have lost with the death of Roosevelt. Not only did his action unite all branches of the labor movement as a potentially powerful political force, but his clear-headed analysis of a bad bill was a hopeful sign that the Administration was getting back on the Roosevelt trail. Until now, President Truman, in the interests of a phony conception of national unity, has attempted a working compromise with the reactionary forces of both parties which are in effective control of Congress. The Republicans and Southern Democrats should perhaps be thanked for putting their position so baldly that, this time, compromise was impossible. Now the fight begins, and it will carry on until the votes are counted in '48. What must be remembered is that the battle cannot be won by vetoes. A bad bill has become bad law, and we may expect the consequences the President predicted. But the resultant industrial strife must not distract the labor and liberal movement from the main task before it—the task of sending to Congress in 1948 men who would be incapable of repeating what the nation has witnessed in Washington this last week.

✱

TO THE REPUBLICANS, TAX REDUCTION IS the supreme political issue, and it is not surprising that they are both angered and dismayed by the President's veto of H. R. 1. However, their wrath must have destroyed their sense of logic or they would not, in one breath, denounce Mr. Truman's action as "sheer politics" and claim it will insure their own triumph in 1948. Actually, politics can hardly have been a motive for the veto, since tax cuts are always popular, and in this case, while they would have applied on an inequitable basis, they would also have been widely spread. We believe, therefore, that Mr. Truman deserves credit for both courage and sincerity in challenging Congress on this issue, although we are not prepared wholly to indorse his reasoning. The message accompanying the veto de-

clared that the bill represented "the wrong kind of tax reduction at the wrong time." We agree with the first part of the sentence but are not convinced that this is the wrong time for some reduction in the government's "take" from the national income. Mr. Truman cited figures showing that we are still on the crest of the boom, with the economy still subject to inflationary pressures. But signs indicate that by fall, when tax reduction would begin to have an effect, deflationary forces may be gaining the upper hand. In this event, additional effective purchasing power in the pockets of consumers might prove a useful stabilizing factor. That would require, however, a bill very different from the one just vetoed.

✱

HARD UPON THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S note to the United States promising the fullest cooperation in carrying out the American-financed \$300,000,000 rehabilitation plan came the word that seventeen former E. L. A. S. soldiers had been executed in the Aegina Island fortress. This news should be read as a footnote to the article by Constantine Poulos on another page of this issue. It is significant that these men had been under sentence for two years and that their execution had been stayed by protests from the British Labor Party and fifty members of the British Parliament. But America is far away, its Congress not so sensitive to acts of tyranny this side of the iron curtain. And anyway, is not the Greek government the sagging bulwark of democracy that we are determined to shore up? The Greek government, in its note to us expressing its willingness to have us virtually take over the running of its economy, stressed its determination to compose internal differences. But how this was to be done was clarified in another section of the note: "Aid given for military purposes will be used for the restoration and maintenance of internal order." Nothing could be clearer. Full partnership in the economic reconstruction of Greece involves also full partnership in the policy of a regime which, since "liberation," directed a campaign of terror against all who oppose it. Is this acceptable to the American people? Can we with a straight face and a clear conscience urge an international bill of rights at Lake Success and actively support the violation of the elementary rights of human beings in Athens?

• IN THIS ISSUE •

COVER

Cartoon by Oscar Berger

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	755
Human Rights	757
A Slight Case of Murder	757
Marketing the Plan by Freda Kirchwey	758

ARTICLES

Can Our Dollars Save Europe?	
by Blair Bolles	759
Meet Our Greek Allies	
by Constantine Poulos	761
The 250 Industrial Giants	
by Fritz Sternberg	763
Perón's Expanding Empire	
by Albert C. Hicks	765
The Chinese Students by Jean Lyon	767
Bigotry in B-Flat:	
How the Berkshires Face the Music	
by Horace Sutton	768
Socialist Troubles by Del Vayo	770
Everybody's Business: Shifting the Tax Burden	
by Keith Hutchison	771

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

American Author's Authority—Round II	
by Anthony Bower	772
Stalag Luft A Poem by Randall Jarrell	773
Notes by the Way by Margaret Marshall	774
Metaphysical or So by John Berryman	775
Understanding Russia by Keith Hutchison	776
Memorandum by W. J. Gold	777
Film Note by James Agee	778
Music by B. H. Haggin	779

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 217	
by Jack Barretts	781

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor	Literary Editor
J. King Gordon	Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance
Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside Assistant Literary Editor:
Caroline Whiting Research Editor: Doris W. Tanz

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles. Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

DE GASPERI WON A FORMAL VICTORY BUT AT the price of a moral defeat when, last Saturday, he succeeded in dragging from the Italian Constituent Assembly the dozen votes necessary to continue him in power behind the façade of a representative government. With that vote the "Chancellor," as he is acidly called in *Avanti*, can hardly pretend to govern in the name of a democratic though anti-Socialist majority. His painfully assembled support is the weakest, shakiest, and most heterogeneous on which he has ever stood. It is formed in part of men who had nothing to do with the Liberation, who at heart are against the Republic, and whom a more severe anti-fascist policy would have sent to the tribunals rather than to Parliament. De Gasperi may remain the hero of the Vatican and of Washington, but during this crisis he has forfeited all genuine republican backing. He has thrown himself definitely into the arms of the right, and it is only the right that can continue to carry him. The double role that De Gasperi once seemed eager to play, of a conservative politician leading a progressive coalition, is now finished. He has failed to bring to his side those moderate elements of the left which he hoped to win by playing them off against Togliatti and Nenni. In the Assembly last Saturday he found the entire left impressively united against him. Although a few abstentions from those benches helped him win his vote of confidence, this is not a precedent on which he can rely. At the first showdown on major policy, those few will follow their parties' line and turn against De Gasperi. Perhaps he will be saved by the single vote of Giannini, the semi-fascist leader of l'Uomo Qualunque. But these favors of chance will not help him achieve his main purpose in clinging to power—to delay the general election and prevent the defeat of his party.

*

NO LARGER THAN A LADY'S HAND, BUT clearly visible, is the shadow cast by the coming visit of Eva Duarte Perón to the British Isles. An embarrassed Foreign Office, helpless to prevent the invasion, must also give a convincing demonstration of welcome. For Argentina is not only tied to England by old bonds, economic and diplomatic; it is also today as during the war an indispensable source of food for hungry Britons. To refuse a polite reception to Señora Perón would be unthinkable. At the same time the anti-fascist sentiment of the British people is already expressing itself in hearty press attacks both on the lady and on the government's plans for receiving her. The *Sunday Pictorial* drew an official rebuke when it charged that members of Parliament were concerned because Señora Perón, "the wife of a fascist dictator," would arrive in Britain "fresh from a triumphant reception in Franco's Spain," where she "produced the fascist salute on the slightest pretext." But left-wing rumors indicate that the energetic Eva expects more

substantial rewards from Britain than the perfumes, jewels, and honors showered on her in Spain. She intends to make sure that she is cut in, personally, on all the contracts for Argentine products now being made in England. This may be distasteful—as well as expensive—for British business men of old-fashioned habits, but they cannot afford to be squeamish; nor can the government. Eva wants money, and England needs meat; and neither propriety nor democratic sentiment is likely to interfere with the success of her visit.

Human Rights

TO FORMULATE a declaration of human rights in the year 1947 may appear to be a task fit only for philosophers or fools. The nineteenth century, tracing its springs of action to the American, the French, and the Industrial Revolution, found it easy to describe human liberty in terms of a man's freedom from oppression by state, church, or other men. The individualism that expressed itself economically in the ascendant capitalist system was the counterpart of nineteenth-century political liberalism. But today, the rise of socialism, the emergence of new social concepts in economics and government, the recognition of rights that a man may claim as a member of society make a generally acceptable declaration of rights much more difficult. In fact, it would seem virtually impossible to work out a definition that would satisfy an American, an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a Russian. An American may claim the right to free speech, to free association, to freedom of worship. But can he claim the right to work or the right to health or to the means of health? And can a Russian, whose security is bound up in his relations to the state, claim the right of protest against what he may conceive to be the unjust powers of that state?

Back of the discussions in the drafting committee of the Human Rights Commission which has been in session for two weeks, these conflicting concepts of right and liberty lie waiting to assert themselves. A distinguished group of delegates from the United States, Russia, England, Lebanon, France, Chile, China, and Australia has been attempting to formulate not one but two statements. On the initiative of Britain, the delegates have been seriously debating a draft Convention of Human Rights which, once passed by the General Assembly and ratified by member states, would be enforceable as international law. All have agreed that however worthy this attempt—and it is significant that it is being made—the road ahead is a long and hard one. Would the United States, for example, be prepared to accept an international convention against race discrimination? Would the federal government, which has in the past proved helpless in such instances, be prepared to have a

lynching in South Carolina branded as an international crime within the jurisdiction of an international court?

The other statement of human rights, while bound to encounter many difficulties, is more modest in its aims. The statement would be in fact a Declaration of Human Rights which, in the words of one delegate, would constitute a "matrix from which subsequent conventions would naturally grow." The basis for such a declaration is to be found in a draft prepared with great care by the secretariat of the United Nations. The advantage of the secretariat draft is that it was written after a careful study of bills of rights written into existing national constitutions. Social rights as well as individual rights are included. Unfortunately, this draft was considered too long and too detailed, and Professor Cassin of France was given the thankless task of "boiling down" the statement into a briefer and more general form. The danger is that in the boiling-down process the meat and the marrow of the original will have been boiled out. Another large pious statement will represent no advance toward binding international law. On the other hand, a firm declaration of rights, passed by the General Assembly, while having no legal force, will be bound to exert a considerable moral influence. Before the delegates come together for the Human Rights Commission meeting in August, it is to be hoped that they will all study seriously the secretariat's document, to see if the subcommittee's work cannot be substantially strengthened.

A Slight Case of Murder

THE House last week gave the coup de grâce to federal public housing. The spot was choice, the blow deft, but the hand that delivered it was the building-and-loan lobby's. Whether housing survives or not is now up to the Senate.

The lobby, which makes it a point to get its member associations to hire Congressmen as its lawyers or officers, first influenced a House investigation into the Federal Public Housing Authority. The findings sound like a dossier by our Puritan fathers, and a few little P-1 clerks may now lose their heads for drinking in public. The "scandal," released at the strategic moment, formed part of the committee recommendations to slice a third off FPHA's administrative budget and double the required contribution of the cities in tax exemption.

But the most serious blow is the reduction from \$7,200,000 to \$2,200,000 in annual subsidies due to local housing authorities and the requirement that their reserves, which are set up annually to cover future rent losses and repairs, be sliced in half.

This may seem harmless, but maintenance of the reserves and payment by the government of the annual subsidies is part of the bargain with private lenders,

who have advanced hundreds of millions to housing authorities at interest rates as little as 1.5 per cent, relying on the government's commitment to fulfil its contract. The housing-authority bond up to now was one of the prime securities in the country. As a result, housing authorities have been able to dispense with the need for huge federal loans and have also reduced the required federal subsidies to a fraction of the original estimate. If the authorities are forced to revert to government borrowing, it is doubtful whether any future Congress will authorize the huge federal loans that would be essential.

One would imagine that the House, in its current mood of economy, would encourage financial savings and protect the formulae responsible for them. Yet strangely, even the faith and credit of our government appears less important to the present Congress than the scuttling of public housing. Not only would the agreement with the lenders be breached and the solvency of the projects menaced, but the marketability of public-housing bonds would be affected for all future issues.

Already Wall Street buzzes with the story that the credit of the United States is now good only if the purpose for which it is pledged is the kind that will be politically palatable to every succeeding Congress. It is hoped that in the Senate the influence of the building-and-loan associations will weigh less than the faith and credit of the United States of America.

Marketing the Plan

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE job of explaining the Marshall plan to this country and the world is not going to be an easy one—but it is one of the most vital parts of the whole project. First of all it is necessary to let the peoples of Europe know that the plan is in effect a substitute for, not an extension of, the provocative, clumsy anti-Soviet crusade launched by Mr. Truman in Greece and Turkey. Indeed, that crusade itself will have to be amended in practice if the Marshall plan is to succeed. For the co-operation of Russia and its satellite states is essential to the revival of a healthy economy in Europe, as *The Nation* pointed out last week. It is also essential to the Continent's political health. Even the Vatican has lately expressed alarm over the effect on Europe of the hardening hostility between the U. S. S. R. and the United States. As Walter Lippmann pointed out in a comment on the Vatican's warning, the European nations want American help but not under conditions that will force them toward an irreparable break with the Soviet Union.

The Continent must be convinced that the Marshall plan is aimed at avoiding such a division by making possible a revival of industry and trade on a world scale.

Mr. Marshall's slightly delayed assurance that Russia was included in the scope of his proposal, followed by the French invitation to Mr. Molotov, has happily resulted in Russia's agreement to join France and Britain in exploring the possibilities of the plan. This is a good start. But it will be necessary, if the usual deadlocks are to be avoided, to make it clear on this side that no conditions will be laid down which would shut out nations whose economic and political methods are socialistic or even revolutionary. This final assurance has not yet been offered, and it is admittedly an awkward one to have to advertise. But how can it be avoided? How can we expect Russia to join in drawing up a plan for the restoration of Europe's economy and refuse to include those states which are imitating—however half-heartedly and partially—Russia's economic system? And how can Europe's economy be restored if a large part of Europe is to be denied the dollars required to reanimate the circulatory system of the Continent as a whole?

Europe knows all this. Even the more conservative governments would today refuse to join a coalition against those on the other side of the almost visible ideological line that runs across Europe and through each country. Their best hope lies in a revival of Continental prosperity—east and west, right and left—and in a gradual resulting amelioration of the hostility between Russia and America. If Mr. Marshall accepts this view, as his Cambridge speech indicated, he must make it amply clear to Europe.

In doing so, he must also make the American people understand why the emphasis has shifted from an anti-Communist crusade to the restoration of Europe. This will be still harder, for the country has been stuffed with the imminent and overpowering threat of communism until a large part of the population reacts only to fear of Russian aggression. It was fear of Russia alone that propelled the Greek-Turkish aid bill through Congress. How is the new plan to be carried out in the face of growing reaction and growing nationalism? How are Congress and the people to be convinced of the necessity of spending American dollars to restore Europe? The one way that will work, I believe, is also the only honest way of stating the case.

For the truth is that the United States cannot afford to let Europe's recovery collapse for lack of dollars. This is a simple fact that should equally impress Robert A. Taft and his most left-wing opponents. Without dollars, the other nations will have to stop buying the equipment on which the revival of their industries and agriculture depends. Without increased output of the products we need, they cannot export enough to America to get dollars in exchange. And until both production and exports mount, they are bound to exhaust the limited dollars now available in buying food to keep their people from going hungry. The problem, viewed from this side, is not pri-

marily a problem of foreign collapse or suffering; it is a problem of America's balance of payments with the world as a whole. The Marshall plan, put simply, is an attempt to reestablish the capacity of the world, starting with our best customers, to buy American goods. Our own economy will slump, our prosperity will disappear almost overnight, if the huge output of American factories, whose capacity to produce—as Mr. Sternberg recalls elsewhere in this issue—increased 50 per cent during the war, cannot find overflow markets outside the United States. In essence, this means that our balance of payments will be restored only if we give away goods, or the dollars required to buy goods. If we fail to do so, a depression will result which would not only produce the dangers and miseries we well remember, but would drag the rest of the world into economic depths from which no Marshall plan could pull it.

This story, told fully and honestly by persons, like those included in President Truman's new committees, whose knowledge is widely respected, should convince most Americans of the need of appropriating the billions

necessary for Europe's recovery. It will tend to offset the panic fear of Russia, generated partly by Moscow's own provocative methods, partly by the chauvinist press in America, and partly by the monumental blunder of the Truman Doctrine. It will reassure Europe and relieve it of the horrid burden of American benevolence, for the Marshall plan, in essence, is an expression of long-range, intelligent self-interest, not of charity.

Above all, it will relieve this country of the temptation to proceed unilaterally as we did in Greece and Turkey. A new, Europe-wide, anti-Russian crusade would preclude action through the United Nations; but the Marshall plan, based from the start on a request for European initiative, logically implies full utilization of the agencies and powers of the United Nations. The Economic Commission for Europe, headed by the noted Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, has already prepared a preliminary report on Europe's economic needs. With this as a basis, the specifications called for by Mr. Marshall can be rapidly perfected. There must be no question this time of by-passing the world organization.

Can Our Dollars Save Europe?

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, June 22

ONE difference between war and peace is that during war men are hopeful. World War II was still in progress when Harry Truman, on June 26, 1945, welcomed the signing of the United Nations Charter as the birth of the "Parliament of Man." As huzzahs resounded from San Francisco around the globe, most people foresaw the development of "one world" and the maintenance of peace through the United Nations. Now that peace is with us, the enthusiasm is gone. And the world seems to be cracking in two. In these depressing circumstances President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall have made an offer of the use of United States dollars as an adhesive to hold it together. Will the dollars do the job?

The grand purpose of their expenditure is to win Russia from the isolationist ways of Communist imperialism and induce it to support our notions of setting the world in order. If Russia fails to go along in the project, the secondary purpose of the money is to create a Western European bloc without Russia and without the Eastern European states which the United States, by its refusal to understand the political currents in those long-oppressed countries, has worked hard and

successfully to push into the Russian lap. General Lucius D. Clay, the American administrator in Berlin, said on June 18 that the rehabilitation of Germany "would fit into Secretary of State Marshall's plan for European recovery to great advantage." Evidently German peacetime factories are to back up the dollar in overcoming the destruction caused by German war factories.

The use of American dollars to restore world stability was first suggested by Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson at Cleveland, Mississippi, on May 8. Secretary Marshall presented the proposal at Harvard on June 5 as a combined American-European reconstruction plan. It is the result of lessons learned painfully by President Truman and Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder and the State Department since Alcide de Gasperi, the Italian Prime Minister, came to Washington looking for money last January and was sent home with a promise of \$100,000,000 in Export-Import Bank credits. The credits did not solve his problem. He needed to reconstruct his country, and he was given a chance to buy some goods in America. During the next six months the Administration came to understand that it cannot revive Europe by offering individual countries limited commercial opportunities. The economic problem of Europe is how to become productive itself, not how to enjoy the fruits of American production.

The Administration has learned that the Continent

BLAIR BOLLES is director of the Washington bureau of the Foreign Policy Association.

does not welcome American dollars forced upon it in the determination to save Europe according to a made-in-America financial formula. It has called upon Europe, therefore, to reach an agreement "as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be taken by the American government." The Administration knows, too, that the American public was repelled by the brassy suggestion of a crusade in the Truman Doctrine and by the disclosure that America intended to keep the "free" peoples of Greece and Turkey under the native tyrants then haphazardly oppressing them in order to save them from Russia or from native Communists. It is trying to win over public opinion at home by proposals that seem to offer the hope of a lasting peace.

Most important of all, the Administration has learned that the economic plight of Europe is the result of something besides Russian deviltry. It seems to have been caused by the war. So the situation is subject to improvement without the sound effects of moral diatribes shouted in the direction of Moscow.

Nevertheless, a man in the inner circles of the State Department laughed when I asked him if the Marshall proposal was a departure from the Truman Doctrine. He said no, and he was right, so far as the ultimate purpose of both is concerned. Both were conceived as a way to stop Russia without war. That is the all-consuming passion in the State, War, and Navy departments.

To strengthen the government for the capitalist struggle against communism, Marshall is bringing in two Wall Street men as his top assistants; Robert Lovett is to become Under Secretary of State on July 1, and Charles E. Salzman, vice-president of the Stock Exchange, was nominated yesterday to be Assistant Secretary of State in charge of occupation affairs (German, Austrian, Japanese, and Korean).

The Soviet government's acceptance of the invitation of Bevin and Bidault to join in a conference to discuss how the American dollars can best be spent may mark the beginning, not of a new peaceful relationship between the two intransigent Brobdingnagians but of a new phase of their struggle. All Europe, not merely the eastern or the western portion, may now be the prize. If Europe, including Russia, agrees on a plan for utilizing American aid, the United States will be able to circulate freely in Danubia, but at the same time Russia will have an opportunity to spread its benefits through the countries fringing the Bay of Biscay and the North Sea.

Europe's attitude toward the Marshall proposal must be judged by the slowly gathering public reaction rather than by the exchanges between Bevin and Bidault at their spectacular Paris meeting. Already we know that

the United States does not appear to all people abroad, even in neighboring Canada, as the gentle lamb described by our statesmen. The proposal to arm Perón, the use of Canada as our Arctic shield, the continued manufacture of atomic bombs, the backing we give the reactionaries who govern Rome—these things puzzle foreigners who have heard that we believe in full freedom for all nations to deal with others, and with ourselves, as they will, provided it is honorably.

The first reaction of the Russians to Marshall's proposal of American aid showed how the seeds of distrust have grown since the Yalta conference, the high-water mark in Russian-American relations. Russia may be won over, but it will not be gulled. "The former political meaning of the United States policy of help remains unchanged," Leontyev wrote in *Pravda* on June 16. In England and France the moderate papers, the *Observer* and the *Times*, *Libération* and *L'Aube*, approved the offer of aid. Italian Foreign Minister Sforza called it "one of the most noble attempts to save peace." Not all non-Communists in Europe agreed with him. The Socialist radio in the Netherlands broadcast: "The tragedy of the European situation is that in many cases, though not in all, American aid will be accepted by governments which certainly do not have the well-being of the masses of the people at heart."

The Netherlands government, jointly with Belgium and Luxembourg, sent Marshall a note accepting his suggestion in principle. The three countries dispatched the message on the eve of their merger in a tariff union, a step toward European unity which, if extended across the whole Continent, might accelerate though it could not assure its restoration. The simultaneous formation of an economic union in Eastern Europe has increased American suspicion of Russia, just as Marshall's recent statement that he favored a United States of Europe struck Russia as menacing. The tragedy of the world is that the two great countries can see no good in each other.

The success or failure of the Marshall proposal will not be determined by the attitude of Russia. It depends primarily on the United States. It draws together all the issues of the time. It affects employment and prosperity. If Europe cut down to \$8,000,000,000 the \$16,000,000,000 worth of goods it now buys every year, factories would close, jobs would be lost. President Truman could not sign the tax bill when he contemplated sending \$24,000,000,000 abroad in the next four years. He could not sign a labor bill which would imperil our industrial stability and prevent us from turning out the goods Europe must have. The proposal goes to the heart of the issue between Truman and the Republicans—economy.

Will the penny-pinching Eightieth Congress agree to send \$24,000,000,000 across the ocean? It might, if the

consequences of a drop in exports were dramatized for it. Yet there is strong evidence that a new isolationism is arising to combat the Administration on this issue. The United States is becoming fearful of exporting. The cry, "We are throwing away our substance," was raised here during the war in an effort to hold to a minimum the movement of lend-lease goods abroad, especially to Russia. Bernard Baruch made the same protest a little over a year ago. In opposing the \$3,750,000,000 loan to Britain, he said that the United States should take an inventory of its resources before it sent any more out of the country. Now this miser's chant has been repeated by Herbert Hoover, who told Senator Bridges of New Hampshire that we are exporting more than we can afford. Senator Byrd, the perennial economizer from Virginia, has joined this export-and-die crowd.

The Administration itself stiffened objections to fur-

ther aid for foreign nations when it encouraged the belief not long ago that the need for big spending abroad was over. Clayton helped along the revolt by his acquiescence in the abrupt cutting off of lend-lease at the close of the war with Japan, and by his vulgar statement last summer that the "grave train" was going around for the last time—meaning the United States would give help through UNRRA for just one more year. Truman could have prepared the country and Congress for the dollar-aid proposal by dealing with it in his budget message last January, but he did not say a word. The truth is that the Administration is just awakening to the significance of Europe's economic problems. It did not understand it in January. Last year's foreign policy, based on economic optimism and political pessimism, has given way to pessimism all around.

Can our dollars save Europe if Congress says yes?

Meet Our Greek Allies

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Athens, May 29

SO GREECE, still bearing the heavy imprint of the Ottoman Empire, is now an outpost of the West, a bulwark against Slavism and communism, almost a forty-ninth state.

We might as well face it. Let's not cloud the issue with a lot of talk about democracy, free institutions, free nations, and human values. We are out to stop communism because it threatens the American system; we think Greece is the place to start; and we will use whatever methods are necessary, just as the others do, only better and more refined.

Possibly some of the Americans who come to Greece for the first time as members of the American mission won't understand the hypocrisy, arrogance, deceit, and corruption which are the Greek government and the Greek ruling class today. The American embassy will cushion the shock. Dispassionately, patiently, it will brief the newcomers on the "complexities" of the situation. As a precautionary measure, too, the embassy will place some of its own people ("who, after all, know the situation inside out") in the new mission as "special assistants" and "liaison officers"; just as it did with the

mission to observe the elections last year and the United Nations Commission of Inquiry this year.

In any case the Americans on the new mission will receive a warm welcome from the nice people, the people who will flatter them in faultless English and say, as one Royalist paper said recently, "It is our great fortune that in this struggle against the left we shall have on our side the most courageous, the richest, and the most decisive power in the world."

The Greeks in power today are good at this sort of thing. They have been doing it with the Germans and British ever since 1915.

On May 6, 1941, nine days after the Germans occupied Athens, Spyros Melas, writing in the newspaper *Kathimerini*, attacked those who "still felt a nostalgia for a liberal economy and for the liberal prattle of plutocratic democracies." "We must digest the fact," he said, "that the idyllic system of economic anarchy, of super-individualism, of greed, of wealth without bounds, of egotistic waste of life's riches, of monstrous inequalities and unrestrained exploitation belongs to the past, and it shall never return. We must resolutely sweep out the old molds. Revolt against the liberal plutocratic world!"

On March 4, 1947, the day Secretary Marshall confirmed the reports that the United States was moving into Greece, the same writer said in the Athens newspaper *Embros* that America was "now presenting itself at its proper post, as a Great and True Free Democracy, whose role is to stand as a guarantor of the existence and freedom of peoples. The Greek people believe in the great civilizing mission of America." Melas ended by

CONSTANTINE POULOS is the Balkan correspondent of the Overseas News Agency and a frequent contributor to *The Nation*. His series, *The Revolution in Eastern Europe*, the first article of which appeared last week, has been interrupted to permit the insertion of this pertinent report on Greece.

attacking those "who dare to criticize the supporters of the freedom of the world."

This sort of thing, if they become aware of it, should not upset innocent Americans who come to Greece. They will have to get used to dealing with the people who dealt with the Nazis. Besides, there are too many things in Greece that may upset them. If, for example, they see a photograph such as was published in one of the Royalist papers on April 10, showing seven decapitated heads neatly arranged in a triangle on the ground, they may shudder. But unless someone translates the small items from the newspapers for them, they will not learn about the heads of five boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty which were displayed in front of the gendarmerie station in Sparta as a warning to others who might be thinking of going to the mountains.

Yet the Greek government under our pressure will certainly make some new farcical amnesty offer to the guerrillas, and the American embassy will explain to the neophytes: "You see, the government is acting in good faith. We cannot understand why the bandits don't come down out of the mountains. Of course, most of them would if they could, but their fanatical Communist leaders won't let them."

There are lots of interesting little items in the newspapers that help one to understand what is going on in Greece today, but they are easy to miss, and "besides, there's so much more to the story," as the American embassy explains whenever anyone refers to them. For instance, it was reported in the newspapers on March 26 that Miltiades Bambakas was arrested on a street in Athens. At the police station he was beaten to death. No action was taken by the government. The newspapers didn't mention it again.

Demetrios Androvitsaneas, a sixty-two-year-old veteran of the Balkan wars and a member of the 7th Regiment of E. L. A. S. on the island of Euboea during the occupation, was being treated for advanced tuberculosis in an Athens hospital. Last month they caught up with him. They told him the hospital didn't have room for "traitors" and "Slavo-Communists" and put him out. He died a few days later.

Estia, the newspaper of the big industrialists—the liberal papers have been calling it "the fascist widow" ever since Mussolini's death—recently unburdened itself. "It's a good thing that the Jewish-Communist organization UNRRA is concluding its activities in Greece, for UNRRA thought it could remain neutral in our struggle and give food, clothing, and medical assistance to everyone, regardless of their politics." Now *Estia* is attacking the Greek War Relief Association of America for having the same incomprehensible attitude about relief.

"The Security Battalions," formed by the Germans with the help of the last Greek quisling government to

fight the resistance forces, "are considered instruments of the enemy," declared a statement signed in Italy on September 26, 1944, by General H. Maitland Wilson, Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean Theater, and by Harold H. Macmillan, British Resident Minister. On April 16, 1947, the Athens daily *Ethnikos Kirix* said in an editorial that "the successful organization and arming of the Security Battalions during the occupation was a stupendous accomplishment on the part of Rallis and his coworkers." Rallis was the quisling Prime Minister.

One minor collaborator was executed on December 4, 1944, as a gesture which it was thought might halt the revolt then beginning. The second collaborator to be executed since the liberation of Greece was shot three days after President Truman unveiled his famous doctrine.

"There is freedom of the press, isn't there?" "Why, sure, just look at the leftist papers published here in Athens." But let the American members of the new mission try to buy a leftist newspaper in any city except Athens and Salonika, in Levadia, Lamia, Larissa, Trikala, or Volos, or even a centrist paper in Sparta or Preveza. Since last July the E. A. M. paper in Salonika has been suppressed three times and the Communist Party organ five times. Each suppression has meant court decisions against the editors and printers, with one man sentenced to five years' imprisonment, two to seven years, one to fourteen and one-half years, one to twenty years, one to fifty-two and one-half years, and three given life. (The data on sentences were obtained from the Information Department of the British embassy in Athens.)

Of course, there is another way of taking care of the press. On March 30 three armed men entered the printing plant of the Communist paper in Salonika, fired at the workers with tommy-guns, and then threw a grenade as they withdrew. Three printers were killed and seven wounded. The gendarmes guarding the plant "happened to be away from their posts," the government explained. No one has been arrested yet. (Fifty-five leftist papers have been closed down by official suppression, terrorism, or destruction of the printing plants by rightist mobs and security authorities since the present government came to power in April last year.)

One more story to fill in the picture. First Lieutenant Panayiotis Katsareas, a Greek army reserve officer, joined the Security Battalions and fought with the Germans against the guerrillas during the occupation. After the resistance movement disbanded and laid down its arms, Katsareas was made a regular army officer with the rank of captain and took up the struggle against the unarmed members of the resistance.

With a band of his own although he was on the government pay roll, he roamed the Sparta area killing men, women, and children. From August 1 last year to Octo-

ber 10 he killed at least fifty-eight persons, thirty-five of them on one day in the little mountain village of Bam-bakou in Laconia. The government in Athens issued statements "denouncing him" and "ordered his arrest." But Katsareas knew they were not serious. He sat calmly in Sparta visiting with his friends in the gendarmerie and the army, attended public functions in the company of federal and provincial authorities, and made speeches on holidays.

The resurrection of the guerrilla movement cramped his style, however, and he didn't go very far up the mountains. One day last March he strayed a bit too far from Sparta and in a battle with the guerrillas was killed.

The next day, March 21, the military commander of Laconia, Major George Kourkoulis, addressed a letter to Katsareas's men in which he said: "You must not cry for your unforgettable leader. He did not die. He is with you and with us. . . . Inspired by the example of this heroic figure, go forward with us to the great victory. . . . Vengeance on the cowardly murderers!"

That day Katsareas's men entered the town of Gytheion, dragged thirty-two political prisoners out of the local jail, and executed them in the public square. Major Kourkoulis's statement was published in the Sparta newspaper *Ethniki Phoni* two days later, and in the next few days Katsareas's band killed thirty-two more people in villages near Sparta.

Three ministers rushed to the Peloponnesus from Athens—by sea. No one was arrested. No one was

punished. The Minister of Public Order, Napoleon Zervas, informed the government from Sparta of his decision not to remove Major Kourkoulis from his post. Returning to Athens, the Ministers of War and Interior explained that the massacre of the political prisoners was a "natural rising of the nationalist populace."

The Royalist press in Athens ho-hummed and noted that since most of the men in the prison were under sentence of death anyway, it did not really matter very much, and one paper even recommended that political prisoners held in other jails should be transferred to Gytheion. (British sources estimate that there are 11,000 political prisoners in Greek prisons today.)

Still no one has been arrested or punished. And all this happened while the House and Senate were considering President Truman's request for aid to the government of Greece.

It is a miserable situation we are inheriting, full of hatred, cruelty, bitterness, and iniquity. But let's not kid ourselves on this point, either. We are not likely to bring about many fundamental changes. The Greeks in power will use us for all we are worth. We think we are doing them a favor; they know they are doing us a bigger one. They'll take the dollars, they'll make some revisions in their economic and political policies to please us, and sooner or later they'll ask for more money. Even \$250,000,000 won't go far toward winning a civil war and rebuilding a shattered and looted economy. That will take more millions, and "stronger" methods.

The 250 Industrial Giants

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

NOW that American credit and American production are to be geared to the economic needs of the war-damaged nations of Europe in an effort to avert the progressive disintegration of the political and economic life of the Continent, it becomes more than ever necessary to examine the structure of the system on which this whole enterprise depends. We know that the productive capacity of the United States outstrips that of the other nations of the world put together. We know the dollar is the currency on which all others, even the pound sterling, are based. What remains is to see clearly how the controls of the American system are operated, to identify the groups and individuals that have in their hands the economic levers. For under our free-enterprise

theory, however modified in practice, the people who dominate American business are also, to a large extent, the economic dictators of the world.

Today the amazing fact is that 250 leading corporations in the United States produce a volume of goods equal to that of the rest of the capitalist world, *including the residual industry of this country*. This state of affairs is the result of two lines of development which began long before the recent war.

The first is the steady growth of America's share in total world production. Throughout the last hundred years American output has increased faster than that of the rest of the world. Britain, whose production in 1850 equaled the combined totals of all other countries, was outstripped by the United States as early as 1880. After that date the United States not only had the lead but steadily increased the margin between itself and the other industrial powers. America's share of production at

FRITZ STERNBERG, a German economist now living in this country, is the author of "The Coming Crisis."

the outbreak of World War I was a little more than one-third of the world total. Nothing more clearly indicates the declining importance of Europe and the growing preponderance of the American role.

In 1913 Europe accounted for 53 per cent of world production, but by 1919 and 1920 this had sunk to 41 per cent. The goods turned out in the United States in 1928 actually exceeded in volume those produced by the whole of Europe. In that year, the last before the great economic crisis, the relative contributions to world production of the major industrial countries were: the United States, 40 per cent; Germany, 12 per cent; Great Britain, 9 per cent; France, 7 per cent. This country was already producing 60 per cent more goods than the three next largest industrial nations combined.

But the effect of World War II on the balance of economic power was even more sensational. During and since the war American productive capacity has enormously increased; so that in the present year it is approximately 50 per cent greater than it was before 1939. What is even more important than the rise itself is, of course, the fact that it has occurred in an epoch during which the rest of the world has experienced a sharp decline. Physical destruction and the depletion of resources and capital have increased the disparity which America's huge war production would in any case have created. Years will elapse before the Soviet Union can reach even its pre-war levels of output, and Germany will not regain its pre-war productivity in any near future no matter what policy the occupying authorities adopt. In varying degrees this holds true for most of the other countries directly involved in the war. The result is that, on a conservative estimate, the United States is now producing 60 per cent of the entire output of the world, including Russia.

At no time during the last hundred years has any single state achieved such economic preeminence. Nor is American superiority only a question of manufactured goods, for industrial growth has naturally been accompanied by a huge expansion of financial power. Before the First World War the big capital-exporting countries were England, Germany, and France. Britain alone possessed as great a volume of capital invested abroad as the rest of the world combined. Germany became a debtor country as a result of the war of 1914-19, while France not only lost the greater part of its foreign investments but found itself unable to continue to make loans to other countries. In the decade between the two wars only Britain among the European nations continued to export any considerable amount of capital.

It was in the ten years following Versailles that the United States appeared on the scene as a major exporter of capital. "From 1919 through 1929 foreign loans floated in the United States provided some \$7,500,000,000 of new capital to other countries," says a Depart-

ment of Commerce bulletin published in 1943, "or more than the total of similar issues floated in the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and all other capital-lending countries combined." Since World War II, of course, Britain has joined the debtor countries, and American superiority in the financial field is unchallenged. Today the United States possesses not only the most powerful of all productive systems but also a monopoly of money power.

This establishment of world dominance has been accompanied by a rapid tightening of industrial power within the United States. The development was summarized in a recent Senate report on "Economic Concentration in World War II" in these words:

Closely paralleling the rise in importance of corporations was the increasing sphere of activities controlled by a relatively small number of corporate units. Thus the 200 largest non-financial corporations increased their relative importance from ownership of one-third of the assets in 1909, to 48 per cent in 1929, and to 59 per cent in the early thirties. The sharp upward sweep in the twenty years before the crash of 1929 is confirmed by another series [of figures] showing that the percentage of the total net income of all non-financial corporations (income corporations only) earned by the 20 largest . . . increased from 33 per cent in 1920 to 43 per cent in 1929.

Developments during the last years of peace and the first part of the Second World War are described in the Senate report as follows:

For the period 1931 to 1942 data are available indicating the percentage of total manufacturing assets held by corporations possessing more than \$50,000,000 in assets. This group of corporations represents the giants of industry and may be used broadly to measure the trend in concentration up to recent times. In 1942 there were 205 such giant manufacturing corporations. This group of manufacturing corporations, after declining in importance from ownership of 46 per cent of the total in 1931 to 37 per cent in 1934, rose sharply to the point of ownership of 49 per cent of all the corporate manufacturing assets in 1942.

The power concentrated in the big corporations became even greater during the war than in the preceding decades. The value of the nation's present facilities for production can be estimated by adding to the \$40,000,000,000 of gross capital assets of the year 1939 the \$20,000,000,000 worth of new war-time plants that are available for peace-time use. Who owns this vast, highly equipped productive system? How much of it is controlled by big business and how much is held by smaller firms?

The answer to these questions is to be found in the holdings of the 250 largest manufacturing corporations,

31 of which are controlled by 5 financial groups. These corporations are, for the most part, the traditional giants of American industry. In 1939 they owned 65 per cent of the nation's fixed capital. During the war they operated 79 per cent of all new plant facilities built with federal funds, and in September, 1944, held 78 per cent of the primary war-supply contracts. Possessing nearly \$30,000,000,000 of capital assets in 1939, they have added \$3,700,000,000 in privately financed new facilities and have operated additional plants accounting for nearly \$9,000,000,000 of the \$11,500,000,000 war-time facilities estimated to be usable for peace-time production. If these industrial giants finally acquire the plants on which they have purchase options, their hold-

ings will come to \$38,500,000,000, or 66.5 per cent of total usable facilities in America.

Even today these 250 huge corporations control two-thirds of American industry. They are able to produce as much as the whole American economy before the war, when the United States produced almost half of the world's goods. Today with European industry hampered by lack of material, plant, and buying power and by the destruction of capital values, the 250 American giants can produce as much as the rest of world industry within and outside of the United States. This is an economic fact to be pondered by the nations of Europe as they prepare to qualify for American help under the Marshall plan.

Perón's Expanding Empire

BY ALBERT C. HICKS

THROUGHOUT its 122 years as an independent nation Bolivia, landlocked Andean republic, has dangled as a tempting prize before a succession of Latin American *caudillos* thirsting for power and riches. In the nineteenth century they coveted its silver and gold. During the twentieth it has offered tin and oil and the potential wealth of its vast unworked mineral deposits.

Always a weak nation despite its natural resources, Bolivia has never relied upon its own military power to protect itself against its neighbors. The four biggest countries of South America lie adjacent: Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Peru. But in the event of a threat by any one of these, the other giants would combine to check the aggressor. For the nation that gets control of Bolivia's natural wealth can dominate the continent.

This fact lies behind many of the political maneuvers of Juan Domingo Perón, chief of the Argentine state. Prevented from using force against Bolivia, Perón has taken a more devious but very effective course.

After the Bolivian revolution of July, 1946, the Revolutionary Junta produced documentary proof that the fallen dictatorship of Gualberto Villarroel had been in league with Perón and had planned to make Bolivia a vassal state of Argentina. With his friends the militarists out of power and the interim government opposed to his schemes, Perón could only hope for a counter-revolution. Four major efforts to bring one about were made before February, 1947, and although all were abortive,

they served to shake the structure of the struggling democracy.

As soon as the interim democratic government was set up under Judge Tomás Monje Gutierrez, Peronista newspapers in Buenos Aires loosed a barrage of vituperation at Monje and his ministers. Two months later a former Bolivian army officer made an attempt on Monje's life, and a mob of revolutionaries, suspecting a militarist coup, hanged the would-be assassin and two of Villarroel's former henchmen. Perón at once had his Congress condemn the La Paz government, charging that it had instigated the mob action.

When Bolivians went to the polls to choose a constitutional President in January, 1947, the elections were declared entirely free and democratic by all objective observers. Perón's newspapers, however, screamed that they were a fraud. Before the results were made official, Bolivian counter-revolutionaries told Aymará Indians in the Lake Titicaca region that the La Paz government planned to massacre them and confiscate their lands. They then passed out arms and ammunition to the Indians and the expected uprising occurred. After it had been put down there was an investigation into the source of the arms, since it was known that Bolivian militarists had not been allowed to retain any after the revolution. Whatever facts were uncovered, they were not made public. If the trail led to Perón, the Bolivian government could hardly have been expected to reveal it.

Perón's strongest weapon was starvation. He forbade all shipments of foodstuffs, including livestock and packed meats, from Argentina to Bolivia. While the order was put in force immediately after the revolution, the Bolivians did not feel the results of it at once. But by December it was apparent that they faced a serious

ALBERT C. HICKS, author of "Blood in the Streets: The Life and Rule of Trujillo," has recently returned from a trip through South America.

shortage of food. The interim government appealed to the United States for help. Washington rejected the plea on the ground that commitments for food deliveries elsewhere precluded further exports. This left Bolivia almost wholly dependent upon Perón. Surrender to his demands was inevitable if Washington persisted in refusing aid.

Unfortunately Washington also refused to pay the price Bolivia sought for the tin of the independent companies headed by Mauricio Hochschild. Great Britain has long contracted for the total output of the Simon Patiño mines. In 1942 the United States government signed a contract for the 17,000-ton yearly output of the independents. The contract ran out this year, and Hochschild, acting for the independents, negotiated with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for its renewal with a rise in price from 69 cents a pound to 76 cents. The mining companies, backed by the Bolivian government, which depends upon the exportation of tin for revenue, argued that the seven-cent rise was in line with the soaring prices of all minerals. The RFC offered to pay first 72, then 73, then 74 cents, but the Bolivian government stood firm on its demand for 76 cents, maintaining that increased production costs made mining tin unprofitable unless this price could be obtained.

Left begging for a tin market, running out of food, torn by internal strife, its democracy tottering, Bolivia was ripe for Perón's plucking by the time Enrique Hertzog, elected President in January, took office in March. A trade mission from Buenos Aires headed by a special ambassador had spent February in La Paz furthering Perón's plans with a lavish display of generosity—it offered to pay 76 cents for the entire tin output of the independents, to provide a loan of \$65,500,000, and to resume the movement of foodstuffs into Bolivia. Perón's reward was to be Bolivia's economic dependence upon Argentina, which in a very short time must lead to political dependence. Most of the funds involved in the agreement were to be used for industrial and transportation projects greatly needed in undeveloped Bolivia. These projects, however, were to be managed by a joint commission dominated by Perón's appointees.

President Hertzog's first major act was to sign this trade treaty. One of its provisions bound Bolivia to ship Argentina 8,000 tons of the independents' 17,000 tons of exportable

tin in 1947. The tin started moving immediately, the first shipment being made in March, whereupon the RFC belatedly rushed in with an offer of 76 cents and salvaged 9,000 tons of the 17,000 tons.

Having obtained the treaty with Bolivia, Perón announced to the Argentine Congress that the time had come to modernize the army. "Our pacifist tradition of respect for all peoples is not sufficient," he said. "A minimum of foresight is necessary in the midst of an armed world." The army, he declared, would be the guardian of the republic and contribute "to the defense of the southern part of the American continent." These utterances were intended not only to intimidate his neighbors but to remind Washington that in the event of another world war the Argentina of Perón, proud possessor of a modernized army and with Bolivia's mineral resources at its disposal, would be a force worthy of respect.

Blueprints for a pan-American military alliance have long been under consideration in Washington. Spruille Braden has opposed such an alliance. Even before he became Secretary of State, General Marshall was considered one of its leading advocates. Perón wants it because then the United States would send him more arms and ammunition.

In his bigger-and-better army speech Perón spoke of his industrial-socialization program, which would enable the nation to produce "armaments and materials of war." For advocates of the pan-American military alliance in the United States these were reassuring words. For Bolivia and other neighboring countries they evoked the image of a bully flexing his muscles. With Argentina in control of Bolivia's minerals and receiving arms from the United States, Brazil, the only South American

nation now powerful enough to stand up to Perón, will find itself virtually impotent. Of course if a military alliance of all the Americas is formed, Brazil will also receive material aid from the United States. But Perón is now in a position to build a great, aggressive war machine.

As a formidable military power Argentina would become the Latin American pivot of a pan-American military-defense program. The United States would then be obliged to rely on Perón's integrity and respect for democracy. But alliance or no alliance, Perón's record indicates that he will fight on whichever side will best serve his interests.



Perón

As drawn by Oscar Berger

The Chinese Students

BY JEAN LYON

Peiping, China, May 23

A MIXED sense of impending tragedy and of history in the making pervades university circles here this week. Nearly five thousand students paraded through Peiping's main streets three days ago in spite of a proclamation by Chiang Kai-shek and an emergency measure adopted by the State Council which suggested, although there was no definite prohibition, that student demonstrations were not welcomed by the government authorities. Other thousands of students in Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, and more remote university centers also held demonstrations. Reports of clashes between students and police or between students and unidentified persons are still coming in, and several reported deaths have heightened the tension.

Martial law was invoked in Peiping last night. The garrison commander has stated that in the future parades will be forbidden. University authorities, fearful of more violence and bloodshed, are trying to persuade the students that their job is in the classroom and not on the soapbox.

But the students have certainly found their tongues and the courage to use them. How significant their movement becomes may in part depend upon how far the government means to go in controlling or suppressing them. They seem in the mood this week to defy any attempt to stop them. "We have a new constitution which guarantees us freedom of speech," one of the student leaders remarked on the day of the parade. Some observers think this movement may prove to be of as great historical importance as the student protest against China's acceptance of Japan's Twenty-One Demands after the First World War.

But the political atmosphere in China at present is such that no one seems quite certain how spontaneous, how unified, or how genuine the movement is. Many persons, particularly those in government circles, insist that the strikes were incited by Communist agitators within the universities. The Generalissimo outlined this view in his statement to the nation on the evening of May 18, after several students had been hurt in a fracas in Peiping with the 208th Division of the Youth Army, and at the moment when student strikes were threatening to become widespread. Some of the students and a good many acute political observers believe that the agi-

tation was first instigated by a clique within the Kuomintang to discredit the group which now dominates the newly reorganized government. It is thought that as the demonstrations became widespread, the agitation snowballed, and its instigators lost control. A third theory is that the students may have a few independent ideas of their own, and that the movement is largely honest student reaction to conditions in the country.

It is indisputable that the students live on a subnormal diet in their college dining-rooms. Only those with funds from home for supplementary food and those who can qualify for the limited supplies of bean milk and the like supplied by international relief organizations can hope to keep their energy and health up to the standard necessary to handle their work. The incidence of such diseases as tuberculosis is startlingly high. Moreover, throughout the war period and in their trek back east last summer, the students have seen more of the country and of the conditions prevailing in vast areas of it than any other student generation in all China's history. It is not strange, therefore, that in their demonstration at Peiping they had two slogans: The people of China must not starve; the civil war must stop. With irrefutable logic they maintain that the nation's economy has been distorted by the heavy costs of civil war, and that until the civil war ends the people will not have enough to eat. They have carried their protest far beyond their own personal needs.

The demonstration was impressive. The students marched for five hours through the city streets. By the end of the afternoon their black hair was grayed by the dust. Hundreds of them ran beside the marchers doing special jobs along the sidewalks and up the alleys. Some plastered posters on city gates and garden walls. Some talked with the shopkeepers and coolies, housewives and peddlers, who lined the streets. Girl students in blue denim overalls and boys in faded khaki trousers carried buckets of tar and wrote large black-lettered slogans on whitewashed walls and paving stones. Their hands were black and their earnest faces smudged and perspiring. Among the paraders were perhaps a hundred air-force and army veterans in uniform, a number with service stripes from Burma campaigns—all now college students.

Behind the demonstration, at least apparently, was an orderly representative body of thirty students in Peiping from eleven different institutions. Strike headquarters were in a large classroom building on the Pei-ta (Peiping National University) campus. Only two important colleges in the city stayed out of the joint strike and

JEAN LYON is correspondent in China for the North American Newspaper Alliance.

parade—the Catholic college and China College. On the strike committee were the presidents and officers of the regular student associations, which one student explained "are organized very much like your American government. We have a congress and an executive body." Student associations and student assemblies representing the entire student-bodies voted on the strike action. Tactics were heatedly discussed. One of the arguments was about whether telegrams urging the end of civil war should be sent to the Communists as well as to the National Government. Peiyang University students did send a wire to the Communists. In other universities the argument prevailed that since they were not in Communist territory messages would have little effect.

Money for the printing of fliers and for the paper of the hand-made posters was raised in the lobby of strike headquarters. Students who went in and out of the building dropped their money in cardboard boxes.

Some forty professors and lecturers at Pei-ta came out with open expressions of sympathy for the students. Dr. Hu Shih, Pei-ta's president, although he had previously urged the students not to take so much time off from their studies, allowed them to quote him on

May 19 as being sympathetic, and contented himself with urging them to keep their demonstration orderly and controlled.

It would be difficult for anyone not to subscribe to the two major protests made by the students—against starvation and rising prices, and against the civil war. One hears the same protests from almost everyone in China, whether he is a government representative or a roadside huckster. In voicing them, the students are only saying publicly what millions feel. Neither protest in its simplified form can be called the exclusive property of any one political party or group within a party.

Although the students offer no solution for China's problems, they may, if their actions win widespread sympathy among the people, exert effective pressure upon the government to make it seek and find a solution. Whether or not the students will gain great popular support remains to be seen. It depends partly on the methods the government adopts to handle the increasing unrest among them. And it depends partly on the students themselves—on whether they are being used as political puppets or are actually developing a genuine, unified student movement.

Bigotry in B-Flat

HOW THE BERKSHIRES FACE THE MUSIC

BY HORACE SUTTON

Pittsfield, Massachusetts, June 19

PRECISELY at 3:30 p. m., Sunday, July 13, Dr. Serge Koussevitsky will rap his baton on a music stand at Tanglewood, Massachusetts, and leading the orchestra in an all-Bach program formally open the 1947 Berkshire Music Festival. Before the series ends four weeks later at least a hundred thousand people will have poured into the village to hear the concerts, operas, and chorales. They will jam Tanglewood's Finnish-designed, \$80,000 Music Shed, spill over on to its green lawns, lie under its birches, evergreens, and pines. On Saturday afternoons the crowds will come with their picnic baskets and pay a dollar to listen to the Boston Symphony in rehearsal. On Sunday mornings they will stretch out in the sun and watch the waters of Stockbridge Bowl ripple in the summer wind.

When these music lovers seek a place to lay their heads at nightfall, the story will become less melodious

than malodorous. According to Haydn Mason, director of public relations of the Berkshire Hills Conference, the annual music festivals at Tanglewood aggravate a Berkshire sore point into what the county now considers a very important problem. Of the forty-three hotels and inns which the conference lists in its 1947 vacation guide Mr. Mason estimates that 50 per cent will not welcome Jews. At least one is militant on the subject.

"Actually we would have a problem here anyway because of our proximity to New York," says Mr. Mason, "but the Jewish people are artistic as a race, and the festival has amplified our predicament. I would say that 98 per cent of our inns would have no objection if Jews would conduct themselves according to ordinary standards, but they don't. Here's what happens. A car pulls up full of boisterous people. If they turn out to be Irish—o. k. If they're Italian—o. k. If they're Americans, nobody says anything. But if they're Jews, thumbs down."

As the official information center for the Berkshires, Mr. Mason's office gets some 15,000 inquiries about accommodations each year. The letters are opened and placed in a huge cardboard bin. Regardless of the type

HORACE SUTTON contributes monthly articles on travel to The Nation.

of name, Mason says, each applicant is sent a copy of the Berkshire Hills Vacation Guide, which lists the hotels, and another pamphlet which lists guest houses. Neither mentions clientèle restrictions. The prospective Berkshire vacationist then makes a selection and writes to one of the hotels. Mason says that half the hotels listed write back, "Please be advised we only cater to . . ." or "We only welcome. . . ." The guest houses, he indicated, are not so strict since they do not serve food, and Jews do not have as much opportunity to mingle with other guests.

During the 1946 summer season the festival and its related activities drew an estimated 160,000 persons to the Berkshires. Of this number Mason estimates that only one-half could be accommodated with the type of service and facilities the county would have liked to provide. Some 10,000 rooms in the county, Mason's office figures, brought a total return to the area of \$100,000 a day. With perhaps an even larger crowd coming this year, some festival ticket-holders will be sleeping as far away as Danbury, Connecticut, sixty-two miles to the south.

The smart Jew who is aware of the local attitude, Mason says, does not even attempt to find a place in Berkshire County. He goes to a hotel in Albany, or he takes a room at a tourist house on the road before he gets to the Berkshires. There are 117 tourist houses, cabins, and small hotels between Danbury and Tanglewood, according to Mason's tally. "Other Jews," he says, "may sleep in their cars."

From Albany to Tanglewood is a thirty-seven-mile trip, but Mason explains that "it's only ten miles to Lebanon Valley, which is lined with guest houses." Copake Falls, New York, is "90 per cent Jewish, just like the Catskills." And Canaan, Connecticut, just over the state border, he says, is "wide open for them."

The Berkshire Hills Conference, which functions like a local chamber of commerce, is supported by a taxpayers' appropriation and by voluntary contributions. Although it is denied officially, apparently some strain exists between the conference, an old, established agency which aims to promote the whole Berkshire region over an eight-month period, and the infant music festival, which though it lasts only a month overshadows all other community activities. Mason quotes a townsman as saying last year, "I wouldn't give a dime to the Berkshire Hills Conference; look at all the Jews it has brought to the county." "We didn't bring them," Mason explains privately, "it's the music festival that brought them. But don't get me wrong. Some of our best families in Pittsfield are Jewish."

The Berkshire Hills Conference, which has two Jewish members, has gone on record against racial discrimination. They say that if any anti-Semitism exists in the area, they have not fostered or supported it. They agree that "some resort hotels in the county pursue a restricted-

clientèle policy," but they make it plain that such an attitude "does not represent the policy of the Berkshire Hills Conference." Pittsfield journalists believe that local anti-Semitism stems mainly from the types of dress affected by the counselors and children from nearby Jewish camps and from the public's behavior at the festival rather than from "names and faces." A scorching letter was printed last year in the *Berkshire Eagle* berating visitors for sun-bathing and indecent dressing. With this exception the *Eagle* has given complete support to the festival.

Though Pittsfield elders have clearly rejected anti-Semitism, Jewish visitors to the Berkshires this year may expect a chilly welcome. A few weeks ago a man and his ill wife arrived at a New England hotel which they found to be run down and dilapidated. Hearing of another place where he thought his wife might be more comfortable, the man called and explained his predicament. The rest of the conversation went like this:

"Yes, we have a double room."

"Oh, that's fine."

"Are you a Christian?"

"No, I'm not."

"Well, then I don't think you'd be very comfortable here."

Tanglewood is near Lenox, Massachusetts. There is parking space on the grounds for 4,000 cars. The New Haven Railroad furnishes limited train service from New York to Great Barrington, Stockbridge, Lee, Lenox, and Pittsfield. The New York Central and the Boston and Albany also run to Pittsfield. Commercial air service operates to Albany and to Springfield-Westfield, and there is direct bus service to the concert grounds from all neighboring towns.

Tanglewood's first two Sunday-afternoon concerts, on July 13 and 20, will be given by skeleton orchestras of forty musicians. The regular week-end series begin on July 24, with three sets of programs scheduled for each Thursday evening, Saturday evening, and Sunday afternoon thereafter until August 10. Some 400 students who are studying at Tanglewood will present student-orchestra concerts, student operas, chamber music, and choral concerts. Tickets for the regular series are \$6 for boxes, \$4, \$3, and \$2.50 for other reserved seats. General admission is \$2, and patrons are invited to bring blankets, beach chairs, and picnic baskets. Admission to student concerts is limited to the Friends of the Berkshire Music Center, which invites inquiries at Tanglewood, Lenox, Massachusetts. All the concerts of the regular series will be performed by the full Boston Symphony Orchestra, with Serge Koussevitsky as director.

The first guest conductor in the history of the music festival will be Leonard Bernstein, who will appear on Sunday afternoon, July 27—a fact I thought interesting under the circumstances.

Del Vayo—Socialist Troubles

DURING three days in the second week of June the Socialist parties of Europe met at Zürich. Other bigger events—the Hungarian crisis, Secretary Marshall's Cambridge speech—made the conference pass almost unnoticed. Yet it was an important event revealing again the difficulties that obstruct the rebuilding of the Second International. Like the previous sessions at Clacton, Paris, and Bournemouth, the Zürich conference failed to find a solution. A new committee under French chairmanship was instructed to carry on the effort and maintain contact among the national parties. But the problems at issue were fully discussed, and the debate threw new light on the obstacles ahead.

The main one, of course, arises out of the difficult international situation. The continuing tension between Soviet Russia and the West has exercised its baneful influence on the Socialist parties more than on any other political group, creating such wide divisions as to leave little common ground on which an international organization could be set up. While eastern Socialists have tended to move nearer to Russia, in the degree to which the chance of an accord among the powers diminishes, Socialists in Western Europe have generally taken the contrary course. This obstacle to the re-establishment of the Second International would disappear as soon as relations between the three big powers improved. It may have been in the hope that ultimate reconciliation may be achieved next November at the Foreign Ministers' conference in London that the Socialists decided to hold their next meeting one month later, in Belgium.

Intimately dependent upon the course of Russian-Western relations is the other major problem with which the European parties have been wrestling since the end of the war: what principles should control Socialist policy toward the Communists? An intelligent previous report by Dennis Healey, secretary of the International Section of Transport House, recognized the special situation in which the Socialists of the Eastern European states find themselves. Unlike certain self-styled progressives who stamp as a Moscow tool any Socialist leader willing to work with the Communists, Mr. Healey emphasized the loyalty and wisdom of those eastern Socialists who, by adapting their policy to the situation existing in their countries, have maintained the parties and preserved a considerable measure of Socialist influence.

The problem is not one that affects Socialists in the eastern areas only. France has the same problem. So has Italy. And it presents more than one aspect. It is not merely the question of whether one wishes to collaborate with the Communists but of what are the alternatives to collaboration. British Laborites are here in an advantageous position. While in power they need not worry lest errors on their part give Conservatives or Liberals a chance to capture any considerable section of the party's membership—as, in France, the M. R. P. has captured from the Socialists considerable numbers of voters who oppose collaboration. Nor is there a threat from the far right such as De Gaulle's leadership offers the

French Socialists. On the other hand, British Labor is secure against the left; the Communists so far provide no serious competition. At each convention the Labor Party promptly turns down the annual Communist request for affiliation and passes on to other subjects. In France the highly organized Communist Party, with 1,000,000 members and 5,000,000 votes, cannot be so lightly disposed of. On the contrary, the French Communists are in a position to capitalize on every Socialist slip, every sign of weakness. In these circumstances it is almost impossible to rebuild the Second International on the basis of a rigid position for or against collaboration that could be applied indiscriminately to all national sections.

The problem inevitably repeats itself inside each national party. The Italian Socialists split at the beginning of this year as a consequence of a long and bitter controversy over relations with the Communists. In France the party divided almost evenly in the National Council debate on Premier Ramadier's decision to govern without the Communist Party. Out of this dispute came the Executive Committee's dissolution of the Socialist Youth organization. During the Socialist commemorative celebration before the Mur des Fédérés the Socialist Youth had demonstrated against that decision, shouting: "Ramadier must go! Long live workers' unity!" The dissolution order followed. Thus another issue has arisen to plague the party convention in August.

The Socialist crisis which began soon after the Russian Revolution and dragged on through the inter-war years until the authority of the Second International was largely dissipated has been accentuated by the conflicts growing out of World War II. To the old subjects of controversy have been added new ones. There is, for instance, the dispute about the real substance of democracy. Here in America an oversimplified attitude dismisses as purely Communist any doubt about the effectiveness of pre-war types of democracy. In Europe some of the most learned and liberal Socialists are engaged in a continuing debate on the question of the various representative forms of government. There are some who even maintain that "direct democracy" as practiced by the Commune and the insurrectional sections of Paris seventy-six years ago was a more genuine expression of the will of the people than the parliamentary system. Socialists are also divided on wage and financial policy. Another controversial point is how to handle the new fascism, which, encouraged by Allied support of reactionary regimes on the Continent, is growing increasingly insolent and aggressive.

It is to be hoped that somehow the Socialist parties will succeed in overcoming their present difficulties. Europe needs them. There is a great mass of Socialist opinion, traditionally educated in freedom and radicalism, which does not fit in any other party. Its loss as an effective political force would be a great one, even for the Communists, although they often prefer to ignore this and do everything in their power to weaken the Socialist position. Only the reaction would benefit by their success.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Shifting the Tax Burden

THE tax bill which President Truman has successfully vetoed was planned by its Republican authors as a mere appetizer, something to keep the G. O. P. angels in a good humor until the main dish was served next year in time to stimulate campaign subscriptions. Several weeks ago the cooks began their preparations when Representative Knutson's Ways and Means Committee opened hearings on revision of the Internal Revenue Code. At the same time the committee summoned to its aid an allegedly bi-partisan group of advisers, heavily weighted with conservative business men, under the chairmanship of Roswell Magill, Columbia law professor and former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Despite this paraphernalia of careful inquiry there is some reason to suppose that leading Republicans on the committee have already made up their minds about the broad changes to be made in the tax system. In its Tax Report on June 11 the *Wall Street Journal* gave an interesting preview of fiscal events to come. The Republicans, it said, would not succeed in trimming federal expenditure this year to less than \$34 billion, and further economies in the 1949 budget, which will precede the Presidential election, are not likely to be impressive, since "Republican leaders are already passing the word that they will be more generous next year in appropriating funds for reclamation projects and other domestic programs." The *Wall Street Journal* goes on to explain that this means budgets well in excess of \$30 billion at least until June 30, 1949, and only modest margins for tax reduction, apart from that provided in the vetoed bill. Consequently "the emphasis in Congress is shifting from tax relief to tax-law revision, meaning redistribution of the tax burden."

The probable nature of that redistribution is indicated by the choice of Professor Magill to head the advisory committee, for he is well known as an advocate of excises and other indirect taxes. In the *Tax Review* of March, 1947, he set forth at some length his ideas on what to do about taxes. His major premise was that "since we believe in free enterprise, we must do all we can to make it work." What makes it work? "Essentially the driving force . . . of business management," answers the Professor, whose minor premise, therefore, is "that the tax system should be so drawn as to encourage and develop the incentives of American business men to produce and work." What will do this? More "take-home pay" for executives and investors. So, Professor Magill concludes, the first step in a sound tax program would be a sharp downward revision of surtax rates with a ceiling of 50 per cent on any income. A second necessary step, in order to encourage investment, would be the elimination of the present double taxation of that part of a corporation's income which is distributed in dividends.

Professor Magill believes that the budget can be trimmed farther than it has been but concedes that it will remain much higher than before the war. Hence there is need to compensate for the loss of revenue which his tax reforms produce. Formerly, he points out, the government drew most of its revenues from indirect taxes, but in recent years it has relied increasingly on income taxes. We should now, he considers, reverse this trend and "make use of the excises to meet a substantial share of the tremendous expenses we face."

The idea, in short, is to shift the tax burden from investment to consumption, from the high to the middle and low brackets, which will no doubt be consoled to know that in theory taxes on consumption make for more stable revenue. Supposedly, when national income nose-dives, the yield from income taxes drops much more steeply than that from excises and sales taxes. As Professor Magill explains: "People smoke and buy liquor and go to the movies in bad times as well as in good." Perhaps, but most people indulge in such luxuries very much less in bad times. And they certainly buy fewer automobiles, tires, radios, refrigerators, sporting goods, transport, and telephone calls—some of the goods and services on which excises are now levied.

Personally I am very skeptical about the theory that excise taxes would prove a stable source of revenue in the event of a sharp fall in national income. Our present system of excises has never been tested by a depression, and although it covers many things which are hardly luxuries, it also covers few that are absolute necessities. That is to say, it is based on articles for which the demand is fairly flexible. To make the system proof against depression it would be necessary to include within it the real essentials of life—basic food and clothing. A good stiff sales tax on bread, for instance, would be a very steady source of revenue under all conditions. It might even yield more in bad times, for then people eat more bread and less of the quality foods. A tax on milk would also help to fatten the Treasury. Alas for the tax reformers! The exclusion of staple food and clothing is, as the *Wall Street Journal* regretfully admits, "politically necessary."

It seems to me, therefore, that before the Republicans get very far with their current investigation they are going to find themselves in a three-pronged dilemma. If they want to use sales taxes as stabilizers of revenue, they must commit political suicide by levying them on basic necessities. If, on the other hand, they decide to cross the depression bridge when they come to it and concentrate on increasing excise revenue now so as to compensate for income-tax reductions, they will have to tax all currently untaxed articles, except food and clothing, very substantially in order to raise a billion or two extra. It is doubtful, in fact, if the 7½ to 10 per cent manufacturers' excise tax which Representative Gearhart of California is toying with would prove sufficient.

It would be high enough, however, to be very unpopular at a time when everyone is kicking at the price level, and might well cause a substantial shrinkage in demand. In that case the shifting of the tax burden from investment to consumption would result in conditions very discouraging to investment. Sometimes our tax "reformers" forget that an even more important incentive to producers than low taxes is an effective demand for the product.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

AMERICAN AUTHORS' AUTHORITY—ROUND II

BY ANTHONY BOWER

THE plan for the establishment of an American Authors' Authority, brain-child of James M. Cain and the Screen Writers' Guild of Hollywood, which seemed to have been smothered by controversy a few months after its inception last July, has recently been revived. The Screen Writers' Guild has published a special supplement to the March number of its official magazine setting forth some of the arguments for and against the proposal to set up a central authority of which the four guilds of the Authors' League of America—the Screen Writers', the Dramatists', the Radio Writers', and the Authors'—would be member organizations, and to which authors would assign their copyrights with a view to facilitating bargaining for fairer practice in author-employer relations. The supplement contains a breezy foreword by Mr. Cain describing the "Tough Mug" whom he designates to captain the team of "ringers in the backfield"—"drop-kicking, forward-passing, swivel-hipping guy at quarterback" and "fast ends"—which constitutes his prospective leadership of the A. A. A.; among other items are the proposed Articles of Incorporation and the By-Laws, couched in legal terms and claiming to incorporate "modifications of the original proposal."

That the revised plan contains any modifications of or improvements over the original plan is vigorously denied by the American Writers' Association, a body formed under the presidency of Rupert Hughes specifically to combat the A. A. A. plan at the time of its launching. The American Writers' Association asserted then, and still asserts, that the A. A. A. would set up a control over authors similar to that exercised by Petrillo over the musicians of this country, that it threatens the writer's freedom of expression, that the revised plan gives the proposed authority "the same absolute power over the work of writers that was so dangerous in the first plan," and

that it completely ignores the profound difference between the problems confronting screen writers and the problems faced by free-lance writers, poets, novelists, and textbook authors.

That there is a profound difference between these two categories of writers is very true. The screen writer, employed on a salary basis by a movie company, lives the uncomfortable life of a wage-earning Schéhérazade; moreover, his work automatically and by established custom becomes the property of the company as he writes it. The free-lance author deals with his publisher on very different terms. The usual contract—for an author whose popularity is not absolutely established—would give him an advance of between \$500 and \$1,500 against royalties of 10 per cent on the first 2,500 copies of the book sold (based on the retail price), 12½ per cent on the next 2,500 copies, and 15 per cent thereafter. This is standard practice and, in general, is considered fair. Practice in regard to subsidiary rights is, however, by no means standardized and very often not considered fair; it is in this field that the A. A. A. declares that the free-lance author is insufficiently protected and would benefit by the establishment of a centralized authority. Subsidiary rights are book-club, reprint, first-serial, second-serial, movie, radio, dramatic, foreign (British), and translation (foreign non-British) rights. The publisher usually retains a 50 per cent share of the book-club, reprint, and second-serial rights, and an interest, subject to negotiation, in the foreign and, if possible, the film rights. The rest of the subsidiary rights customarily remain with the author, but the contract varies according to the ability of the author's agent, the popularity of the author, and the disposition of the publisher.

No one denies that the author is sometimes the victim of sharp practice, particularly in the matter of subsidiary rights; the present professional organi-

zations—the four guilds, the Authors' League, the American Pen Women, the A. W. A., and the prospective A. A. A.—are all in agreement on this point. But the A. A. A. contends that the present organizations have, in all the years of their existence, done too little to improve the situation in the matter of "the copyright laws, separation of rights, revision of tax laws, or protection of civil rights." The present copyright law is superannuated, dating from an era when movie and radio rights were undreamed of, and allowing an author no claim to his copyright until the publisher makes it for him—an act interpreted by some publishers as giving them a permanent interest in all rights stemming from the copyright. Conformity, and more liberality toward the author, in the matter of subsidiary rights is generally approved. The present tax laws are most certainly unfair to writers, and an author's civil rights, particularly in regard to prosecutions for indecency, are sometimes too feebly defended. All this is recognized more or less by both sides.

It is the method of approach which is the subject of contention. The established organizations and the A. W. A. want to leave things to time and to themselves. The A. A. A. wants to embark on an immediate crusade and to set about "belling cats," in the form of publishers, editors, and radio and movie companies, in short order. The means by which it proposes to do this are stated in two of the proposed Articles of Incorporation of the A. A. A. Paragraph 3 reads: "To hold in trust for the creators, the copyright, title, and all forms of interest and ownership in, literary properties of all kinds, and to assign, deal in, transfer, dispose of, license, lease, and grant interests and rights of all kinds in such properties." And Paragraph 4 reads: "To act as trustee, representative, or in any other capacity on behalf of creators of literary properties and owners of interests

therein, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to take all lawful steps to preserve, enforce, and protect rights arising out of, or under, copyright, title, or other interests in literary contracts, give quittances and releases."

It is to these articles that the A. W. A. takes particular objection. It maintains that with the legal title to his work assigned to the A. A. A. the author would be completely at its mercy; it would be both a holding company and a closed shop, the owner of his property and the eventual dictator of his thoughts. Once the Authority had established its control over the literary market, which to be really effective it would have to do, it could easily dictate the moral and political content of the works it handles and successfully boycott any writer of whom it disapproved. By its very construction it could, and probably would, come under the control of a militant minority, and the freedom of the writer and his essential integrity as a creative being would be intolerably threatened.

Without doubt there are valid arguments on both sides. Publishing has become a vast commercial enterprise. Banks and stockholders demand a good return on their investments and dictate up to a point the policy of some houses, and the author is at times the victim of increasing commercialism. The Authors' League has been in existence for thirty-five years, and all abuses have not yet been righted. The A. A. A., if it were established, would undoubtedly start its career with vigor and redress some wrongs; later it might well become monopolistic and dictatorial. The remarkable part, however, of the whole controversy is the vituperative quality of the attack and counter-attack. The A. W. A. has said bluntly of the A. A. A., "It happens to be a notorious fact that those who hatched the plan and those most energetic in pushing it are of the pro-Communist persuasion." Mr. Cain is here excused ("It is only fair to say that Mr. Cain himself does not seem fully aware of the implications of the plan but to have been the carrier of other men's ideas"). Mr. Cain says of the opponents of his plan that though they might not compose "as one newspaper said, a fascist front, there was no getting away from it that some of its more vocal members had got themselves nice little

Stalag Luft

In the yard, by the house of boxes,
I lay in the ditch with my bow;
And the train's long mourning whistle
Wailed from the valley below
Till the sound of my rabbit gnawing
Was the grasses' tickling shadow,
And I lay dazed in my halo
Of sunlight, a napping echo.

I saw through rainbow lashes
The barred and melting gaze
Of my far-raiding captors.
(The dappled mustangs graze
By the quills of the milky leggings.)
After some feverish days
They smile, and the numbing laces
Are cut from my wrists with praise.

When I woke the rabbit was gnawing
His great, slow, ragged bites
From the wood of the wired-in hutches,
And dusk had grayed the white
Leghorns hunched on the roosts of their run.
The train mourned below
For the captives—a thinning echo. . . .
It all comes back to me now.

RANDALL JARRELL

A provocative discussion of **WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE OUGHT TO LEARN**

"Plato and Shakespeare, or manual training and business methods? The battle raging on the subject of curriculum is here joined by two witty and uninhibited men. They arrive at a unified, humanistic curriculum aimed to unbind Smith (the average college freshman) from the shackles of mal-education. Whether you agree with them or not, you will never again be complacent on the subject of education after reading their stimulating argument.

\$2.50 at all bookstores

MACMILLAN

By **ERNEST N. DILWORTH** and **WALTER LEUBA**



SMITH UNBOUND

reputations over a period of some years as militant reactionaries, meaning stooges for corporate interests."

Among the calmer voices Louis Bromfield has said, in a letter published in the March Supplement of the *Screen Writers' Guild Magazine*, that he objects to the A. A. A. plan because he dislikes the idea of surrender of copyright by the author and because of the inherent possibility of boycott and control by the A. A. A., and Taylor Caldwell, in an interview in which she makes the rather surprising statement that "of course writers who are not best-sellers have nothing to worry about, so they can despise any sort of union of authors," comes out in full support of the Authority.

When even the ideological lines are none too clearly drawn—what with Upton Close and Dorothy Thompson in opposition to the plan and Taylor Caldwell, poor deluded Mr. Cain, and the crypto-commies in favor—how is the outsider to choose sides? To climb on the fence requires more effort than resting *in statu quo*, and for the line of least resistance there seems to be a valid argument. The present airing of grievances may provoke movie and radio companies and publishers to a general adoption of practices more favorable to authors; moreover, most authors are in the capable business hands of agents, and

the victims among them are comparatively few. The A. W. A. seems to have proved that there is at least a slight danger that a central authority such as the A. A. A. might establish a monopolistic control over the output of authors, and though writers have survived through the ages the most drastic threats to their freedom, and though as Henry James remarked there is always "the periodical prattle about the future of fiction," still there is no point in self-inflicted coercion.

NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

SOME WEEKS AGO I reviewed "The Girl and the Ferryman" by Ernst Wiechert, an anti-Nazi German writer who stayed in the Third Reich and yet managed to survive honorably. The book seemed to me to be permeated by the elements we have come to think of as Germanic in the bad sense—crude mysticism of the earth-and-birth variety and an utter humorlessness—which bothered me until I found that it was an old novel published in 1932.

Now Greenberg: Publisher has brought out "Forest of the Dead" (\$2.50), a new book by Wiechert, in which he gives an account, in the third person, of his quarrel with the Nazis and his sojourn in Buchenwald.

The name Wiechert assigns to his principal character is Johannes. The hero of Johannes was, and apparently still is, Martin Niemöller. When the pastor was taken, Johannes's dreams were haunted, and it was his obsession with Niemöller's fate that led him finally to write a letter to the branch office of the Nazi Party in his district, a letter in which he quoted the Führer of the Reich, no less, who had "dared to say: 'Justice must be justice, even for Germans.'" Johannes knew what must happen as a result of his act but was easier in his mind for having taken his stand. He quietly went about preparing for the ordeal, disturbed only by fears for his family and doubts of his capacity to resist his torturers. Soon afterward he started on his journey through hell.

After some preliminary stages he reached the Forest of Beeches. Buchenwald then was filled not with "foreign slaves" but with Germans who were opposed to the regime and whose fate

was so persistently ignored by the world at large. Mass extermination had not yet begun, but cruelty in all its forms, both crude and subtle, held holiday in the dismal place—leaving its marks not only on the beaten bodies of the victims but even more vividly on the faces and bearing of the persecutors.

Johannes was maltreated less than many others, but his imagination and his sympathy for his fellow-prisoners caused him to suffer even the kicks and blows and indignities which he himself, by chance, did not incur.

That morning Johannes stepped out of the barracks to see the elegant physician busy throwing rocks in order to disperse the patients that had gathered. . . . When the yard was empty, he brushed off his gloves and said, "Cowardly mob!" and went back into the barracks. When he had disappeared inside, those who had fled came from behind the trees and took up their old places.

A stone in the back of the head could be fatal, and Johannes was present on one occasion when an old man was struck down and killed in this way. And there were other, equally haphazard ways. Death was truly a casualty in Buchenwald.

After several months Johannes's release came, unexpectedly and suddenly. "Everybody came and wished him luck. His heart was heavy as he looked into their silent eyes. No farewell anywhere hurts more than that from a concentration camp." And Johannes departed, but he carried with him a heavy burden.

The wounds Johannes bore were not merely his own, not only those of the thousands whom he would leave behind, nor even were they only those of his own people. All of humanity had been shamed here, and who could say that this was possible only with his own nation and the other "dictatorships"? Time had dug deep into the ground beneath the nations, and from the depths stinking springs had gushed forth. But no one knew how far they branched below the earth and what would be the fate of other people if their soil were drilled.

Wiechert tells his story in muted and rather pious terms—he is a devoutly religious man—but it is none the less impressive. One may feel that Johan-

GIFT FOOD PARCELS FOR OVERSEAS

Relax ■ Your Vacation—

We will take complete charge of making up and shipping your parcels!

No. 70A—\$4.95

- 7 oz. vegetable fat
- 12 oz. Spam
- 1 can Instant Coffee
- 1/2 lb. milk powder
- 1 lb. jam
- 1 lb. Farina
- 1/2 lb. chocolates
- 2 candles

No. 74—\$7.10

- 1 lb. butter
- 1 jar Nescafe
- 1 lb. dehyd. potatoes
- 1 lb. pumpernickel
- 1 lb. corned beef
- 1/2 lb. milk powder
- 1 lb. rice
- 1/2 lb. chocolate

Including postage, packing, insurance
post office receipt on request

Ask for further information
on individual parcels

NOW—22 lbs. to England and Germany

J. KOHLS

PERSONAL PARCEL SERVICE

315 WEST 102nd ST. NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
Academy 2-3844

es's admiration for Niemöller was misplaced and find his simple religious approach a bit archaic. But one can only have profound respect for his purity and integrity, his modesty and his courage. And in an age when that minute particular, the human individual, has all but disappeared from the calculations of those who rule and misrule the world, and always in his name, Wiechert's abiding respect for "God's image" is salutary.

RECENTLY SPENT a week-end in Vermont, where the spirit of Coolidge still broods over what is surely one of the most beautiful of landscapes. Walking about the courthouse lawn in a little town I remarked upon the fine view of a man who was cutting the grass. "Yes," he replied, and it might have been Cal himself rejecting my fancy language, "you can see off quite a piece."

Metaphysical or So

THE WELL-WROUGHT URN. By Cleanth Brooks. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.50.

MR. BROOKS'S new book on the well-made poem—his pleasant title is from Donne, naturally, but refers also to urns in Shakespeare, Gray, and Keats—comments at length on ten well-known English poems in terms of their structure, the key word being "paradox"; an eleventh chapter essays a theory of poetry; in appendices the author argues with other critics, and reprints the poems, except "Macbeth" and "The Rape of the Lock." He is reliably acute on Donne's "The Canonization," Herrick's "Corinna's going a-maying"; interesting in developments of Miss Spurgeon's discovery of the obsessive clothes imagery in "Macbeth"; very good on the light-dark symbolism in "L'Allegro—Il Penseroso," and on Yeats's "Among School Children," though "Her present image" unquestionably refers to an aged woman (the error produces a whole system of misunderstanding), and to dismiss the poet's doctrine of prenatal recollection as merely "fantastic" is fantastic. The same dismissal in part accounts for an unacceptable reading of Wordsworth's Ode, but other critical defects are responsible as well: a disbelief in the literal, and oversubtlety. For this last

Practical Psychiatry

(Between Mental Health and Mental Disease)

BY DR. B. LIBER

Adj. Professor of Psychiatry, Director of a Mental Hygiene Clinic

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY is a book on mental hygiene dealing with EVERYDAY difficulties of the average person rather than with rare or very abnormal cases. It deals with conditions which occur in all classes of society, among all sorts of people. *There is hardly a family completely free from some mental trouble.*

As a guide to mental health and psychic happiness, it helps the individual to solve his own and his family's problems and to adjust himself and others to surrounding circumstances and to society as a whole. In the first place it teaches where the trouble lies. It traces the growth of the mind from childhood through adolescence to maturity and discusses the question of SEX and MARRIAGE frankly.

With a minimum of theory and technical terminology and about 250 case histories as illustrations, all taken from the author's wide experience, this volume offers a practical and sensible approach to the almost normal and slightly abnormal or mildly unadjusted person seeking to correct the mental entanglements that confront him in this complex world.

PRACTICAL PSYCHIATRY is the pioneer book on the incipient or light mental cases or the transition cases between mental health and mental disease.

It is written for doctors and for intelligent laymen. Anyone who can read any book can read it with much profit.

It is recommended by reviewers and great authorities

New York World-Telegram: "A well-known physician tells how some of our most alarming anxieties and difficulties yield to mental hygiene."—The Philadelphia Inquirer: "Dr. Liber has performed a valuable service in giving the layman a means of intelligent understanding of mental health without tiring, scaring or boring the reader."—Medical Times: "The practical aspects are emphasized without delving into the controversial theoretical considerations or technical terminology. It is one of the best books the reviewer has seen for the intelligent layman in which common sense psychiatry is kept to the front."—Dr. Adolf Meyer, Dean of American psychiatrists says: "I like your direct common sense which gives valuable data to the reader."—Upson Sinclair: Out of your long experience you have offered your readers a great deal of common sense and advice."—The Atlanta Journal, N. Y. State Journal of Medicine, N. Y. Medical Week, The Daily Worker have also praised this book.—Etc., etc.

From the Newest Reviews:

The Deseret News, Salt Lake City (June 12, 1947): "This book is intended for the laity and, while avoiding technical discourse as much as a doctor can, it gives fascinating descriptions of the symptoms of oncoming troubles with analysis of results, prevention and treatment. And it provides the information in a lucid and authoritative manner."—Frank Winn. (This reviewer calls some of the stories "literature worthy of the classics" and about other parts he says, "they could be easily seized upon by some movie magazine desirous of making an authentic picture.")

The Sunday Mirror (New York, June 8, 1947): "When an expert like Dr. Liber writes a popularly slanted book 'Popular Psychiatry' and writes it so that the average paper-cover bookman can get plenty of help from it in matters sexual and mental, we give pause and thanks."—Charles A. Wagner.

From the Table of Contents:

What Is the Mind?—Mental Adjustment—Conflicts—Causes of Mental Diseases—Personality—Bad Habits—Industrial Intoxications—Normal and Abnormal—Incipient Psychoses—Child Upbringing—Feeble-mindedness—Child Delinquency—Masturbation—Impotence—Homosexuality—Incest—Marital Troubles—Psychosomatic Life or Body and Mind—Public Enemies or Who Is Who in Driving?—Mental Depression—Neurosis—Psychoneurosis—Hysteria—Schizophrenia or

Split-mindedness—Dementia Praecox—Alcohol and the Mind—Fear and Suggestion—Paranoia—Hitler's Mind and Similar Minds—The Mental Health of the Soldier and of the War Veteran: Induction, Rehabilitation, Patriotism and Pseudo-Patriotism, Back to Civilian Life, Population and War—Poverty—Work and Mind—Mental Health, Prevention and Treatment of Mental Disease—Glossary and generous Index.

The book contains 432 pages, is beautifully printed and elegantly bound in cloth. Price \$3.50.

Ask for it in bookstores or order direct from

Distributor: HARTSDALE HOUSE

220 WEST 42 STREET

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Mr. Brooks apologizes so often that it seems unamiable to charge him with it, but there it is, and it corrupts also the accounts of the "Ode on a Grecian Urn" and "Tears, Idle Tears." But here one feels perhaps some failure of taste, as with eighteenth-century poetry. He does not recognize the Housman-like passion flickering in the opening stanzas and steady in the final stanzas of Gray's "Elegy" (for West's death, when he first began the poem, as well as for himself, the "Elegy" wants comparing with "Lycidas"); and his study of Pope is not likely to satisfy anyone familiar with the magical variety of Belinda's great poem—for instance, of the couplets where the rape occurs:

The Peer now spreads the glitt'ring
Porfex wide,
 T'inclose the Lock; now joins it, to
 divide. . . .
 The meeting Points the sacred Hair
 dissever
 From the fair Head, for ever and for
 ever!

The book contains admirable remarks and much truth, besides having the merit of directing attention to such poems. Taking a low view of its reader, however, it is perhaps good teaching rather than criticism; and its prose is troubling. Three points related to the analyses have general interest for even a brief review. Of Macbeth's speech about the grooms' daggers "unmannerly breech'd with gore," he stops a disparaging quotation from Abbott (p. 29) just short of the sentence in which Abbott, following Warburton and Johnson, explains what Mr. Brooks ignores, that "language so forced is only appropriate in the mouth of a conscious murderer dissembling guilt." Tennyson's ships in "Break, Break, Break" can seem "idle and finally irrelevant" only if in connection with the "vanished hand" of the next line their *stateliness* on their way "To their haven under the hill" has failed to produce in the critic the image of a funeral procession it recalled in the poet. And more talk about Keats's insistence on "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" was made unnecessary some ten years ago by H. St. Quentin's realization that "Ye" means not everybody-in-time-to-come but *the figures on the urn* (whose experience now is limited to the Beautiful as there

depicted—whence "tease us out of *thought*," the line always ignored above); the aphorism alone should be in quotation marks as in Forman and De Selincourt, though regrettably not in Garrod's recent edition. Critics from Eliot on have wasted time largely over this.

Either I imperfectly understand Mr. Brooks's theory of poetry ("a structure of meanings, evaluations, and interpretations; and the principle of unity which informs it seems to be one of balancing and harmonizing connotations, attitudes, and meanings") or there is nothing very new about it. A poem, I take it, cannot contain one thing only: out of several things it makes its single effect. Some of these, we learn, are *different* from others. In the laboring of this, "paradox" behaves like an acrobat. I share Mr. Brooks's interest in the history of English poetry and his resistance to the critical relativists, but to pinch the diversity of observable phenomena into a single set of terms or insist on anything resembling a unanimity of style seems to me to be indiscreet, or worse. Worse, because it will blind you. Every man is entitled to insensitivities; but when, in one of his rare forays into the judicial, the critic writes of "More happy love! more happy, happy love!" "I am not sure that this stanza can altogether be defended. . . . There is a tendency to linger over the scene sentimentally: the repetition of the word happy is perhaps symptomatic of what is occurring," one wonders what he thinks of another line hitherto much and miserably admired: "Never, never, never, never, never." He writes, in fact, "The method of art can, I believe, never be direct—is always indirect." I wonder.

JOHN BERRYMAN

Understanding Russia

A HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By Sir Bernard Pares. Fifth Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.
RUSSIA IN PERSPECTIVE. By George Soloveychnik. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

IF WE continue to misunderstand Russia it will not be the fault of the publishers. Here we have two additions to the spate of books designed to dispel our ignorance of that country by au-

thors who may fairly be described as anti-Communist but pro-Russian. Both are historians, and both make the point that the policies of the Soviet government can be better explained by their examination in the light of Russian history and geography than by reference to the works of Marx and Lenin.

Sir Bernard Pares has given both heart and mind to Russia since he first went there in 1904. The period of revolution caused a painful separation, but once Stalin had consolidated his power and proved he was first and foremost a Russian patriot, reconciliation was achieved. Now Sir Bernard is probably as *persona grata* at the Kremlin as he once was at Tsarskoe Selo. Nevertheless, he is a candid friend who has plenty of harsh words for the purges and for the frequent brutalities of Soviet economic policy.

At the same time in an epilogue, which together with a chapter on "the second Fatherland War" forms the new material in this edition, he admits to "much general sympathy" with the broad aims of Soviet foreign policy. He regards it as unfortunate that "nearly all the sharpest debates in the U. N. are challenges to a Russian recovery of what she had before 1914 or to questions that are to be solved on her doorstep." That is to say, they are geographical rather than ideological challenges and appear to the Russians an effort to reimpose the *cordon sanitaire*. As such they will be strenuously resisted and, Sir Bernard suggests, could lead to a Russian-German combination that would be a deadly threat to the West. To avert that danger, he declares, we should try to understand the historical basis for Russia's policies and concede to it the equality of treatment to which it is entitled by its power and achievements. That done, the Soviet Union would be likely to concentrate on peaceful internal development and the ghost of world revolution would be laid.

The author of "Russia in Perspective" makes much the same point. Mr. Soloveychnik, who fled from the red terror as a young man and is now a British subject, urges us to remember that "despite all possible relapses into Communist technique and phraseology, Russian history has resumed its course and that the world is once more dealing, not with a synthetic revolutionary body, but

with the eternal Russia." To support this thesis he gives us an impressionistic sketch of Russian history which stresses the continuity between the old Russia and the new. Like the most modern school of Soviet historians he sees a clear line from Vladimir Monomakh, Grand Prince of Kiev Russia, through the Terrible and Peter the Great, Generalissimo Stalin.

All the same, fellow-travelers will not like this book, for although it aches many of their conclusions, it states facts and arguments that sentimental devotees of the U. S. S. R. will find highly embarrassing. Mr. Solovetchnik sees the last thirty years in Russia, not as a glorious advance toward socialist democracy, but as a bloody retreat from fantastic utopianism to a more or less normal system of autocracy. We need no longer fear "militant communism," he assures us: "There is a new Soviet istocracy today, and it does not differ greatly from any other privileged class in its formative period."

While I believe this statement has a large element of truth, I do not find it particularly reassuring. Nor am I happy to be told that the Soviet state of today presents a synthesis of nationalist traditions and revolutionary impulses. That is a very explosive mixture, as Napoleon once proved.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Memorandum

REFUGEES IN AMERICA. By Maurice R. Davie. Harper and Brothers. \$4.50.

REPRESENTATIVE Frank W. Fellows of Maine is a man with a grievance. As chairman of the House subcommittee on immigration and naturalization, he told the *New York Times* recently, he has been receiving vast quantities of mail from all parts of the country urging favorable action on all to ease our immigration restrictions in favor of D. P.'s in Europe. Mr. Fellows described it as "tremendous pressure of the type I don't like." I wish he'd gone on to specify what type of tremendous pressure he *did* like; nevertheless, because I had some experience during the war in handling government paper in Washington, I sympathize with the Representative from Maine and his hard-pressed staff, which is having to

spend its time toting bags of telegrams and letters instead of thinking. It occurs to me, therefore, that it might be helpful if I cast my review of "Refugees in America," a report on the most authoritative and thorough investigation we have had on this subject, in the form of a memorandum which the subcommittee might use. I don't know whether Mr. Fellows likes this "type," either, but at least I'm sure that he and his fellow-committeemen have long ago grown accustomed to it:

SUBJECT: Book on Immigration

To: Representative Frank Fellows,

Chairman, Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee, Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives.

1. Attention is directed to the recent publication of "Refugees in America," a book of 453 pages (including an index and some pages of photographs, together with appendices), study of which, it is believed, may prove relevant to the work of the addressed subcommittee.

Publisher is Harper and Brothers, which careful investigation discloses to be an old-established firm in New York City, with no known Communist, leftist, or prematurely anti-fascist connections (though it appears to have foreign ties in the form of an office in London, England).

Book is the final report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration, a private body sponsored by various social-service organizations: American Christian Committee for Refugees, American Friends' Service Committee, Catholic Committee for Refugees, United States Committee for European Children, National Refugee Service. Note should be taken of the fact that the organizations cited represent various religious denominations. It is feared, also, that they do not fall into the category of leftist or Communist organizations, though they are thought to have displayed evidences of excessive activity on behalf of anti-Hitler, anti-Franco, and anti-Mussolini refugees *before the United States entered the war*. Furthermore, Catholics are known to have international connections, whereas the Friends (also known as Quakers) are pacifists, and it is considered possible that the names of the organizations may hide Jewish participation.

Author of the book is Maurice R. Davie, director of the research staff of the aforementioned Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration, and chairman of the Department of Sociology of Yale University, an institution located at New Haven, Connecticut.

2. The Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, the introduction to the book declares, was established to conduct inquiry into numbers of refugees admitted since 1933, their countries of origin, religious affiliations, professions or occupations, effects

MANY THOUSANDS

of the regular editions of these books were sold at \$1.75

NOW AVAILABLE—

For economical gifts to your friends who have not yet read these two great books—

The New Low-Priced

Pocket Editions

H. G. Welis, CRUX ANSATI:

An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church.



Pocket Edition . . . 50¢
Five copies for \$2.00
Per Hundred, \$30.00

L. H. Lehmann, BEHIND THE DICTATORS:

A Fully Documented Analysis of Vatican-Fascist Collaboration.



Pocket Edition . . . 50¢
Five copies for \$2.00
Per Hundred, \$30.00

These New POCKET EDITIONS are complete in every respect and contain, word for word, the same text as in the higher-priced cloth-bound editions. The purpose behind these NEW POCKET EDITIONS, at these extraordinarily low prices, is to encourage OUR friends to distribute them to THEIR FRIENDS.

These books should be in the hands of every American. We at Agora have done our part toward making this possible. The next steps is YOURS.

AGORA PUBLISHING CO.
Dept. 651NA

120 Liberty St., New York 6, N. Y.

P. S.—The Regular Cloth-Bound Editions of both these books are still available for your library, at \$1.75 each, or \$3.00 for the two books. Combination prices do not apply to the POCKET EDITIONS

in the United States socially and economically, assimilation of same into the American population, etc., etc. The committee states it believes "little reliable information is available on this subject, while rumors and misconceptions are widespread." Information was obtained through the use of questionnaires distributed by local community organizations, from personal interviews, and from refugee organizations. Method of presentation was discovered by undersigned to be factual and statistical, with quotations from statements by refugees documenting conclusions reached by the author. No overt editorializing or dependence on mass emotional appeal was found.

3. Book professes to show that many incorrect ideas are entertained by general American public on the subject of refugees. It is suggested that the most important of these may be that pertaining to jobs: book states that refugees have not taken away jobs from native-born Americans but that in many cases they have even established new industries providing employment for native-born whites. Book also argues that despite war-time shortage of physicians it was very difficult for qualified European physicians to practice as a result of what

are termed "discriminatory" state laws and the attitude of medical associations.

4. Book quotes a number of refugees to the effect that they found disheartening amount of discrimination here against minorities, and it is stated that many non-Jewish refugees were surprised to find that as refugees they were popularly assumed to be Jewish, and hence refused admission, on occasion, to hotels, etc. (Some of the evidence in this connection comes from writers, painters, and the like, and can therefore, it is thought, be ignored.) Most refugees have nevertheless, according to book, managed to establish themselves socially and intend to stay in our country. It is significant that a large number have already become citizens.

5. It is earnestly recommended that the chairman authorize the purchase of a quantity of copies of book sufficient to permit distribution to all members of the subcommittee. The early chapters, summarizing conditions in Europe which led to the flight of the refugees, are alone believed worth the price (\$4.50) as a handy reference to largely forgotten pre-war conditions; it is true that this aspect of the immigration question has thus far been avoided in the delibera-

tions of the subcommittee, but it is known that certain organizations—many of them undoubtedly subversive, left Communist, or humanitarian—hope to inject it into hearings on modification of restrictions on the entry of so-called displaced persons into the United States as requested by the Executive.

6. It is further recommended that the staff of the subcommittee be instructed to begin work without delay on refutation of statements set forth in book, to take steps to restrict circulation of same, since it appears to give substance to charges that the subcommittee is blameworthy in its refusal to revoke quota restrictions on immigration in view of conditions in Europe, a continent which lies on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

W. J. GOLD

Film Note

JEAN VIGO'S "Zero de Conduite" and "L'Atalante" are being shown for the first time in this country, at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse. Reviewing space is unavailable until next week. Meanwhile I urgently recommend both films, to readers who can get to them. Vigo was, in my opinion, one of the most gifted men who has ever made movies.

JAMES AGE

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged."

—Garland.
Journal-Amer.

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40 Matinee Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN Present

In association with JOSHUA LOGAN
"HILARITY IN PLENTY."—Barnes, Her. Trib.
JOHN LOVES MARY
A New Comedy by NORMAN KRASNA
Directed by MR. LOGAN
MUSIC BOX, 45th Street, West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Matinee Wed. and Sat. 2:40

"A DELICIOUS COMEDY."—Allinson, Times
**HELEN HAYES in
HAPPY BIRTHDAY**
A New Comedy by ANITA LOOS
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
BROADHURST, 44th St., West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"A SMASH HIT."—Life Magazine
ETHEL MERMAN
In the Musical Smash
ANNIE GET YOUR GUN
Music and Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN
Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS
with RAY MIDDLETON Directed by Joshua Logan
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St., West of B'way
Air-Conditioned Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

★★★★★
**Give
to help
fight
CANCER!**
★★★★★

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
89th ST.
80th ST.
Bel. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

RKO NOW
"Endearing outdoor action."—N. Y. Times
Ronald REAGAN • Alexis SMITH
Zachary SCOTT
'STALLION ROAD'
From STEPHEN LONGSTREET Novel
— a n d —
"Merry little farce."—N. Y. World-Telegram
'LOVE & LEARN' Jack CARSON

BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

WESTCHEST
MT. VERNON
NEW ROSS
WH PLAINS
YONKERS

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOUNG
Coney Island

"ARRESTING SCREEN FARE."—N. Y. Post
Laurie DAY • Robert MITCHUM
'The LOCKET'
— a n d —
'Trail Street' RANDOLPH SCOTT
ANNE JEFFREYS
Based on WILLIAM CORCORAN Novel

QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Kew-Forest
FLUSHING
Kew-Forest
RICH HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 52 St.

Memo to Nation Readers re: Advertising

When ordering your theater tickets by mail, making reservations for your vacation, buying a book, etc., please tell them you saw it advertised in *The Nation*.

Music

**B. H.
HAGGIN**

READER has written me a report on some of the addresses at the Harvard Symposium on Music Criticism which no texts or summaries were read. One is Professor Lang's, which affirms my surmise that he had had no idea of what Forster was talking about. Lang began with the statement that music criticism is an art, not a science, and a critic must convey an illusion of life in the music and the love he has for it—an obvious bow to Forster. Then, in logical sequence, our critics are therefore bad because they were not musicians, they couldn't read score, they couldn't even play the piano, they didn't know the literature of music or about music: for instance a music critic in New York who spent most of his time railing at music scholars had only a few weeks earlier discovered the famous de la Laurencie, an important French music scholar whom everybody knows; and he hadn't discovered him for himself, but through a correspondent. And my reader comments: "Doubtless his inaccuracy about the whole musical scene is as scandalous as his misreading of your article."

The report is interesting in a number of ways. For one thing, it reveals how Lang's inaccuracy enables him to escape the impact of a demonstration that in answering a piece of writing by Ernest Newman he suppressed the essential part and misrepresented the rest or that his article on nineteenth-century chamber music in a New Friends booklet was a schematization of imagined data. That may sound as though I consider all this inaccuracy conscious; but the report on his Harvard address convinces me that it isn't. The man who just elicits and then misreads those demonstrations is the man who—addressing an audience which includes the distinguished critic who is a composer and presumably able to read score as well as write it, and a number of distinguished critics with professional musical education and the ability to read score and play the piano—nevertheless hurls forth his charges that the critics are bad because they are not musicians, can't read score, can't play the piano. He is, also, the man who takes it, in these charges, from a statement about the critic's function being to convey an illusion of the life in a piece of music. He is, in short, a man with a

muddled mind. A man with a muddled, inaccurate mind whose job at a great university is to teach students in musico-historical research rigor and accuracy.

Two choral works commissioned for first performance at the Harvard Symposium were repeated in New York by Robert Shaw's Collegiate Chorale at its Carnegie Hall concert. They were Hindemith's "Apparebit Repentina Dies," a setting of a Latin hymn of the fourth to seventh centuries, and Copland's "In the Beginning," a setting of the verses of Genesis which tell the story of the creation. In the Hindemith work I found the recitative of the Judge and the judged expressively effective and moving; but the rest, for me, had no expressive power or interest to make its elaborately contrived ugliness worth listening to. As for the Copland work, I find the word "lovely" written in my program next to "And on the seventh day God ended His work" and "And God blessed the seventh day," but "nonsense for mezzo-soprano" written next to "These are the generations of the heavens"; and about the rest I recall the complete arbitrariness of the melody's progressions—the way it went

now up now down with no discoverable reason either in any coherence of its own or in any relation to the words.

Giving both these works before Mozart's great Mass in C minor brought the length of the concert to almost two and a half hours—which meant that I was too tired to hear some of the music I cared most about. Beautiful performances, but poor program-making.

Columbia offers excerpts from Adam's music for the ballet "Giselle" performed adequately by Constant Lambert with the Covent Garden Opera Orchestra (Set X-277; \$3). The recorded sound is heavy, and gets muddy and gritty near the ends of the sides. Also, excerpts from Menotti's music for the ballet "Sebastian" are well performed by Mitropoulos with the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra of Philadelphia (Set X-278; \$3). The recorded sound is good, with the violins clear, though not lustrous. And on a single disc (71968-D; \$1) are two inconsequential piano pieces, Beethoven's Polonaise Opus 89 and Mendelssohn's Scherzo a Capriccio in F sharp minor, well played by Kilenyi, with the recorded sound dull and wooden.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

- ☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$8.50 You Save \$2.50
☐ with Consumers Union . . . \$9.75 You Save \$1.25
☐ with Harper's Magazine
 and Consumers Union . \$12.25 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION by itself:

- ☐ 1 Year \$6 ☐ 2 Years \$10 ☐ 3 Years \$14

☐ SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$4 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed.

☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6-28-47

Letters to the Editors

Just for the Record

Dear Sirs: Mr. Mezerik's article, Under the Sign of the Flying Red Horse (in *The Nation*, May 3), is a crackerjack. I am particularly impressed by the skill by which he was able to suggest the political atmosphere of present-day Texas without using any offensively direct characterizations.

The only inaccuracy I noticed occurs in the third paragraph on page 510, where he says, "The regents set up an inquisition. . . . The Regulars . . . obtained an investigation by the state senate . . . to whitewash. . . ."

As it happened, that committee had been set up for other purposes by the previous legislature, then adjourned. It was definitely sympathetic to Rainey. The lieutenant governor, John Lee Smith, a fascist out-and-out, did all he could to prevent the committee from acting, even to threatening its members with loss of committee appointments. But the committee appealed to the attorney general for clarification of jurisdiction, got a favorable decision, and proceeded. The Bullington testimony was not sought by the committee but forced on it by Bullington. Indeed, when Bullington had finished the long harangue on the subject of Rainey's alleged dereliction in the homosexual matter, Senator Wardlow Lane, who was doing the questioning, inquired sweetly, "Do you have any more dirt you would care to spread on the record, Mr. Bullington?" The whole committee record was so favorable to the Rainey cause that it was buried—has never been published or, so far as I know, transcribed from the stenotype script. This, of course, was the work not of the committee but of the lieutenant governor and the next legislature.

C. E. AYERS

Austin, Tex., June 18

Lone Star Liberals

Dear Sirs: There are a few cheering exceptions to A. G. Mezerik's generally accurate characterization of Texas newspapers (in *The Nation*, May 3). A small but growing number of Texas people are being reached by honest, liberal weeklies. Several returned veterans have bought or started small-town weeklies which will immunize their readers against N. A. M. handouts. The unpretentious *State Observer*, founded

in 1906, every week sends out a vigorous and accurate account of what goes on in the state capital.

The *Texas Spectator* is devastatingly and impudently critical of the boys that own Texas. A city editor and an expert reporter on a large Houston daily resigned good jobs to found it in October, 1945. While using up the stake of their original backer, they gained two thousand subscribers loyal and enthusiastic enough to raise more than \$8,000 to see the paper through its second year. The fund came largely in small amounts from liberals who could hardly pay the \$5 subscription price.

The Senate investigation of Rainey's dismissal was not obtained by the Regulars. Through their spokesman, Lieutenant Governor Smith, they did their utmost to prevent it. It followed Bullington's sensational press release about the homosexuals and gave Dr. Rainey his only opportunity to offer testimony from responsible officials praising his handling of the matter. In general, the testimony was so damaging to the regents' position that they prevented the publication of the record. At the next election they saw to it that Penrose Metcalfe, chairman of the committee, was ousted from the state senate.

It is not surprising that Mr. Mezerik's information about the investigation was inaccurate: the record is not available. Under the Sign of the Flying Red Horse is a brilliant account of what goes on in Texas. JACK CARTER
Austin, June 15

Beloved Gentleman

[We have refrained from making any editorial changes in this letter lest we be accused of distorting the writer's meaning.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: In the edition of your weekly magazine, Vol. 164, Num. 19 of May 10, 1947, appeared an article entitled Election Day in Santo Domingo by Albert C. Hicks, who is the same bitter writer of the loathsome book "Blood in the Streets," which the American public rejected because of its untruthfulness.

Mr. Hicks has proved by his attitude to be an evil-disposed writer attacking offensively and systematically the Honorable President of the Dominican Republic, Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, whether by books or

articles in newspapers and magazines with insults and indignities, which only prove his ostensible irritation against him and when a man reach this ground is because undoubtedly he does not have nobler arms to use and necessarily has to receive the contempt of the rest of the public because he is judged as not having any of the qualities of a gentleman.

It is very easy to put in evidence that Mr. Hicks who boast so much of infamy paying a visit to my country, only a few hours from Florida by air. I extend cordial invitation to any newspaperman who might be interested in knowing the exact truth, to visit the Dominican Republic, where a solid and lasting peace is enjoyed and where a progress never dreamt of in its history, has been achieved. Generalissimo Trujillo was elected on May 16, 1947, President of the Dominican Republic, term 1947-1952, by an overwhelming majority never registered in any other election and is very beloved by his people. He gratefully return in this way everything he has done for them.

The truth of all this can be easily verified, as I said before, paying a visit to my country, the Dominican Republic.

R. COMPRES PEREZ,
Consul General

New York, June 11

The Whitewash Won't Stick

Dear Sirs: El Consulado General understandably disturbed by my article which appeared in *The Nation's* May issue. His is a difficult task, slapping whitewash on such a black background.

Señor Compres Perez says that Trujillo, in the alleged elections of May won "by an overwhelming majority never registered in any other election. He knows better. Trujillo in previous elections won by a unanimous vote. In May, with a shabby display of pseudo democracy, Trujillo had 40,000 votes registered against him out of announced total of more than 800,000 votes, or approximately half of the tire population.

I predicted in my article that after elections, should the Dominicans "encourage to exhibit their distrust for the regime, the Benefactor would be prepared for any emergency." To there has appeared in several New York newspapers, under a P. R. dateline

Crossword Puzzle No. 217

By JACK BARRETT

ws dispatch saying that numerous
ominican oppositionists have been
rown into prison. That cable, I pre-
ne, was sent by U. P.'s correspondent
lton Carr, whom I know to be a
ghly reputal : newspaperman. Mr.
rr, Señor Compres Perez, was in your
untry very recently, albeit not as an
icial guest of your government. Your
vernment, in fact, has attacked every
ependent newspaperman who has
lited Santo Domingo.

Here is something that was not in
e newspapers. Your government has
aced in prison or in chains this past
ek from 100 to 150 Dominicans,
ashed the press of the clandestine
ekly published by the Juventud
emocrática, and imprisoned its staff
r its critical appraisals of Trujillo.

As for your attack upon me, I am
th amused and curious. Where did
u get the sales figures that would in-
cate that "Blood in the Streets" was
ected by the American public?

ALBERT C. HICKS

ew York, June 19

Recollections of Judge Tree

ear Sirs: I am engaged in research
o the life of the late Judge Lambert
ee of Chicago, who was prominent in
blic affairs in the 1880's and 1890's,
d who served as United States Min-
er to Belgium and to Russia.

Anyone who has recollections of
dge Tree, and particularly anyone
th letters from or pertaining to him,
urged to get in touch with the under-
ned at 8800 South Wabash Avenue,
icago 19, Illinois. Letters and other
aterial will be carefully handled and
omptly returned.

HARRY BARNARD

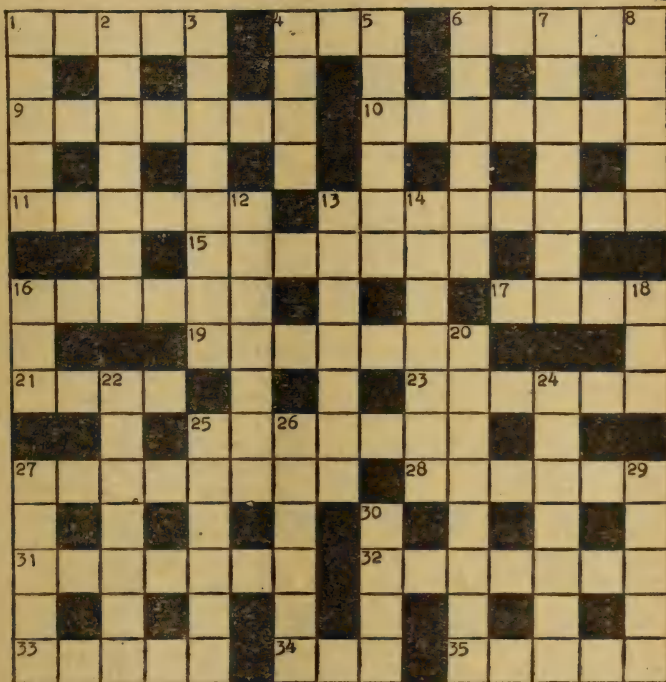
icago, June 21

Wants Data on Debs

ear Sirs: I am now revising my biog-
phy of Eugene V. Debs, which re-
ved a major award in the 1947
pwood Contest in Creative Writing,
d would greatly appreciate any in-
ormation about persons or libraries
o might possess pertinent material
letters, diaries, printed material, or
miniscences. I will be touring the East
the autumn, and would like to inter-
w any persons who knew Debs. My
dress is 604 Madison Court, Ann
bor, Michigan.

RAYMOND S. GINGER

in Arbor, Mich., June 15



ACROSS

- 1 My hat! I am in a horse bus!
- 4 Father—and short, as usual!
- 6 Mined material
- 9 Led to us in disarray
- 10 Covered wagon
- 11 A Wren's reply
- 13 A bird having imbibed ginger-beer becomes a parrot
- 15 It is not unusual to turn brown on a mountain
- 16 Pictures seen in the pictures
- 17 Carl leaves town
- 19 Woman at the wheel
- 21 Is at the wine
- 23 Both clothes and their wearers need one occasionally
- 25 Carting? No, the operation before that
- 27 Artistic table attitudes presumably
- 28 Throws over
- 31 Former (3-4)
- 32 A French battleground and an English cathedral city are not closely connected
- 33 Not well-fed
- 34 Dr. Johnson never took one; it took him
- 35 The water's edge is partly composed of it

DOWN

- 1 Whereby the Germans just failed to reach the "wise men" in 1918
- 2 What made the sub rise?
- 3 They produce solutions, but not to crossword puzzles
- 4 Doubly imperative to act, but nothing can save him now

- 5 "After death, the -----"
- 6 Put off the track
- 7 Natives noted for their blankets and silversmith work
- 8 You haven't had it until you've spent it
- 12 Scrapers
- 13 Baskets to catch our quibbles?
- 14 Spectacle presented by a boy with an insect
- 16 She will give you aid
- 18 Easier to say if we like this English fellow when he comes out of his shell
- 20 Fancy dress or nothing is put before us
- 22 "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships, And burned the ----- towers of Ilium?"
- 24 Detains (anag.)
- 25 Followed suit
- 26 Sea between Greece and Asia Minor
- 27 Scottish fillet, not of fish but of fishing
- 29 Fashion that is mostly an eyesore
- 30 Cut off to hold together

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 216

ACROSS:—1 GRAND SLAM; 6 LOCAL; 8 ALLOWED; 10 LAPWING; 11 PAN; 12 AMRUSH; 13 LASS; 15 SHEPHERD; 16 CINEMA; 18 CARMEN; 20 PIPE-LINE; 23 COOK; 24 RICHES; 25 APT; 28 OUTCROP; 29 CLARION; 30 HORSE; 31 DEPRESSED.

DOWN:—1 GRASP; 2 ALLONGE; 3 DOWN-AT-HEEL; 4 LADYBIRD; 5 MULISH; 6 LOPS; 7 CLIMATE; 8 LEGISLATE; 14 FIRE-ESCAPE; 15 SACKCLOTH; 17 NIGHTCAP; 19 ROOSTER; 21 ITALICS; 22 LIMPID; 26 TUNED; 27 FIRM.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

WALTELL HOUSE EN FRANKEL FARM

MT. BETHEL, PA.

VACATION FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Modern farm hotel combined with progressive children's camp. 75 miles from N. Y. All rooms with private bath. Meat, poultry, dairy products and vegetables from the farm.

Rates: — Adults \$65 Week — Children \$50 Week
N. Y.: Ella Frankel, 241 East 18 St. LE 2-5864

FUR REMODELING

Superb Workmanship and Styling
Economically

M. SCOTT FURS

236 West 30th Street New York 1, N. Y.
LOngacre 5-4917

BOOKS TOO EXPENSIVE?

Choose your own and save 25%. Order any book you want. Pay for it after you get it. Receive 25% credit on its price. Do this four times. Then use your credit for further books. Let us send you our detailed brochure or simply place your first order now.

BONUS BOOK CLUB, Dept. N-2
598 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

MILLIONS OF USED, RARE and out-of-print books stocked in 15 cities. Mention interests if catalogues are wanted. **TAAB**, 529 S. Melville St., Phila. 43.

SITUATION WANTED (FEMALE)

COLLEGE JUNIOR, English major, experienced writing, publishing, desires summer position in editorial dept. of magazine or publishing house. Box 1722, c/o The Nation.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price \$1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. ACE MAIL ORDER CO., East Orange 1, N. J.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocation, psychological problems. Fee \$3.00.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes.

JAVA-INDIA CONDIMENT CO.
IMPORTERS

442 Hudson Street New York 14, N. Y.

• To place an ad call BA 7-1066 •

RESORTS

The HEALTH REST

Dr. Alice Chase • Spring Valley, N. Y.

Enjoy a health-building vacation at this *Vegetarian Resort* complete with sun-baths and exercises, special diets under professional supervision, cheerful, comfortable rooms, beautiful surroundings, stimulating activities. All this and more at moderate rates.

RESERVE NOW • Phone Nanuet 2316 or 967

KATERSKILLNorth Catskills • Green County • New York
A Unique Venture in Hospitality

More than a resort — its cultural and homelike charm is different. Small, informal, yet distinctive with high standards, 200-acre estate, 2200 ft. high. Stimulating, varied athletic recreational facilities, international menus of superior quality. Reasonable rates.

Open Recreation Day thru September

Reduced Rates in June-September

The Home of MR. & MRS. KARL D. HESLEY
Jewett, New York • Telephone: Jewett 521

Write for Brochure • Make Reservations Now

LOVERS of NATURE

And charming surroundings and privacy on the
ROSE BROOK FARM

SPRUCCETON, NEW YORK

200 scenic acres high up in the Catskills, good table, sports. Number of guests limited to 10. About \$40. Phone Blyant 9-4887 for information and reservations.

Pine Crest In the Berkshires

WEST CORNWALL, CONN.

on the beautiful Housatonic River

A delightful Adult Resort

Main House and Deluxe Bungalows for 2. Boating, Swimming, Tennis, Bicycling, Music, Recordings and dancing.

DIANA & ABE GERMAN

Phone—West Cornwall 89-12

Reserve Now for July 4th Holiday!

Lakecrest

On Mann's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.

30 miles from N. Y. Ideal location in the heart of DUTCHESS COUNTY. Excellent accommodations. Central hospitality. Recordings. Library. All seasonal sports. Via N. Y. C. R. R. to Amenia, N. Y. Open all year.

WRITE OR PHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS

EVA BERG, Director

Stanfordville 2328

From

WESTERN VIEW FARM

high in the Connecticut Hills, you can return tanned, glowing and invigorated, and with happy memories of the warm hospitality of an inn which is in its Twenty-eighth season under the same ownership-management.

Rates per person, \$12.00 a day, \$70.00 a week.

Week-ends, Friday evening to Sunday evening, \$24

TED OHMER

New Milford, Connecticut

Tel.: New Milford 440

FARMS AND ACREAGE

80 acres; good 7-room house newly decorated; springs; woods; small brook; view; elevation; RFD road; profusion of wild flowers; no improvements. \$4,000. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

GOOD NEIGHBORS WANTED, choice acres are offered much below developers prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, N. Y. Tel. 2515 M.

TACONIC PARKWAY: Putnam County. 7-room farm cottage; highly situated, beautiful view; accessible all year; electricity, well; one acre; 58 miles Columbus Circle. Immediate possession. \$4900.00. Box 1723, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

White Horse LodgeP. O. Box
Westbrookeville
New York71 Miles
From
New York City

Adult Resort Hotel • All sports

150 Foot Swimming Pool • Superb Cuisine

Excellent Accommodations including Private Bath

Rates \$57 to \$65 weekly. Booklet on request

SUGGEST EARLY RESERVATION

Phone Port Jervis 85-190

New York Office: BRant 9-5498

DOROTHY & NAT LUKIN, Prop.

OAKWOOD

NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4471

Delightful... swimming and boating on

Different... our private lake

Delicious... our charming colonial atmosphere

Different... our unexcelled cuisine

Delicious... our recordings for listening

Different... and dancing

53 miles from NYC—Adults Only



SAUGERTIES, NEW YORK

Tel. 590 J.

Real country, no other resort within miles. Pine woods. Interesting hiking. Attractive accommodations. Best of foot Tennis, swimming, bicycling and other sports. Recording Dancing. Fair rates.

MERRIEWOOD

A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.

FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT

Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with excellent fishing and free use of boats and canoes. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and sandball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.

JULY & AUGUST Rates: \$55, \$80, \$65

OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

BYRAM LODGE

ARMONK, N. Y. Tel. Armonk Vill. 906

Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. in Westchester.

Completely remodeled, all conveniences, new furnishings, beautiful mattresses, all sports, bowling.

Rates \$80 weekly; \$10 daily, American Plan

American-Jewish Cuisine

N. Y. Office: 11 West 42nd Street PE 6-324

Enjoy a Wonderful Vacation at

COLD BROOK HOUSE

"On the banks of Esopus Creek"

A small resort with friendly atmosphere in beautiful surroundings. Tennis and other sports. Adults.

Rate \$35 per week—Make Reservations Now!

COLD BROOK HOUSE, Belleville, N. Y. Shokan 2648

Tel. Sundays only bet. 9-12 a.m., Mansfield 6-5065

HUNN'S LAKE HOUSE

STANFORDVILLE NEW YORK

90 miles from N. Y. via N. Y. Central

Charming lake and countryside, rustic surroundings

Bathing, boating, fishing, other sports. Beautiful walks. Excellent American cuisine. Ideal for vacation and weekend.

Adults • Pre-season Rate \$45.00

RESERVE EARLY

GRETE POPPER Tel. Stanfordville 2937

HATHAWAY LODGE

OPEN ALL YEAR

Formerly the palatial 602-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Bills of the Sky," luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Tennis courts, handball, badminton, Swimming pool, sun pavilion, Horseshoe riding, Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking. Attractive Rates.

For reservations or hotelier write or call

HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.

Telephone: Tannersville 299

16758

